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CHARLES KNIGHT'S

POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—Dr. Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOL. VII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR, 1783, TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS, AND THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

WELLINGTON

NAPOLEON

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An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—A.D. 1760 to A.D. 1783.

PAGE

Political Despondency at the close of the American War—Supposed Decay of Population—Its real Increase—Development of the Productive Power of the Country—Agriculture extended and improved—Agriculture of the East of England—Norfolk—Mr. Coke—Suffolk—Labourers of Suffolk—Husbandry Implements—Essex—Buckinghamshire—Oxfordshire—Northamptonshire—Bedfordshire—Francis, Duke of Bedford—Improved Breeds of Sheep and Oxen—Robert Bakewell—Consumption of Animal Food in England—Cambridgeshire—Lincolnshire—The Great Level of the Fens—Lincoln Heath and the Wolds—Nottinghamshire—Sherwood—Derbyshire—Surrey—Middlesex—Kent—Sussex—Hants—Berkshire—Windsor Forest . 1—18

CHAPTER II.—A.D. 1760 to A.D. 1783.

Agricultural Condition of Wiltshire—Dorsetshire—The Peasantry—Devonshire—Somersetshire—Exmoor—Cornwall—Wales—West Midland Counties—North Midland Counties—Warwickshire—Lancashire—Cheshire—Yorkshire—Improvers of the Moors—James Croft, the Agricultural Collier—The Craven Dialect—Durham—Northumberland—Westmoreland—The Lake District—Scotland—The Lothians—Scotch Sheep Flocks—Ayrshire—Burns—Lanarkshire—Renfrewshire—North-Western Districts—Agricultural State of Ireland—The Potato Cultivation . 21—39

CHAPTER III.—A.D. 1760 to A.D. 1783.

Revolution in the Peaceful Arts—Captains of Modern Industry—Duke of Bridgewater—James Brindley—His first great works—The Canal System—The Cotton Manufacture—Kay's Fly-Shuttle—Cotton-Spinning Machines—The Spinning-Jenny of Hargreaves—Cotton Spinning ceasing to be a domestic employment—Richard Arkwright—His Water-frame Spinning Machine—The first Water Spinning Mill—Samuel Crompton—His Hall-in-the-Wood Wheel, known as the Mule—General rush to engage in spinning Cotton—Rapid increase of Lancashire Towns—Dr. Edmund Cartwright—His Power-Loom—Dr. John Roebuck—First Furnace at Carron for Smelting Iron by Pit-Coal—The Staffordshire Potteries—Josiah Wedgwood—Commercial Treaty of 1787 with France—Dread of Foreign Rivalry—Watt, Mathematical Instrument Maker—Watt, the inventor of the Steam-Engine—Watt, the Partner in the Soho Works—Watt, the World's Benefactor—The Sword and the Steam-Engine . . . . . 40—63

CHAPTER IV.—A.D. 1760 to A.D. 1783.

PAGE

Connexion between the Useful Arts and the Fine Arts—Low State of Art in the Reign of George II.—Formation of an English School of Painting—Academies—St. Martin's Lane Academy—First Exhibition of Works of English Artists—Exhibition of Sign Paintings—Royal Academy founded—First Exhibition—Exhibition in Somerset House—Reynolds—Gainsborough—Wilson—West—Barry—Minor Painters—Engraving—Strange—Woollett—Mezzotint—Mac Ardell, &c.—Boydell, and Commerce in English Engravings—Sculpture—Banks—Bacon—Flaxman—Architecture—Taylor—Chambers—Stuart—Revett—Wyatt—Bridge Building 65—82

CHAPTER V.—A.D. 1737 to A.D. 1783.

Manners as depicted in the Literature of the Period—Changes in the Commerce of Literature—Samuel Johnson, the Link between Two Periods—Literature of George II.'s Time—The Novelists—Samuel Richardson—Henry Fielding—Tobias Smollett—Laurence Sterne—Oliver Goldsmith—Literature of a quarter of a century of George III.—Stage Coaches—Highwaymen—The Post—Inns—Public Refreshment Places in London—Ranelagh—Vauxhall—The Pantheon—The Theatre—Garrick—Bath—Gaming Tables . . . . . 83—101

CHAPTER VI.—A.D. 1737 to A.D. 1783.

The Duke of Queensberry—Club-life—Excessive gaming—Excesses of Charles Fox—Dress—Conversation—The Squires of England—The Country Justice—The Clergy of England—The Universities—Professional classes—The Mercantile class—The Lower Orders—The Rabble—Mobs—The London Police—The Prisons—Social Reformers—John Howard—Thomas Coram—Jonas Hanway—Hospitals—Robert Raikes—Sunday Schools—Rise and growth of Methodism . . . . . 102—120

CHAPTER VII.—A.D. 1773 to A.D. 1784.

Retrospect of Indian affairs—Hastings, Governor-General—Rohilla war—New Council at Calcutta—Hastings and the Council at enmity—Maharajah Nuncomar—His execution—Opposition between Hastings and Francis—Dissensions at Madras—Mahratta War—Capture of Gwalior—Hyder Ali—The Carnatic ravaged—Hyder defeated by Coote—The Rajah of Benares arrested—Oude—The Begums—Hastings, the preserver of India—Death of Hyder—Peace with his son and successor Tippoo . . . . . 123—134

CHAPTER VIII.—A.D. 1783 to A.D. 1788.

Coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox—Pitt's second Reform Bill—Affairs of India—Fox brings forward his India Bill—The Bill carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the House of Lords—The Coalition dismissed from office—Pitt, the head of the government—His struggle against a majority of the Commons—He finally triumphs—Parliament dissolved—Result of the elections—The Westminster election—Pitt's Financial Measures—Commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland—Pitt's third Reform Bill—Disputes between Holland and Austria—Pitt's Sinking Fund Scheme—Commercial Treaty with France—Consolidation of taxes—War with France averted—The Prince of Wales's debts—Mrs. Fitzherbert—The King becomes insane—Parliamentary conflict on the Regency Bill—The King's recovery . . . . . 135—155

CHAPTER IX.—A.D. 1776 to A.D. 1787.

Symptoms of great changes in France—Constant financial difficulties—General view of the French social system—Expectations of a Revolution—The Parlement of Paris—Recall of Necker—Meeting of the States-General—The three Orders—The Tiers

PAGE

État demand that all the Orders shall unite—Mode of Procedure in the Tiers État—The Tiers État assume the title of the National Assembly—Their meeting in a Tennis Court—The Royal Sitting—Open resistance of the Tiers État to the King's orders—The King yields—Union of the three Orders as the National Assembly—Dismissal of Necker—Attack on the Bastille—The King yields to the popular demands—Murder of Foulon and Berthier—Feudal rights abolished—Provincial Anarchy—Want of bread—March of a Parisian mob to Versailles—Outrages of the mob—Royal Family removed to Paris . . . . . 156—180

CHAPTER X.—A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1791.

Connexion of the French Revolution with English history—The public opinion of England on the Revolution—Opinions of eminent men—Fluctuations of English opinion—The King of France visits the National Assembly—Session of the British Parliament—Divisions in the Whig party—The Test Act—Nootka Sound—War with Spain averted—Fête of the Federation in Paris—Burke publishes his "Reflexions on the Revolution"—Russia and Turkey—Siege of Ismail—Mirabeau, President of the National Assembly—His negotiations with the Court—Death of Mirabeau—Parliament—Breach of the friendship between Burke and Fox—Clamour against the Dissenters—The Birmingham riots . . . . . 181—196

CHAPTER XI.—A.D. 1791 to A.D. 1792.

Flight of the King and his family from Paris—The National Assembly after the discovery of the flight—Capture of the Royal Family at Varennes—Hatred of Royalty—Thomas Paine—Establishment of the Constitution—National, or Constituent Assembly, at an end—Meeting of the Legislative Assembly—The Declaration of Pilnitz—French princes and emigrants at Coblentz—Talleyrand's visit to London—Opening of Parliament—Pacific speech—Pitt's display of British prosperity—The Slave trade—Pitt's eloquence—The Libel Law—Attempts to form a Coalition—Parliamentary Reform—Proclamation against Seditious Writings—Chauvelin and Lord Grenville—The Revolution of Poland . . . . . 199—215

CHAPTER XII.—A.D. 1792.

Deaths of the Emperor Leopold and the King of Sweden—The Girondin Ministry—French declaration of war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia—The Veto—Roland, and two other ministers, dismissed—Insurrection of the 20th of June—The country in danger—Arrival of the Marseillais—Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick—Petition for the King's deposition—Insurrection of the 10th of August—Attack on the Tuileries—Royal Family removed to the Temple—British Ambassador recalled—Longwy taken by the Prussians—The massacres of September 217—228

CHAPTER XIII.—A.D. 1792 to A.D. 1793.

Opening of the French National Convention—The Prussian army enters France—Battle of Valmy—Retreat of the Prussians—Battle of Jemappes—Opening of the British Parliament—Disposition of the British Government—Aggressive decrees of the French Convention—Mr. Pitt's continued desire for non-intervention—Louis XVI. and his family prisoners in the Temple—Louis brought to the bar of the Convention—Anxiety for his fate in the British Parliament—Political manœuvres of Lord Loughborough—The Whig party broken up—Lord Loughborough made Chancellor—Influence on Mr. Pitt's policy—State of public opinion in England—Trial of Thomas Paine for libel, as the author of "The Rights of Man"—The Alien Bill—Correspondence with Chauvelin—Trial of the King of France—Votes of the Convention—Execution of the King—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Note on the dagger-scene in the House of Commons . . . . . 233—254

CHAPTER XIV.—A.D. 1785 to A.D. 1793.

PAGE

Retrospect of Indian Affairs from 1785—Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General—Declaratory Bill—War with Tippoo—Retreat of Cornwallis—Capture of Seringapatam—Peace with Tippoo—The French West India Islands—Retrospect of Discoveries in the Pacific—Otaheite—New Zealand—New South Wales—Canada—Military and Naval establishments of Great Britain—France declares war . . . . 256—264

CHAPTER XV.—A.D. 1793.

Resolutions proposed by Mr. Fox against war with France—Commercial distress—Parliamentary Reform opposed by Mr. Pitt—Traitorous Correspondence Bill—Pitt, Burke, and Fox,—the diversity of their views of England's policy—Sanguine expectations of warlike success—Dumouriez in Holland—Battle of Neerwinden—Defection of Dumouriez—Measures of the Jacobins—Revolutionary Tribunal—Committee of Public Salvation—Excessive prices of commodities in Paris—Produced by the depreciation of Assignats—Plunder of the shops—Law of maximum—Forced levy of troops—La Vendée in insurrection—Mr. Fox's motion for peace—Insurrection against the Girondin deputies—Their arrest and flight—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Note on the French Revolutionary Kalendar 265—279

CHAPTER XVI.—A.D. 1793.

Campaign of 1793—Valenciennes and Condé taken by the Allies—Mayence surrendered to Prussia—Duke of York besieges Dunkirk—The siege raised—Insurrection at Lyon against the Convention—Lyon surrenders to the Republicans—Doom of the city—Toulon—The Royalists negotiate with Admiral Lord Hood—The fleet and harbour surrendered to the combined forces—Declaration of the British Government—Napoleon Bonaparte—Toulon besieged by Republican armies—Bonaparte's plan for taking Toulon—Evacuation of Toulon—Destruction of the French fleet and arsenals—Energy and atrocities of the Jacobin government—War in La Vendée—The British aid to the Vendeans arrives too late . . . . . 281—296

CHAPTER XVII.—A.D. 1794.

The Reign of Terror in France—Sentence upon Muir and Palmer in Scotland—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Trials for High Treason of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall—Invasion threatened—National defence—State of the Navy—Admiral Howe—His naval victory of the 1st of June—French decree of No Quarter for Englishmen and Hanoverians—Jacobinism recognises the Supreme Being—The Fall of Robespierre—Rottenness of the Coalition against France—Successes of the French—Recall of the Duke of York—Holland lost—Remnant of the British army leaves the Continent—Invasion of Poland by Russia and Prussia—Poland finally enslaved when Koskiusko fell—Corsica—Siege of Bastia . . . . . 298—315

CHAPTER XVIII.—A.D. 1794 to A.D. 1796.

Accessions to the Ministry—Opening of the Session—Mr. Canning—Opposition to the Address by Mr. Wilberforce—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Session closed—Expedition to Quiberon—Insurrections in Paris—Revolt of the Sections suppressed by Bonaparte—Opening of Parliament—Attack upon the King—Coercive policy of the Government—Dread of Absolutism—Bonaparte chief of the army in Italy—Territorial divisions of Italy—Bonaparte's first Italian campaign—Austrian successes in Germany—Lord Malmesbury negotiates for Peace at Paris—Death of Catherine II., Empress of Russia—Retirement of Washington—French fleet in Bantry Bay . . . . . 316—331

CHAPTER XIX.—A.D. 1797.

PAGE

Landing of the French in Pembrokeshire—Commercial distrust—Run upon the Banks—Suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England—Extension of the National Industry—War with Spain—Battle of St. Vincent—Nelson boards and takes two ships—Discontent in the Navy—Mutiny at Spithead—Mutiny at the Nore—Proceedings in Parliament—Negotiations at Lisle for Peace—Bonaparte's triumphs in Italy—Revolution in Paris of the Eighteenth Fructidor—End of the Negotiations at Lisle—The "Anti-Jacobin" . . . . . 332—345

CHAPTER XX.—A.D. 1797 to A.D. 1798.

Preliminaries of Leoben—Transfer of Venice to Austria—Peace of Campo Formio—Victory of Admiral Duncan off Camperdown—Bonaparte arrives in Paris—He is appointed to the command of the Army of England—Projected invasion of England—The scheme postponed—An expedition to Egypt prepared at Toulon—Nelson appointed to command a squadron in the Mediterranean—Seizure of Malta by Bonaparte—Bonaparte lands at Alexandria—Nelson had returned to Sicily—Alexandria taken by assault—Battle of the Pyramids—The French at Cairo—Nelson returns to Alexandria—The Battle of the Nile—Rejoicings in England and New Hopes—The Income-tax first imposed—Volunteers—Ireland . . . . 346—360

CHAPTER XXI.—A.D. 1783 to A.D. 1800.

Comparative tranquillity of Ireland after 1783—Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam—United Irishmen—Irish Directory—Commencement of the Rebellion—Suppression of the Rebellion—Marquis Cornwallis Lord-Lieutenant—Landing of a French force under Humbert—Surrender of the French—Napper Tandy—End of the Rebellion—The Union proposed—Desire of Government for the Relief of the Catholics—Debates on the Union of the British and Irish Parliaments—Lord Castlereagh—Corruption of the Irish Parliament—Grattan returns to his seat in the Irish House of Commons—Articles of the Union proposed—Arguments for and against the Union—The Union completed . . . . . 361—375

CHAPTER XXII.—A.D. 1799 to A.D. 1800.

India—Lord Mornington, Governor-General—Arthur Wellesley—War with Tippoo—Capture of Seringapatam—Bonaparte in Egypt—March to Syria—Jaffa—Siege of Acre—Battle of Aboukir—Bonaparte hears of the defeats of the French—He leaves Egypt and arrives in Paris—The French Directory—Revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire—Overthrow of the Directory by Bonaparte—British Expedition to Holland—New Constitution in France—Bonaparte First Consul—Bonaparte's letter to the King—Lord Grenville's hostile answer—High price of Corn in England—Distress and riots—Attempt to regulate prices—Bonaparte's Civil Administration—He assumes the state of a sovereign—Italy—Bonaparte takes the command of the Army—The Campaign—Battle of Marengo—Campaign under Moreau in Germany—Peace of Luneville . . . . . 377—396

CHAPTER XXIII.—A.D. 1801 to A.D. 1802.

Commencement of the Nineteenth Century—Parliament opened—The King's Opposition to Concessions to the Catholics of Ireland—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—Mr. Addington Prime Minister—The King again becomes insane—The northern powers form a treaty of Armed Neutrality—Expedition against Denmark—The Naval Battle of Copenhagen—Nelson's Victory—An armistice concluded—Assassination of the Emperor Paul—Expedition to Egypt—Battle of Alexandria and Death of Abercromby—The French evacuate Egypt—Preliminaries of Peace with France—Negotiations of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens—Diplomatic disputes and difficulties—The Peace of Amiens concluded—Chronological Table of Treaties—Population of Great Britain . . . . . 397—414

CHAPTER XXIV.—A.D. 1802 to A.D. 1804.

PAGE

The Peace a precarious armistice—Demands of Bonaparte—Rush of the English to France—French encroachments—The King's allusion to them in his Speech—French expedition to St. Domingo—Toussaint L'Ouverture—Mr. Addington's Policy—Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth—Trial of Peltier—Speech of Macintosh—Despard's Conspiracy—Militia called out—Violence of Bonaparte towards the British Ambassador—Malta—War declared—Negotiation for Mr. Pitt's return to power—Detention in France of English travellers—Great Britain roused—Preparations for Invasion—Emmett's insurrection—Rapid enrolment of Volunteers—Bonaparte at Boulogne—Pitt at Walmer—Review of Volunteers—Weakness of the Addington Ministry—The King's illness—Negotiations for a change of Ministry—Pitt presses for an Administration on a broad basis—His failure—Pitt Prime Minister—Conspiracy against the First Consul—Murder of the Duc d'Enghien—Abstract of a list of Volunteers in 1803 . . . . . 415—434

CHAPTER XXV.—A.D. 1804 to A.D. 1806.

Parties opposed to Mr. Pitt's government—Indications of a new Grand Alliance—Napoleon and the army at Boulogne—Coronation of Napoleon—His letter to the King—Addington joins the Ministry—War with Spain—Charges against Lord Melville—Impeachment—Treaty with Russia—Annexation of Genoa—Nelson's chase after the French and Spanish Fleets—Sir Robert Calder's Naval Action—Napoleon's anxiety at Boulogne—He breaks up the Camp—March of Napoleon into Germany—Surrender of the Austrian army at Ulm—Nelson takes the command of the fleet off Cadiz—Victory of Trafalgar—Death of Nelson—His funeral—The French enter Vienna—Battle of Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—Pitt's failing health—Death of Pitt . . . . . 435—451

CHAPTER XXVI.—A.D. 1799 to A.D. 1806.

India—Attacks in Parliament upon Marquis Wellesley—The Subsidiary system—The Mahratta Chiefs—The Mahratta War—General Lake—General Wellesley—Battle of Assye—End of the Campaign—Holkar—Famine in India—Mutiny at Vellore—Administration of Grenville and Fox—Financial Measures—Volunteers—Acquittal of Lord Melville—The Princess of Wales—Mr. Fox and the King—Declining health of Mr. Fox—Slave Trade—Progress of the Cause of Abolition—Thomas Clarkson—Negotiations for Peace—End of the Negotiations—Death of Fox—Confederation of the Rhine—Prussia—Aggressions of Napoleon—Murder of Palm—Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples—British Army in Calabria—Battle of Maida—Capture of Buenos Ayres by Sir Home Popham—Its re-capture . . . . . 453—474

CHAPTER XXVII.—A.D. 1806 to A.D. 1807.

Napoleon takes the Field against Prussia—Positions of the Prussian and French Armies—Battle of Jena—The French enter Berlin—The New Parliament meets—Bill passed for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Proceedings which resulted in a Change of Ministry—A great Constitutional Question—The new Administration—Parliament dissolved—Battle of Eylau—Cold encouragement of England to the Allies—Expeditions to various points—Whig Policy—Expedition to the Dardanelles—Its failure, and that of other Turkish expeditions—Expedition against Buenos Ayres—Its lamentable results—General Whitelock—Meeting of the new Parliament—Battle of Friedland—Peace between Russia and France—Treaty of Tilsit—Secret Articles of the Treaty become known to the British Government—The Danish Fleet—Expedition to Copenhagen—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Surrender of the Fleet . . . . . 475—491

CHAPTER XXVIII.—A.D. 1808 to A.D. 1809.

PAGE

Isolation of Great Britain—Hostility of European Powers—Bonaparte's Continental System—His plans for becoming master of the Peninsula—French invasion of Portugal—The Regent of Portugal flies to the Brazils—Abdication of Charles IV. of Spain—Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, entrapped by Napoleon at Bayonne—Insurrection at Madrid—The Spanish Juntas ask aid from England—Sympathy of the English people—Sir Arthur Wellesley sent with troops to Portugal—Successes of the Spaniards—Zaragoza—Victory of Wellesley at Vimiero—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore marches into Spain—Napoleon takes the command of his army in Spain—Moore's retreat—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Sufferings of his army—National gloom—Charges against the Duke of York—Parliamentary Inquiry—The Duke resigns—Lord Cochrane's enterprise in Aix Roads—Austria declares war against France—Sir Arthur Wellesley takes the command at Lisbon—Passage of the Douro—Intelligence of important events 492—513

CHAPTER XXIX.—A.D. 1809.

The nations of Europe roused to resistance against France—Battle of Eckmuhl—Napoleon retires to the island of Lobau—Insurrection of the Tyrolese—Battle of Wagram—Austria concludes a Peace—The Tyrolese subdued—Expedition to the Scheldt—The British land in Walcheren—Flushing Bombarded—Its surrender—The Marsh Fever breaks out—Fatal termination of the Expedition—Battle of Talavera—Alarm in England—Disquiet of Ministers—Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—The Jubilee—Question of Parliamentary Privilege—Committal to the Tower of Sir F. Burdett—Portugal—Lines of Torres Vêdras—The Campaign of 1810—Almeida—Battle of Busaco—Wellington retires within his Lines . . . . . 514—532

CHAPTER XXX.—A.D. 1810 to A.D. 1812.

Illness of the King—Interruption to the proceedings in Parliament—The Regency Bill passed—The King's Ministers continued in office—State of Europe at the commencement of the Regency—Wellington and the Ministry—The Battle of Barrosa—Massena evacuates Portugal—The British Army pursues—The Battle of Fuentes de Onoro—The Battle of Albuera—Restrictions on the Prince Regent about to expire—His letter as to his choice of a Ministry—The Administration not altered—Resignation of the Marquis Wellesley—Character of the Regent—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Attempts to form a Cabinet, of which Lord Grey and Lord Grenville should be the heads—The Earl of Liverpool Prime Minister—Luddism—Repeal of the Orders in Council—The United States declare war against Great Britain . . . . . 533—545

CHAPTER XXXI.—A.D. 1812.

Campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Siege of Badajoz—Difficulties of Lord Wellington—Advance into Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Siege of Burgos—Retreat from Burgos—Invasion of Russia—Smolensk and Borodino—Conflagration of Moscow—Retreat of the French—Pursued by the Russians—Continual battles—Horrors of the Retreat—Destruction of the French army—Napoleon's Flight . . . . . 546—559

CHAPTER XXXII.—A.D. 1813 to A.D. 1814.

German spirit—The Campaign—Armistice—Battle of Vittoria—Battle of Dresden—Death of Moreau—Battle of Leipzig—Napoleon's retreat—Wellington in the Pyrenees—San Sebastian—The British Army in France—Battles of Wellington and Soult—Napoleon prepares for a campaign in France—Battles with Blucher and

PAGE

Schwarzenberg—Paris capitulated to the Allies—Toulouse—Abdication of Napoleon —Peace of Paris—Public joy in England—The Allied Sovereigns—Wellington thanked by Parliament—The Speaker's harangue . . . . . 560—573

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND RULERS 574

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE FROM 1783 TO 1812 576

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES 578

THE NATIONAL DEBT 582

POPULATION IN 1811 582

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

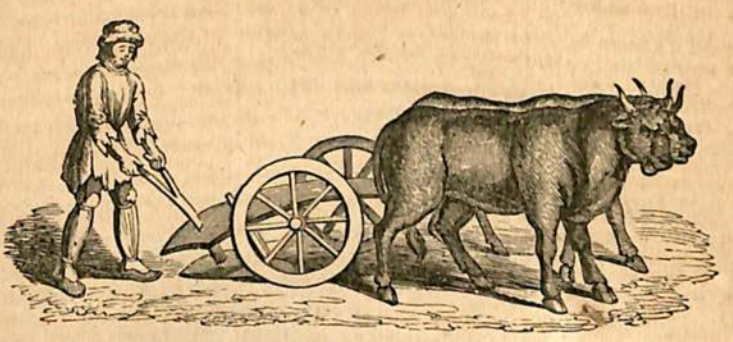
WELLINGTON—NAPOLEON			*Frontispiece.*
JAMES WATT—PRIESTLEY—FRANKLIN	*to face page*		65
PITT—FOX—GRATTAN	,,	,,	135
MANSFIELD—ERSKINE—ELDON—ROMILLY	,,	,,	217
RODNEY—NELSON—COLLINGWOOD—ST. VINCENT	,,	,,	281
BURNS—COWPER—WORDSWORTH—SCOTT	,,	,,	361
JOHN HUNTER—DAVY—JENNER—W. HERSCHELL	,,	,,	475
WILBERFORCE—PERCEVAL—WELLESLEY—CASTLEREAGH	,,	,,	533

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

	PAGE
Anglo-Saxon Plough	1
Leicester Sheep	18
South Down Ram	17
The Bittern	19
The Great Bustard	20
Exmoor Ram	24
Welsh Sheep	25
Durham Ox	30
Black-faced Scotch Sheep	34
Canal Aqueduct over the Irwell	40
Entrance to the Canal Tunnel at Worsley	42
The old Jersey Wheel; with hand cards and bobbins of rovings	45
Jedediah Strutt	47
Arkwright's Original Patent Water-frame Spinning Machine	48
Samuel Crompton	51
Hindoo Girl spinning cotton	53
Dr. Cartwright	54
Iron Bridge, Coalbrook Dale, 1775	56
Josiah Wedgwood	57
Matthew Boulton. (From a Portrait by Sir William Beechey)	62
Boulton and Watt's Works at Soho. (From a view in 1798)	62
Statue of Watt	64
Old Academy in St. Martin's Lane	65
Zoffany's Picture of the Royal Academicians, 1773	71
Benjamin West	74
Barry	76
Boydell	79
The Bank of England, as altered by Sir Robert Taylor	80
The Quadrangle, Somerset House	81
Edward Cave	88
James Boswell	86
Smollett	89
White Conduit House, 1749	96
Ranelagh Gardens, Rotunda, &c., 1751	97
Fashionable costumes, 1760	98
Garrick	99
Garrick as Macbeth	100
A Minuet	101
Horace Walpole, after Muntz	102
Watchmen	116
Gang of prisoners being conveyed to trial	117
Captain Coram. (From Hogarth's picture)	118
Jonas Hanway	119
Warren Hastings' Elephant	123
Shah Alum	125
Warren Hastings	128
Fortress of Gwalior	130
Mysorean Cavalry. (From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick)	131
Benares	132
Tippoo Saib. (From a Hindoo portrait)	134
Carlton House	135
Bishop Tomline	139
Lord Thurlow	140
Wilberforce. (From an early Portrait)	143
Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. (From a painting by Sir J. Reynolds)	144
Nimeguen	151
Louis XVI. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux)	156
Calonne. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux)	158
Necker. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux)	164

PAGE

Marie-Antoinette. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux) 165
Bailly. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux) . . 167
Abbé Sièyes. (From an anonymous English Portrait) . 168
Mirabeau. (From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux) . . 169
Camille Desmoulins . . 170
Attack on the Bastille. (From a Medallion by Andrieu) . 172
Rejoicing on the Destruction of the Bastille. (Designed from a French Medal) . . 173
The Women of Paris entering the Hall of the National Assembly, Versailles. (From the "Tableaux Historiques") 178
The King's Arrival at Paris from Versailles. (From a Medal by Andrieu) 180
Palais Royal. (View by Lespinasse) 181
Fête of the Federation . . 189
Les Hauteurs—St. Cloud . 192
Detention of the King at Varennes. (From "Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française,") 199
Thomas Paine 203
Condorcet 204
Convent of the Jacobins. (From an Original Drawing) 206
Talleyrand 209
The Prince of Wales. (From a Painting by Sir William Beechey) 214
Hôtel de Ville 217
Madame Roland 218
Pétion 221
The Duke of Brunswick . . 223
Danton. (From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux) . . 224
Attack on the Tuileries, Aug. 10 226
Louis XVI. conveyed Prisoner to the Temple. ("Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française") 227
Prison of the Abbaye . . . 232
Dumouriez 233
Louis Philippe, Duc de Chartres 234
Bombardment of Lille, Oct., 1792 236
Jemappes 237
The Temple 241
Lord Loughborough . . . 244
Duc D'Orleans 251
Execution of Louis XVI. (From "Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française") 253
Caricature of Burke by Gillray 254
Seringapatam 256
View in New Zealand. (From Cook's Voyages) . . . 262
Specimens of French Assignats 265
The Revolutionary Tribunal. (From "Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution") . 273
Marat 275
Brissot 277
The Conciergérie. The Populace conveying Marie-Antoinette to Prison there . 281
Siege of Lyon 285
Napoleon Bonaparte, the Artillery Lieutenant . . 289
Count Henri de la Rochejaquelin 294
Charette 295
Attack on Nantes by the Vendeans 296
Victory of the First of June . 297
Horne Tooke 302
Earl Stanhope 305
Robespierre 308
Pichegru 313
Koskiusko 314
Attack on the Convention, 13th Vendémiaire . . 316
Windham 320
Barras 322
Battle off Cape St. Vincent . 332
Battle of the Pyramids . . 346
Malta 352
Battle of the Nile . . . 358
The Castle, Dublin . . . 361
The Parliament House (now the Bank), Dublin . . . 376
Siege of Acre 377
Sir Sidney Smith . . . 380
Lucien Bonaparte 385
Madame de Staël 393
Bonaparte crossing the Alps . 394
Copenhagen 397
Battle of Alexandria . . . 406
Cleopatra's Needle, Alexandria 411
Boulogne 415
Toussaint L'Ouverture . . 419
Lord Whitworth 420
Medal struck by Napoleon to be ready to commemorate the Invasion of England . 433
Coronation of Napoleon . . 435
Ulm 444
Tomb of Nelson 449
Fortress of Ali-Ghur . . . 453
General Lake 457
Sepoys 462
Medal struck on the Abolition of the Slave Trade . . 475
Queen of Prussia . . . 476
Frederick William III., King of Prussia 477
Buenos Ayres 486
Emperor Alexander I. of Russia 488
Madrid 492
Joseph Bonaparte . . . 495
Zaragoza 501
Sir John Moore 504
Oporto 511
Lisbon 514
Carlton House—Levee Day . 533
Louis Bonaparte . . . 535
Ciudad Rodrigo 546
Badajoz 550
Salamanca 553
San Sebastian 560
Bayonne 567
Toulouse 570



Anglo-Saxon Plough.

POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Political despondency at the close of the American War—Supposed decay of Population—Its real increase—Development of the productive power of the country—Agriculture extended and improved—Agricultural condition of the Eastern, South Midland, North Midland, and South Eastern, counties—Norfolk—Mr. Coke—Suffolk—Essex—Buckinghamshire—Oxfordshire—Northamptonshire—Bedfordshire—Francis, duke of Bedford—Improved breeds of sheep and oxen—Robert Bakewell—Consumption of animal food in England—Cambridgeshire—Lincolnshire—The Great Level of the Fens—Lincoln Heath and the Wolds—Nottinghamshire—Derbyshire—Surrey—Middlesex—Kent—Sussex—Hants—Berkshire—Windsor Forest.

THE summer which followed the close of the American war is described as "an amazing and portentous one." * There were alarming meteors and tremendous thunder storms. For many weeks of June, July, and August, the sun was clouded over with a smoky fog that proceeded from whatever quarter the wind blew. At noon, it cast "a rust-coloured ferruginous light;" at rising and setting, it was "lurid and blood-coloured." † The phenomenon prevailed over the whole of Europe. The people looked with a superstitious awe on the "disastrous twilight." The poet asked of contending factions,

> "Is it a time to wrangle, when the props
> And pillars of our planet seem to fail;
> And Nature with a dim and sickly eye
> To wait the close of all?" ‡

* White's "Selborne," Letter lxv. † *Ibid.* ‡ Cowper, "Task," book ii.

With "fear of change," monarchs were perplexed. Politicians of every rank, subject as Englishmen are to skiey influences, then especially believed that their country was ruined. Sir John Sinclair, one of the most enlightened men of his time, who, with a few others, had confidence in the resources of British spirit and industry, ventured to hold a different opinion. He says, that in 1783, in the midst of much terror and despondency, he hesitated not to assert that Britain might still preserve its elevated rank amongst the powers of Europe, although his ideas were then considered visionary.* He rested his confidence upon the principle that debts and taxes were not alone sufficient to effect the ruin of a nation; and he was supported by the fact, that for a century previous the same gloomy prognostications had always resulted in the undeniable advance of the country in material prosperity. Some of these prognostications were not the mere clamours of popular ignorance, or factious exaggeration, or foreign jealousy. Lord Lyttleton, in 1739; lord Bolingbroke, in 1745; David Hume, in 1761; Adam Smith, in 1776; Dr. Price, in 1777; lord Stair, in 1783,—each honestly believed that England was fast approaching the condition of inevitable bankruptcy. In 1784, marshal Conway, who, as one of the Shelburne administration, had been ejected from power in the previous year, writes to his brother,—"I feel rather obliged than angry at all those who have any how contributed to shuffle me out of the most troublesome and dangerous scene this country was ever engaged in. I don't desire to be an actor in the ruin of my country; and if the vessel must sink, I had rather be a passenger than the pilot. . . . . The sums spent in losing America are a blow we shall never recover." †

The statesmen and economists who predicted absolute ruin from any increase of the Public Debt beyond a certain maximum—seventy-five millions, or a hundred millions—never appear to have adequately contemplated the possibility of the productive power of the country keeping pace with the additional load of taxation. Sir William Blackstone, who in general exhibits a pleasant optimism as to matters of government, speaks out very plainly as to the inconveniences of enormous taxes caused by the magnitude of national incumbrances. He tells the public creditor that money in the funds does really and intrinsically exist only in "the land, the trade, and the personal industry of the subject, from which the money must arise that supplies the several taxes." ‡ The pledges for the security of these debts being thus defined, the question of the value of the security can only be answered by estimating the capacity of a country to make constant advances in a course of material improvement.

The common notions of the decline of England that prevailed during the first and second decades of the reign of George III. were associated with the vehement assertion that her population was decreasing. Poets and statists equally maintained that "wealth accumulates and men decay." § Goldsmith admits that the depopulation which his exquisite poem deplores, is affirmed by several of his wisest and best friends as "no where to be seen." Yet Goldsmith had supporters in his opinion, who had no pretensions to

* "History of the Revenue," vol. ii., Appendix iv.
† MS. Letter in the possession of the author of the "Popular History."
‡ Kerr's edit. vol. i. p. 322. § "Deserted Village."

"the poet's imagination." Dr. Price maintained, in 1777, that England and Wales contained no more than 4,763,000 souls. Arthur Young, in 1770, says, "it is asserted by those writers who affect to run down our affairs, that, rich as we are, our population has suffered; that we have lost a million and a half of people since the Revolution; and that we are at present declining in numbers." * The estimates of Gregory King, founded upon the Return of the Hearth-money collectors, exhibited a population of five millions and a half at the period of the Revolution.† Either those estimates were utterly fallacious, and ought to have shown a million and a half less of people; or the belief was a delusion that "it is employment that creates population"—that "all industrious countries are populous, and proportionably to the degree of their industry." ‡ From the accession of George I. to the war with the North American Colonies,—a period of sixty years,—the country had been steadily progressing in a course of improvement; in partial inclosures of cultivable waste land, in better methods of husbandry, in extension of manufactures, in more complete means of internal communication. The advance was slow, compared with what remained to be done. An elaborate and careful statistical writer of 1774, in setting forth the improving position of the country, puts in the title-page of his work that it is "intended to show that we have not as yet approached near the summit of improvement, but that it will afford employment to many generations before they push to their utmost extent the natural advantages of Great Britain." § Could this sensible writer have contemplated the possible approaches to "the summit of improvement," made by only two generations, his readers of that period would have regarded him as a madman. Yet at that period the industrial energies of the people were stimulated to turn aside from the beaten track in many new directions. The capability of Britain greatly to multiply her resources began to be dimly perceived. We now know, as a reliable fact, that the population had increased, and was increasing.

A comparison of the excess of Baptisms over Burials, corrected by the experience of positive enumerations, shows, that from 1751 to 1781, the population had increased at a rate exceeding 400,000 for each decennial period; the increase in the whole of the previous fifty years having been little above 200,000. Upon that increase of nearly a million and a quarter in thirty years, there was a still larger increase of more than a million and a half in the twenty years from 1781 to 1801. ‖ The start in the national industry, supplying new sources of profitable labour, and new means of subsistence, to increasing numbers, appears to have been singularly concurrent with that outburst of public spirit which attended the administration of the first William Pitt. The shutting up of one portion of British commerce by the war with America had no permanent effect upon the development of the general prosperity of the country; although we are in no condition to judge how far that development might have been impeded by the waste of capital in war. The industrial period, from the accession of

* Young, "Northern Tour," vol. iv. p. 556. † *Ante*, vol. v. p. 3, and Table, p. 47.
‡ Young, "Northern Tour," vol. iv. p. 551.
§ Dr. Campbell, "Political Survey," 2 vols. 4to.
‖ "Report on the Census of 1851," p. lxviii.

George III. to the war of the French Revolution, is a very interesting one to be described in detail. We apply ourselves to the task, in something like a continuation of the plan of that general view of National Progress which we have given at the period of the accession of the House of Hanover, and partially through the reign of George I.*

Arthur Young, one of the most exact of those economical inquirers who had no official data upon which to found their calculations, in reckoning the entire population, in 1770, at 8,500,000 souls, appears to have over-estimated the total number by about a million and a quarter. The population of agriculture, exclusive of landlords, clergy, and parochial poor, he reckoned at 2,800,000. The number of farmers he reckoned at 111,498; of men-servants and labourers, at 557,490. In the census of 1851, we have a return for England and Wales of 225,318 occupiers of land, employing 1,445,067 labourers. The farmers would thus appear to have doubled in eighty years; the labourers to have almost trebled. This comparative estimate, imperfect as it is, enables us to form some notion of the agricultural industry of those eighty years, as giving the means of subsistence to all who were employed upon the land. But the improvement appears far more striking when we consider that, in 1770,—taking the population at Young's estimate of 8,500,000, and reckoning the adult males at a fourth of that number,—one-third of the adult male population, as enumerated by him, was employed in providing food for themselves and their families, and for the other two-thirds of the population: in other words, whilst one man was cultivating the land, two men were engaged in other occupations. This proportion indicates a high state of civilization. But a much higher condition was reached in 1851, when only 26 per cent. of the adult males were agricultural; that is, whilst one man was cultivating the land, three men were engaged in some other employment. The ascendancy of scientific theory over traditional practice has produced this striking change; and that ascendancy has been called forth more and more by the certainty of the profitable application of capital to agricultural enterprise. This application of capital, in the first twenty years of the reign of George III., may be in some degree indicated by the circumstance that the Inclosure Bills passed from 1760 to 1779 were more than a thousand in number. Improved methods of husbandry were concurrent with this extension of the area of cultivation. The great features of this period of the development of the vast productive powers of the soil are very marked; and, without touching upon the technicalities of agricultural science, we may not unprofitably enter upon such a general view of the condition of particular districts, as may show how earnestly many were then labouring to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, and yet how much they left to be done by the labours of other generations. Incidentally we shall notice the condition and manners of the rural population.

We commenced our previous general view of the National Industry with a brief survey of the West of England, the seat of the greatest commercial and manufacturing prosperity at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We now propose to make a similar examination of the agricultural condition of the East of England, continuing our former sketch of the development of

* *Ante*, vol. v. chapters I. and II.

the resources of that portion of our island. We use the term "East" as a general phrase, in the same way that Arthur Young used it in his "Farmer's Tour through the East of England." If a line be drawn from the British Channel, keeping to the east of the Avon, on to the Humber, also keeping to the east of the Trent, it will include four of our great Registration Divisions, in which pastoral and agricultural industry is the predominant feature now, as it has been from the earliest times. These divisions,—the Eastern, the South Midland, the North Midland, the South Eastern,—comprise twenty counties out of the forty of England. Their progress in population was not very marked till after the beginning of the present century. According to Gregory King they numbered, at the Revolution, 2,364,735 souls. They had increased, in the census of 1801, to 3,078,591; but in that of 1851, to 5,674,494. They always fully kept pace with the general advance of the population of England and Wales, amounting, as nearly as may be, to one-third of the whole, at the three several periods.*

"All England may be carved out of Norfolk, and represented therein," says the quaint Thomas Fuller. He there saw fens and heaths, light and deep soils, sand and clay, meadows and pasture, arable and woodlands. The variety of the shire made its ancient cultivation necessarily as various. Experimental agriculture proceeded very slowly. The fens were undrained; the sands were unmarled. Gradually Norfolk, and its neighbour Suffolk, became the nurseries of what was termed "the new husbandry." Arthur Young states that at a period not beyond sixty years, forty years, and even thirty years, from the time when he travelled through Norfolk, all the northern and western, and a part of the eastern, tracts of the county were sheep-walks, let as low as from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*s.* an acre.† The great change came with inclosures, long leases, and large farms, by the marling of light lands, and by the introduction of an excellent course of crops, in which the culture of turnips and clover was the distinguishing feature. "Turnips on well-manured land, thoroughly hoed, are the only fallow in the Norfolk course." Farmers in many other districts had attempted the turnip husbandry, but found it unprofitable through their own ignorance and slovenliness. In the East Riding of Yorkshire very few would incur the labour of hoeing their turnips.‡ Some alleged that small turnips were better than large, because the sheep would eat up the small and leave much of the large. The wisest of the Norfolk farmers sliced their turnips, even without a special machine for saving that labour. The four-course system of crops was that of the Norfolk farmers—turnips, barley, clover, wheat. Many other cultivators attempted to obtain two and even three white crops in succession, and then left the land to recruit itself in a year, or several years, of barrenness, in which the rapid growth of weeds made the supposed rest a real exhaustion. Six years after Arthur Young had been eulogizing the husbandry of a portion of Norfolk, Mr. Coke came into possession of his estate at Holkham. In that year of 1776 the whole district was uninclosed. The only wheat consumed in that part of the county was imported. Mr. Coke "converted West Norfolk from a rye-growing to a corn-growing district." § But he did something even better. Unable

* See Table, *ante*, vol. v. p. 47. † "Eastern Tour," vol. ii. p. 150.
‡ "Northern Tour," vol. i. p. 247.
§ Earl Spencer in "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iii. p. 1.

to let his estate even at five shillings an acre, he determined to become a farmer himself. He did not set about his work with the self-conceit that might have been produced by a large fortune and high connections. He gathered about him all the practical agriculturists of his district, who came once a year to partake his hospitality, and to communicate their experience to the spirited young man who wanted to learn. He very soon was enabled to become an instructor himself. The annual sheep-shearings of Holkham grew famous throughout the civilized world. Men came from every quarter to see a great English gentleman—who had raised his rents from tens to hundreds, and had yet enriched his tenants as much as himself,—mixing, with a far nobler simplicity than that of the feudal times, with guests of every rank; seeking from the humblest yeoman who was earnest in his calling the knowledge of some new fact that would benefit his district and his country. Mr. Coke's agricultural knowledge was not mere theory. He taught the Norfolk farmers to turn their turnip-husbandry to a better use than that of producing manure, by teaching them how to improve the qualities of their stock, in the judgment of which he was thoroughly skilled. During his long life he had the satisfaction of seeing most of the triumphs of scientific husbandry; and his example pointed the way to that continued course of improvement, which has effected such marvels since the British agriculturist became self-reliant, and saw that his prosperity needed no protective laws to maintain a supply of food quite commensurate with the rapid multiplication of the people.

The agriculture of many parts of Suffolk is described by Arthur Young as emphatically "true husbandry." He says, "those who exalt the agriculture of Flanders so high in comparison with that of Britain, have not, I imagine, viewed with attention the country in question." Thomas Tusser, who was a Suffolk farmer in the middle of the sixteenth century, attributes the plenty of Suffolk—the mutton, beef, corn, butter, cheese, and the abundant work for the labouring man—to the system of inclosures, which he contrasts with the common fields of Norfolk. Suffolk, as well as Essex, was very early a county "inclosed into petty quillets," according to Fuller, whence the proverb "Suffolk stiles," and "Essex stiles." Sir John Cullum, in 1784, describes the drainage of the arable lands as the great improvement that had fertilized spots that before produced but little. The farmer was no longer content to let his soil be "water-slain," the old expressive term in Suffolk for undrained wet land. He knew nothing of draining-tiles; but he cut drains two feet deep, and wedge-shaped, filling them with bushes, and with haulm over the bushes. Sir John shows how the cultivators had learned the value of manure, instead of evading the compulsory clause of their leases by which they were bound not to sell the manure made in their own yards. He paints, as "the late race of farmers," those who "lived in the midst of their enlightened neighbours, like beings of another order. In their personal labour they were indefatigable; in their dress, homely; in their manners, rude." Their "enlightened neighbours," he says, lived in well-furnished houses; actually knew the use of the barometer; and instead of exhibiting at church the cut of a coat half a century old, they had every article of dress spruce and modern. The ancient farmers had, however, a spirit of emulation amongst them, which they displayed in the drawing-matches of their famous Suffolk

punches—that wonderful breed of which two would plough an acre of strong wheat land in one day. We have the details of a drawing-match in 1724.* Young says of this breed, that "they are all taught to draw in concert; that teams would fall upon their knees at the word of command, and at a variation of the word would rise and put out all their strength."† Improving as was the general agriculture upon the good lands of Suffolk, the sandy districts on the shores of the Channel were in a miserable condition, before some tincture of geological science had taught the cultivator to look for the elements of fertility in the organic matter below the sand. Crabbe, with his exquisite fidelity, has described the husbandry of his own native district of the river Alde. It is a most impressive picture, not only of the peculiar barrenness of that district, but of other districts where slovenly cultivation had not called forth the resources of art to aid the churlishness of nature:

"Lo! where the heath, with withering brake grown o'er,
Lends the light turf that warms the neighbouring poor;
From thence a length of burning sand appears,
Where the thin harvest waves its wither'd ears;
Rank weeds, that every art and care defy,
Reign o'er the land, and rob the blighted rye:
There thistles stretch their prickly arms afar,
And to the ragged infant threaten war;
There poppies nodding mock the hope of toil;
There the blue bugloss paints the sterile soil;
Hardy and high, above the slender sheaf,
The slimy mallow waves her silky leaf;
O'er the young shoot the charlock throws a shade,
And clasping tares cling round the sickly blade."‡

The Suffolk labourers were fed abundantly, but somewhat coarsely. They ate their country's rye-bread with their country's stony cheese—"too hard to bite," as Bloomfield found it; whilst the farmer luxuriated in his "meslin bread," half wheat and half rye. The plough-boy's breakfast was the brown bread soaked in skimmed milk. When the country was over-run with rabbits, before the improved system of agriculture was introduced, the in-door servants stipulated that they should not be fed with "hollow-meat," as rabbit flesh was termed, more than a certain number of days in the week.§ Fuller speaks of the rabbits of Norfolk as "an army of natural pioneers"—the great suppliers of the fur for the gowns of grave citizens, and of "half beavers," the common hats.‖ The trencher was not then superseded by pewter and earthenware. The old simplicity was not gone out:—

"Between her swagging panniers' load
A farmer's wife to market rode." ¶

The good matron looked impatiently for the "pack man," who came to her gate periodically with fineries from Norwich or Ipswich; and with smuggled tea from the eastern coast, when three-fifths of the tea used was clandestinely imported. She delighted in the housewifery of the "horky," when the last load had come home with garlands and flags, and the lord of the harvest, the

* "History of Hawsted," chap. iv.
† "Eastern Tour," vol. ii. p. 174.
‡ "The Village," book ii.
§ Forby's "Vocabulary of East Anglia," vol. ii. p. 423.
‖ "Worthies."
¶ Gay.

principal reaper, led the procession, to be led home himself when the strong ale had done its work.

Norfolk and Suffolk are now the principal seats of the manufacture of those implements which, in 1851, were held to have saved one-half of the outlay of a period only twelve years previous, in the cultivation of a definite amount of crop. The Suffolk "Farmer's Boy" describes the rude plough (probably almost wholly made of wood) in which "no wheels support the diving-pointed share." The boy did not take kindly to the swing-plough, which was more difficult to guide. From ridge to ridge moves "the ponderous harrow;" "midst huge clods he plunges on forlorn." He breaks the frozen turnip with a heavy beetle. The seed is sown broad-cast. Arthur Young laments that, "if a person, the least skilled in agriculture, looks around for instruments that deserve to be called complete, how few will he meet with." * At Lawford, near Manningtree, he rejoices to have found "a most ingenious smith," who has made a new iron swing-plough, a horse-rake on wheels, and a hand-mill for grinding wheat.† Out of the persevering ingenuity of such men have proceeded the manifold instruments of modern agriculture—the lighter ploughs; the "cultivators," that save ploughing; the clod-crushers and scarifiers; the drills; the horse-hoes; the threshing and winnowing machines; the turnip-cutters and chaff-cutters; the draining ploughs and drain-tile machines. The application of machinery and chemical science to the production of food has produced results as important as in any other branch of manufacture, under which term we must now include the modern achievements of the spirited farmer.

The limited economical observation of the author of "The Farmer's Boy," suggested a lament that "London market, London price," influenced the production of his county; that "dairy produce throngs the eastern road;" that along that highway were travelling

> "Delicious veal and butter, every hour,
> From Essex lowlands and the banks of Stour;
> And further far, where numerous herds repose,
> From Orwell's brink, from Waveney or Ouse."

Thirty years later, William Cobbett, who from his farm at Botley sent the earliest lambs to the London market, expressed his rabid indignation that the fat oxen of Wilts were "destined to be devoured in the Wen"—his favourite name for the metropolis.‡ The demagogue knew full well that the demand of the markets of London, and of other great cities, gave the natural impulse to the productiveness of the country; and that the greater part of "the primest of human food" was not there devoured by "tax-eaters and their base and prostituted followers." The profits derived in the olden time from Essex calves furnished the capital whose gradual increase gave Essex land-owners and farmers the means of draining their marshes, and of rescuing land from the sea. "It argueth the goodness of flesh in this county, and that great gain was got formerly by the sale thereof, because that so many stately monuments were erected anciently therein for butchers—inscribed *carnifices* in their epitaphs."§ Essex veal preserves its reputation, and so Essex oysters.

* "Eastern Tour," vol. ii. p. 498.
† *Ibid.*, p. 212.
‡ "Rural Rides," 1830, p. 534.
§ Fuller's "Worthies."

Essex saffron is a thing of the past, though its former celebrity lingers in the name of Saffron Walden. The use of saffron as a condiment in food has long been at an end; its value as a medicine is very equivocal. We now import the small quantity of saffron that we consume. The husbandry books of a century ago contain the most elaborate directions for its cultivation upon a large scale. Coriander, and carroway, and canary are extensively grown in the clay district of Essex;* but the good roads, the coast navigation, and the vicinity to London give this county the full power to maintain its old superiority in producing the great staples of human food.

Several of the South-Midland counties have their records and traditional traces of old modes of husbandry, and of their accompanying manners, which strikingly contrast with the course of modern improvement.

Buckinghamshire had an ancient reputation for fertility. "A fruitful country, especially in the Vale of Aylesbury," says Fuller. Arthur Young journeyed through this famous Vale a hundred and ten years after Fuller wrote, and found the husbandry almost as bad as the land is good. The wheat crops only yielded fifteen bushels per acre; the barley crops sixteen bushels. The poverty of the crops is chiefly imputed to the want of draining. Young expresses his surprise that the landlords have made no attempt at inclosing. "All this Vale would make as fine meadows as any in the world."† It was very long before this county discovered that open fields, and large tracts of waste capable of cultivation, presented effectual barriers to improvement.‡ Nevertheless, many of the wastes of the Chilterns could not be profitably cultivated. But the long ranges of hills covered with beech—such as were the indigenous growth of the chalk in the earliest times—are picturesque to ride beneath, recalling the memory of Hampden and the stout yeomen who chose to fight rather than be taxed out of their liberty. Buckinghamshire is finding uses for the beech, in manufacturing cheap chairs, at the rate of a thousand a day, at High Wycombe and the neighbourhood. She is using up her resources, and getting rid of her nuisances;—administering the relief of the poor so as not to drive land out of cultivation; and extirpating the game, instead of having a fertile county little better than a large preserve, especially as it was once in one ducal domain.§ The county has discovered that large dairy-farms are better than wheat crops of fifteen bushels per acre. Butter is now produced here as a great manufacture. It is held that there are 120,000 acres in Buckinghamshire devoted to dairying, on which, with the aid of some arable land, 30,000 cows are kept, producing annually the almost incredible amount of 6,000,000 lbs. of butter, chiefly sent to the London market by railway. It was stated before the Aylesbury Railway Committee that 800,000 ducks were reared in the county, for the early supply of the all-devouring metropolis—a possible exaggeration. Butter and ducks will never want a ready market and command a fair price. The old Buckinghamshire trade of pillow-lace making—the "bone-lace" of former times—leaves "the free maids" to the miserable pittance of sixpence for a day's labour.

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. v. p. 39.
† "Eastern Tour," vol. i. p. 23.
‡ "Journal of Agricultural Society," vol. xvi. p. 306. § *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Oxfordshire cultivation was, a century ago, somewhat below the average of the inland counties. Its progress has not been very remarkable. The chief bar to improvement was the existence of large tracts as common field. There were few wastes. The culture of green crops and root crops has gone on, though not very rapidly. The farm buildings are generally old and inconvenient; the implements are of old fashion; the occupation roads are execrable. The large farmers are described as intelligent and industrious; but not so spirited or progressive as the tenantry of some other counties. The lesser yeomen too often "crawl on in the same track their ancestors jogged over a century ago." They have inherited the prejudices of former times, with their sterling qualities of industry and hospitality.*

Fuller exults that his native county of Northampton has "as little waste ground as any county in England—no mosses, meres, fells, heaths." It was a county full of "spires and squires"—a grass country, where fox-hunting was carried to perfection by its resident gentry, and its graziers grew rich without much pains of cultivation. Arthur Young grows almost poetical in his contemplation of the large grazing farms. "The quantity of great oxen and sheep is very noble. It is very common to see from forty to sixty oxen and two hundred sheep in a single field, and the beasts are all of a fine large breed. This effect is owing in no slight degree to the nature of the country, which is wholly composed of gentle hills, so that you look over many hundred acres at one stroke of the eye, and command all the cattle feeding in them, in a manner nobly picturesque." † But in this bright picture there is a dark shade. The fine grass on the excellent soil is over-run with thistles, and is full of ant-hills; none of its wet places are drained; one-eighth of the whole is really waste land. The great improver exhorts the Northamptonshire farmers to get rid of rushes, ant-hills, thistles (which were regularly mown), nettles, "and all the et cæteras of slovenliness." ‡ The arable husbandry was little better. The light land was considered only fit to grow rye—soils which now yield abundant crops of wheat. Common fields, with all their evils, were almost universal. Their general inclosure has made some local terms obsolete, such as "balk,—a narrow slip of grass dividing two ploughed or arable lands in open or common fields;" and "meer,—a strip or slip of grass land, which served as a boundary to different properties." § As late as 1806, some tracts continued in this state of imperfect cultivation. In a Report of that year on the farming of the county, a celebrated locality is thus described: "From Welford, through Naseby, the open field extensive, and in as backward a state as it could be in Charles the First's time, when the fatal battle was fought." Naseby field, according to Young, contained six thousand acres. The miserable farm-buildings of the days when "the master" always sat in his "long settle" in the kitchen (which was called "the house"), have survived in many places to our days; small barns and stabling, ill-contrived yards, no capacity for stall-feeding, with the horse-pond ready to receive all the soluble parts of the manure. ‖ In some grazing districts there has been retrogression instead of improvement. The land has

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. xv.
† "Eastern Tour," vol. i. p. 54. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 62.
§ Baker, "Northamptonshire Glossary."
‖ "Journal of Agricultural Society," vol. xiii. p. 86.

been let in large quantities to non-resident occupiers, who have pulled down the cottages and farm premises, and only set up a few cow-houses or shelter hovels. The sheep-shearing festivities, with the beechen bowl filled with furmety, are at an end; the worsted-spinners are no longer to be found in the villages, drinking tea twice a day, which custom Young much deplores. The farmer still hires his servants at the "stattie" (statute fair), and some of the ancient holidays are kept up. But the old genial intercourse between the farmer and his labourers has been too much destroyed by a system which fears to provide sufficient cottage accommodation, through the baneful influence of the Law of Settlement. The repeal, in 1775, of the Act of Elizabeth against building cottages, which Act the legislators of George III. truly said "laid the industrious poor under great difficulties to procure habitations," was insufficient to remove the rate-payers' jealousy of parochial burthens; and that jealousy has produced an amount of misery and demoralization which cannot be too quickly remedied.

The improvements of Bedfordshire are intimately associated with the exertions of Francis, duke of Bedford. He laboured at Woburn to accomplish results similar to those which Mr. Coke produced at Holkham. Burke, in his famous "Letter to a Noble Lord," tells the duke that his landed possessions "are more extensive than the territory of many of the Grecian republics; and they are without comparison more fertile than most of them." These possessions, says the rhetorician, are irresistibly inviting to an agrarian experiment. "Hitherto they have been wholly unproductive to speculation; fitted for nothing but to fatten bullocks, and to produce grain for beer." The sans-culotte carcase-butchers and the philosophers of the shambles are regarding his Grace as they would a prize-ox; "their only question will be that of their Legendre, or some other of their legislative butchers, how he cuts up? how he fattens in the caul or on the kidneys?" These bitter sarcasms upon the duke of Bedford's political opinions cannot be adequately understood except as having reference to his enthusiastic labours for the improvement of the land, and of the stock that fed upon it. Burke did not despise such pursuits. He was himself an agricultural improver. Young saw him experimenting on carrots at his farm at Beaconsfield, and says, "Buckinghamshire will be much indebted to the attention this manly genius gives to husbandry." What the great commoner was doing upon a small scale, the no less patriotic nobleman was accomplishing on a large scale. In his early time two-thirds of Bedfordshire were in common field; a third of the arable land was under a dead fallow every year; the part under crop was wofully damaged by water; the meagre-looking sheep were often swept off in entire flocks by the rot; the neat cattle were of no distinct breed; the farm-implements were of the rudest kind. "No one that lived in or near the times of the duke of Bedford, can be ignorant of the efforts which that nobleman put forth to arouse the torpor-stricken agriculturists of his day." The duke did not, like his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Coke, live to see the triumphs of improved farming; by which, according to the Report from which we quote,* "there are scores of farms now producing 50 per cent.

* Mr. Bennett on the Farming of Bedfordshire—"Royal Agricultural Journal," vol. xviii. p. 26.

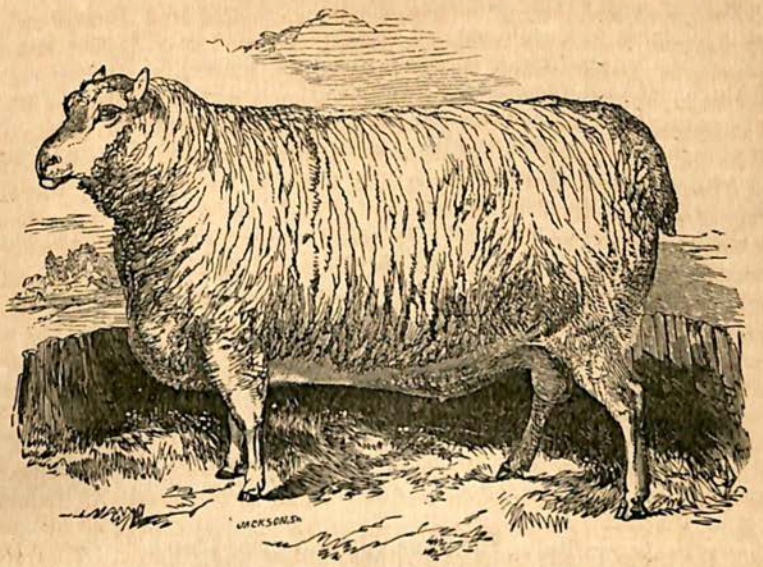
more corn than in 1794, and supplying the metropolitan markets with a stone of meat for every pound supplied at the former period."

The great agricultural reformers who succeeded lord Townshend, the introducer of the turnip-husbandry, came at a period when Robert Bakewell, a yeoman of Leicestershire, held levees in his kitchen at Dishley, of the greatest in rank, and the most eminent in science, who came to learn his new art of producing breeds of sheep and oxen that would fatten the most readily, and be the most valuable when fat. With regard to oxen, "the old notion," says Young, "was, that where you had much and large bones, there was plenty of room to lay flesh on; and accordingly the graziers were eager to buy the largest horned cattle." Bakewell maintained that the smaller the bones the truer will be the make of the beast, the fattening quicker, and the weight would give a larger proportion of valuable meat. The proportion of value to the cost of production was the real question. He applied the same principle to sheep,—that of fattening on the most valuable part of the body.* When Paley was told that Bakewell could lay on the flesh of his sheep wherever he chose, the blunt divine said it was "a lie." His art really was to deduce, from a series of observations on many beasts, a knowledge of the peculiar make in which they all agreed in fattening readily, or the contrary.† Bakewell's mode of management was as peculiar as his wonderful inductive skill in accomplishing the improvement of breeds. He made all his cattle docile. He trained bulls to be as gentle as horses under Rarey. They stood still in the fields to be examined. "A lad, with a stick three feet long, and as big as his finger, will conduct a bull away from other bulls, and his cows from one end of the farm to the other. All this gentleness is merely the effect of management; and the mischief often done by bulls is undoubtedly owing to practices very contrary, or else to a total neglect." ‡ To Robert Bakewell, independently of his merit as the founder of the famous breed of Leicester sheep, is to be ascribed the great impulse which raised the occupation of the grazier into an art. This progress, concurrent with the turnip husbandry, the general improvement in the cultivation of arable land, and the conversion of barren sands and drowned fens into rich corn-bearing districts, has enabled the supply of an improved quality of meat constantly to keep pace with the increase of population. The population has trebled since the days when the Dishley yeoman gave lectures upon stock, to peers who desired to learn, and to farmers who came to sneer, as he smoked his pipe in his great chimney corner, or walked over his fields in his brown coat, red waistcoat, leather breeches, and top-boots. The average weight of the ox and the sheep has been doubled since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The number produced has increased in a greater ratio. In 1732 there were seventy-six thousand cattle, and five hundred thousand sheep sold at Smithfield; in 1770, eighty-six thousand cattle, and six hundred and fifty thousand sheep; in 1859, two hundred and sixty thousand cattle, and a million and a half of sheep.

The consumption of animal food in England has always been a matter of

* Young, "Eastern Tour," vol. i. pp. 110 to 134.
† Whateley—See "Quarterly Review," vol. ciii. p. 396.
‡ "Eastern Tour," vol. i. p. 113.

surprise to foreigners. An intelligent Frenchman, M. Grosley, who came to this country in 1765, speaks of the large export of grain, under the bounty-



Leicester Sheep.

system, as exciting his astonishment, being compared with the extent of cultivation. "In the counties of England through which I travelled, upon my way either to London, Oxford, or Portsmouth, I saw scarce anything but commons, meadows, large parks, wilds, heaths, and very little arable land." He considers the land leased by rich farmers to be well cultivated. "Nevertheless," he continues, "it is not so much the plentifulness of the harvests, as the small consumption of corn by the English, which enables them to export a great quantity of corn. In fact, six or seven ounces of bread are sufficient for the daily subsistence of an Englishman; and that even among the lower sort. They, properly speaking, live chiefly upon animal food." * M. Grosley saw the Londoners eating two or three thin slices of bread and butter with their tea at breakfast; and he says of their bread-eating capacity, "what would be scarce enough for a Frenchman of an ordinary appetite would suffice three hungry Englishmen." † He had not seen the labourers of the South eating their rye-bread with their hard cheese, and rarely tasting animal food; nor those of the North, satisfied with their oat-meal feast of crowdie or parritch. It was estimated, upon the most careful inquiry, at the beginning of the reign of George III., that not more than one half of the people were fed on wheaten bread; ‡ and therefore the ordinary consumption of the fine bread of London would supply no criterion of the general use of coarser bread in the country districts. Rye bread, barley bread, and oat-cake, supplied the usual food of the rural population. Notwithstanding this limitation of the consumption of wheat, the increasing

* "Tour to London," translated by Nugent, vol. i. p. 139. † *Ibid.*, p. 69.
‡ Eden's "State of the Poor," vol. i. p. 562.

numbers of the people could not have been adequately fed without an extension of the area of cultivation. Even after the American war, the quantity of uncultivated land, and the indifferent husbandry, were manifest to the foreigner who could see and compare. Jefferson came here in 1786, and he thus writes from France to a friend in America: "I returned here but three or four days ago, after a two months' trip to England. I traversed that country much; and own, both town and country fell short of my expectations. Comparing it with this, I found a much greater proportion of barrens; a soil in other parts not naturally so good as this; not better cultivated, but better manured, and therefore more productive." *

There can be no more interesting feature in the progress of our country than that of the conversion of its "barrens" into fertile fields. The steady as well as rapid course of this great change is strikingly illustrated in the agricultural county of Cambridge. It contains about 536,000 acres of land. In 1794, 112,500 acres were fens, commons, and sheep-walks. In 1806, 63,000 of these wastes had been inclosed and cultivated. In 1846 only 10,000 of these "barrens" remained uninclosed, and of these, 5000 were mown and fed in the summer.† The Isle of Ely, the fen district, is that which offers the most remarkable example of improvement. The subject of the fen cultivation of Cambridgeshire may be treated in common with that of the neighbouring county of Lincoln.

Since Richard de Rulos, eight hundred years ago,—being "a person much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and who took great delight in the multitude of his cattle and sheep"—embanked the river Welland, and "out of sloughs and bogs accursed formed quite a pleasure garden,"‡ there have been many generations of improvers, labouring in the Great Level of the Fens, with the same laudable objects. They have succeeded, as all persevering work will succeed, in spite of opposing obstacles, whether of the forces of nature or the prejudices of man. This great morass extended from Cambridge to Lincoln; and was inhabited in the time of Elizabeth by men who walked upon stilts, fishing and fowling, and keeping a little stock upon the hay which they secured out of the fat grass when the streams had retired under the summer drought. In the reign of Elizabeth, and in that of James I., several attempts were made to bring a part of this district under cultivation. In 1630 the undertaking was vigorously set about by Francis earl of Bedford; and a company of adventurers was formed who undertook to drain the land, having ninety-five thousand acres for their recompense. The men who walked upon stilts were indignant at these innovations, which threatened to exterminate the wild ducks which they cherished as more profitable than sheep or oxen; and they destroyed the drainage works, in a true conservative spirit. The district upon which these incorporated adventurers worked was called the Bedford Level, in honour of the nobleman who was the great encourager of the undertaking. They engaged Cornelius Vermuyden, a Dutch engineer, as the director of the works. They embanked the Welland river, the Nene river, and the Ouse. They made deep cuts, of sufficient length to obtain the name of rivers. The Lincolnshire fens were undertaken to be drained by other companies, about the same period. Various local Acts were passed, and the

* Tucker, "Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 225.

† "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. vii. p. 35. ‡ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 197.

work went on, more or less prosperously. But the waters sometimes broke down the embankments, and scientific engineering, with all the powers of the giant steam, was not applied till very recent times. Mr. Pusey considers that "though the body of stagnant water was greatly reduced, still it was not subdued, so that the fen land was worth little, even when George III. came to the throne." * In 1800 it was stated that more than 300,000 acres in Lincolnshire suffered, on an average, a loss of 300,000*l.* a year for want of an efficient drainage. Mr. Rennie looked upon the wide waste with the comprehensive glance of science, and saw that the outfall to the sea was not sufficient to carry off both the waters of the low lands, and of the rising slope which surrounded the whole margin of the Fen. He made a separate channel to carry off the upland waters. The great invention of Watt pumped but the water into the artificial rivers, instead of the feeble wind-mills that did the work imperfectly in the eighteenth century, a plan first introduced in the reign of George I. The whole land has been made dry. Districts growing nothing but osiers, three feet deep in water, and reeds filled with water-fowls; watery deserts of sedge and rushes, inhabited by frogs and bitterns—these now bear splendid crops of corn. Sheep are no longer carried to islets of rank pasture in flat-bottomed boats; cows are no longer turned out of their hovels, to forage for a morsel of food, swimming rivers and wading up to their middles. The cattle were as wretched as the wild inhabitants of the isolated huts to whom they belonged.† "Since the drainage of the Fens numerous villages have sprung up where previously was nothing but a watery waste, without house or inhabitant, and several of the bordering towns have doubled their population." ‡ The effect of these vast changes upon the health of the people of this district, seventy miles in length, and from twenty to forty miles in breadth, is no less important than the additions they have made to the productive power of the country.

The fens of Lincolnshire are not the only portions of that great county which have been reclaimed from barrenness to fertility. On a sunny November morning of 1842, Mr. Pusey, having journeyed through a high level tract from Sleaford towards Lincoln, stood under a tall column by the road side, about four miles from Lincoln, on which it is recorded that it was erected for the public utility in the year 1751. That column, says the great agricultural reformer, "was a land lighthouse," built "as a nightly guide for travellers over the dreary waste which still retains the name of Lincoln Heath, but is now converted into a pattern of farming." The district over which he had passed was "a cultivated exuberance" such as he had never seen before. Thousands after thousands of long-woolled sheep were feeding in netted folds upon the most luxuriant turnips. Every neatly built farm-house, with its spacious courts, was surrounded with abundant ricks. And yet the farms were not large; the land showed no marks of natural fertility. Most justly does Mr. Pusey say, "This Dunston pillar, lighted no longer time back for so singular a purpose, did appear to me a striking witness of the spirit and industry which in our own days have reared the thriving homesteads around it, and spread a mantle of teeming vegetation to its very base."

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iv. p. 290.
† *Ibid.*, vol. xii. p. 306 ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Beyond Dunston pillar, he continued to see the same "beautiful farms" till he reached Lincoln. Passing through the Roman arch, he travelled by the old Ermine street for twenty miles, along North Lincoln Heath, where similar neat inclosures, heavy turnip crops, numerous flocks, spacious farm-buildings, and crowded corn-ricks, met his gaze. Through the whole day he saw to the right a long range of hills running parallel to the Heath, from south to north. These were the Wolds of Lincolnshire, where the same high farming prevailed. "This vast tract of hill land had been redeemed, like the Heath, from nearly equal desolation within living memory." About 1760, Arthur Young saw this great district of the Wolds, and writes, "it was all warren for thirty miles, from Spilsby to Caistor." In 1799 he beholds great improvement. "By means of turnips and seeds there are now at least twenty sheep kept to one there before." But there were then still many miles of waste on the same range of hills; and the farmers said the land was "good for nothing but rabbits." This district, nearly as large as the county of Bedford, has now been added to the corn-land of England.*

In the county of Nottingham, Arthur Young saw little to admire. The quantity of good land which was in an improved state of culture was small, in comparison of the lands which were almost uncultivated. These light soils were called "forest land," being part of the vast tract of the old forest of Sherwood.† In 1794, when a Report of the Agriculture of this county was published, the greater portion was still a sandy waste, divested, for the most part, of its ancient oaks, and no longer affording covert to the stag and the roe—no longer the hunting ground which would suggest memories of Robin Hood and his merry men. In the time of Camden, the woods were much thinner than of old. Few uncleared spots now remain. But half a century ago Sherwood Forest presented nothing but desolation. "As the forest was cleared of its stately trees it was left one wide waste, so naturally sterile, as scarcely to have the power of clothing itself with the scantiest vegetation; even in the present day some districts remain which bear testimony to its former sterility." But art has triumphed over nature. Where only rabbits once browsed, large flocks of sheep are now fed. The gorse and the fern have been driven out by the turnip and the alternate wheat crops. The introduction of the Swede turnip has mainly produced the improved farming of Nottinghamshire. At the extreme northern part of the county, six thousand acres of bog-land, called "The Cars," were attempted to be reclaimed about the beginning of the century. The success of the effort was very imperfect. The difficulty of drainage threatened again to throw the morass out of cultivation. The steam-engine at last effected what drains without its aid could not accomplish.‡

The agriculture of Derbyshire has derived its great impulse from the progress of the cotton manufacture. The first cotton-mill was established upon the Derwent, at Cromford, near Matlock, by Arkwright. The streams of this beautiful county were soon employed in driving the spindles of the

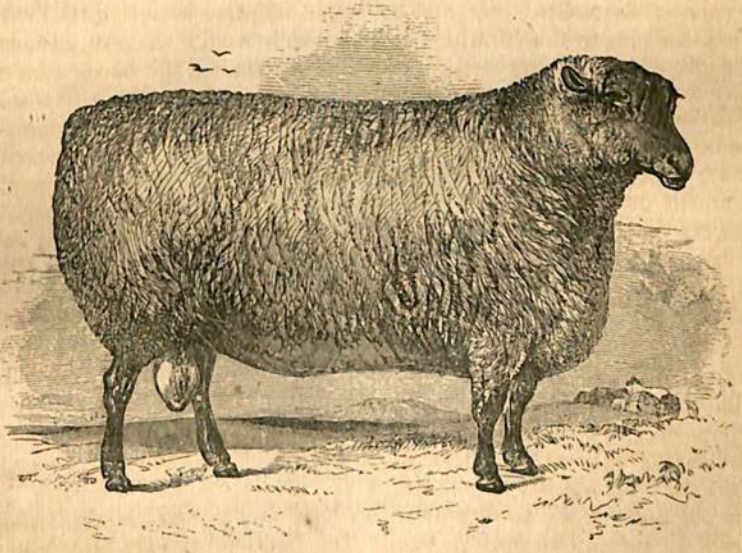
* See Mr. Pusey's most interesting paper in "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iv. p. 287.

† "Eastern Tour," vol. i. p. 427.

‡ "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. vi.

spinning frame. Large factories were established in rural districts. The new population gave a stimulus to the industry of the cultivator. "Agriculture and manufactures joined hands." *

Our glance at the rural economy of the South-Eastern Counties must be very rapid. Surrey has made no remarkable strides in improvement. Its "barrens" are probably now more extensive than in any other county of southern England. The mutton of Banstead Downs used to be famous; but a great landowner of that district says that this Common, as well as Walton Heath, not now worth 3*d.* or 4*d.* an acre, would be worth 14*s.* an acre if inclosed.† We should, perhaps somewhat selfishly, grudge this gain; for round a metropolis of three millions of people we want the old wide breathing-spaces. Middlesex is described in the Agricultural Survey of 1798, as abounding in Commons, the constant rendezvous of gipsies and strollers, and the resort of footpads and highwaymen. Finchley Common and Hounslow Heath were, at the end of the last century, the terror of all travellers. Gibbets, by the way-side, told their horrible tale of the absence of prevention and the ineffectiveness of punishment. The grass farms to the north of London were the admiration of Arthur Young in 1770. Enfield Chase, a vast useless tract of fine land, he regarded as a nuisance. East Kent, and the Isle of Thanet, have the admiration of this excellent judge: "This tract of country has long been reckoned the best cultivated in England, and it has no



South Down Ram.

slight pretensions to that character. Their drill-husbandry is most peculiar; it must astonish strangers to find such numbers of common farmers, that have more drilled crops than broad-cast ones, and to see them so familiar

* "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society," vol. xiv. † *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 307

with drill-ploughs and horse-hoes.*" Gray, in 1766, was surprised at the beauty of the road to Canterbury. "The whole country is a rich and well cultivated garden; orchards, cherry grounds, hop grounds, intermixed with corn and frequent villages." † Arthur Young enters Sussex in a pleasant mood. The roads from Rye to Hawkhurst were good; the villages numerous, with neat cottages and well-kept gardens. He speaks as if such a sight were rare: "One's humanity is touched with pleasure to see cottages the residence of cheerfulness and content." ‡. The iron furnaces of wooded Sussex were not then superseded by the coal of the midland districts. The Downs then carried that breed of sheep whose value has never been impaired. The Isle of Wight did not disappoint his expectation of finding "much entertainment in excellent husbandry." Of the New Forest, that vast tract which has so long been suffered to run to waste, under the pretence of furnishing a supply of oak for the navy, Arthur Young said, what many have since repeated, "there is not a shadow of a reason for leaving it in its present melancholy state." Much of the picturesqueness which Gilpin described is gone. The hundreds of hogs, under the care of one swineherd, led out to feed on the beech-mast during the "pawnage month" of October, no longer excite the wonder of the pedestrian. Some of the old romance of Hampshire has also vanished. The deer-stealers of the time of George I., known as the Waltham Blacks,—for whose prevention a special statute was made,§ —were not quite extinct in the days of Gilbert White. They are gone, with the Wolmer Forest and Waltham Chase that tempted their depredations.

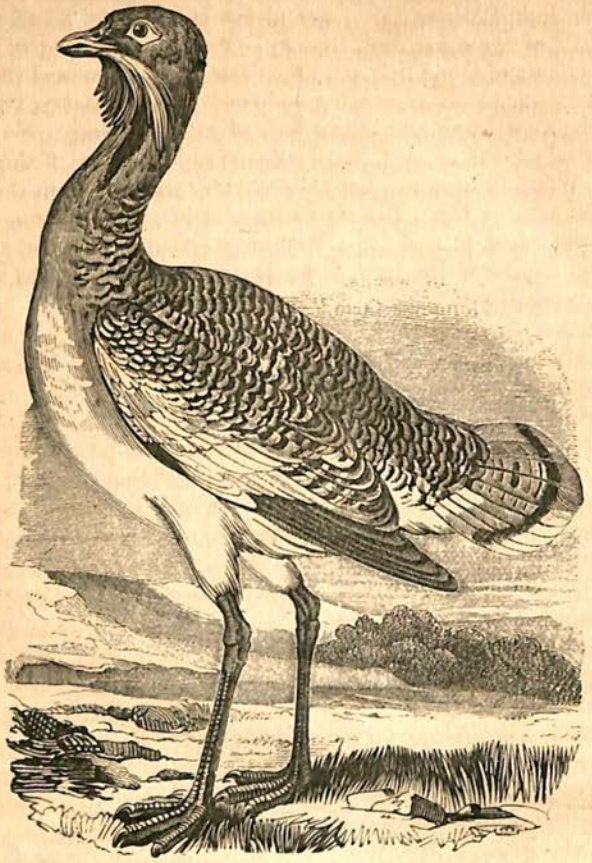
In Berkshire, the king was setting a good example to the agricultural portion of his subjects, and earning the honourable name of "Farmer George." In the Great Park of Windsor he had his "Flemish Farm," and his "Norfolk Farm." He was a contributor to Young's "Annals of Agriculture," under the signature of "Ralph Robinson." Meanwhile the Forest of Windsor exhibited one of the many examples of a vast tract wholly neglected or imperfectly cultivated. It comprised a circuit of fifty-six miles, containing twenty-four thousand acres of uninclosed land. It was not till 1813 that an Act of Parliament was passed for its inclosure. Much of this district was that desolate tract of sand, known as Bagshot Heath and Easthampstead Plain; but very large portions, where only fern and thistles grew, were capable of cultivation. Much has been turned into arable; more has been devoted to the growth of timber, under the direction of the Office of Woods and Forests. Vast plantations have been formed of oak and fir; plains, where a large army might have manœuvred fifty years ago, are covered with hundreds of thousands of vigorous saplings; heaths, where a few straggling hawthorns used to be the landmarks of the traveller, are now one sea of pine. The farms, scattered about the seventeen parishes of the Forest, were small. The cultivation was of a very unscientific character. The manners of the farmers and their in-door labourers were as primitive as their turf fires. This obsolete homeliness is as rare now as the thymy fragrance of the thin smoke that curled out of the forest chimneys. The large kitchen, where the master and mistress dwelt in simple companionship with their men and

* "Eastern Tour," vol. iii. p. 108.
‡ "Eastern Tour," vol. iii. p. 125.
† Letter to Wharton.
§ 21 Geo. I.

their maidens; the great oaken-table which groaned with the plentiful Sunday dinner—the one dinner of fresh meat during the week; the huge basins of milk and brown bread for the ploughman and the carter and the plough-boy before they went a-field; the cricket after work in summer, and the song and chorus in the common room as the days grew short—these are pleasant to remember amidst the other changed things of a past generation. "The scenes which live in my recollection can never come back; nor is it fitting that they should. With the primitive simplicity there was also a good deal of primitive waste and carelessness. Except in the dairy, dirt and litter were the accompaniments of the rude housekeeping. The fields were imperfectly cultivated; the headlands were full of weeds. I have no doubt that all is changed, or the farm would be no longer a farm." *

* "Once upon a Time," by Charles Knight.

The Bittern.



The Great Bustard.

CHAPTER II.

Agricultural condition of the South Western Counties—Wiltshire—Dorsetshire—Devonshire—Somersetshire—Cornwall—Wales—The West Midland Counties—The North Midland—Yorkshire—Improvers of the Moors—James Croft, an agricultural collier—Northern Counties—Durham—Northumberland—Westmorland—The Lake District—Agricultural condition of Scotland—The Lothians—Sheep flocks—Ayrshire—Burns—Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire—North-western parts—Agricultural condition of Ireland—The potatoe cultivation.

CONFINING, for the present, our general view of the remaining moiety of England to its pastoral and agricultural condition before the end of the eighteenth century, we proceed to the South Western, the West Midland, the North Western, and the Northern counties; also including Wales. Those divisions of the country contained a population of about two millions and a

half at the end of the seventeenth century; of four millions and a half at the end of the eighteenth century; and of ten millions and a half at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century. Such quadrupling of the population in the course of a hundred and fifty years is an evidence of the direction of productive labour to manufacturing and commercial industry, in particular districts having an extraordinary command of raw material. We have indicated the partial growth of such employments in the reign of Anne and of George I.* We shall have to show their greater expansion in the first half of the reign of George III. But we desire first to exhibit, during the latter period, how the rapid growth of a trading population was stimulating the employment of capital in the rural districts; and, above all, what a vast field existed for its employment in the direction of science and labour to the neglected tracts and imperfect cultivation of a country capable of a wonderful enlargement of its fertility. In this rapid sketch we shall add an equally brief glance at Scotland and Ireland.

William Cobbett, who had an intense enjoyment of rural life, and a power of expressing his pleasure which almost rises into poetry, says he would rather live and farm amongst the Wiltshire Downs, "than on the banks of the Wye in Herefordshire, in the vale of Gloucester, of Worcester, or of Evesham, or even in what the Kentish men call their garden of Eden." He looks with rapture upon the "smooth and verdant downs in hills and valleys of endless variety as to height and depth and shape;" he rejoices in beholding, as he rides along on a bright October morning, the immense flocks of sheep, going out from their several folds to the downs for the day, each having its shepherd and each shepherd his dog. He saw two hundred thousand South-down sheep at Weyhill-fair, brought from the down-farms of Wiltshire and Hampshire.† But upon these down-farms he was surprised to see very large pieces of Swedish and white turnips. The pastoral district was then, some thirty years ago, becoming agricultural. At the present time "the rapid extension of tillage over these high plains threatens before long to leave but little of their original sheep-walks."‡ When the mallard was the chief tenant of the fens, and the bittern of the marshes, large flocks of great bustards ranged over the Wiltshire downs, running with exceeding swiftness, and using their ostrich-like wings to accelerate their speed. They usually fled before the sportsman and the traveller; but they have been known to resent intrusion upon their coverts of charlock or thistles, attacking even a horseman. Wesley, in his "Account of John Haine," one of his enthusiastic followers, relates what was supposed to be a supernatural appearance to reprove the poor man for a paroxysm of religious frenzy. "He saw, in the clear sky, a creature like a swan, but much larger, part black, part brown, which flew at him, went just over his head, and lighting on the ground, at about forty yards' distance, stood staring upon him." The apparition is explained by the author of the "Life of Wesley," to have been a bustard; and he quotes a relation by sir Richard Hoare, of two instances, in 1805, of the bustard attacking a man and a horse. The author of "Ancient Wiltshire" says, that a report of these incidents in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1805, "is probably the last record we

* *Ante*, vol. v. chap. i. and ii.

† "Rural Rides."

‡ "Quarterly Review," vol. ciii. p. 135

shall find of the existence of this bird upon our downs."* The bustard has now utterly disappeared. He stalks no longer where the furrow has been drawn.

Wiltshire is said not to be remarkable in our time for a very high standard of farming. Aubrey says, of England generally, before the year 1649, when experimental philosophy was first cultivated by a club at Oxford, that it was thought not to be good manners for a man to be more knowing than his neighbours and forefathers. "Even to attempt an improvement in husbandry, though it succeeded with profit, was looked upon with an ill eye."† He applies this character more particularly to Wiltshire. "I will only say of our husbandmen, as sir Thomas Overbury does of the Oxford scholars, that they go *after* the fashion; that is, when the fashion is almost out they take it up: so our countrymen are very late and very unwilling to learn or to be brought to new improvements." The late Mr. Britton, a Wiltshire man, who edited Aubrey's "Natural History," and wrote a memoir of him, says, "In the days of my own boyhood, nearly seventy years ago, I spent some time at a solitary farmhouse in North Wiltshire, with a grandfather and his family, and can remember the various occupations and practices of the persons employed in the dairy, and on the grazing and corn lands. I never saw either a book or newspaper in the house; nor were any accounts of the farming kept.‡

Dorsetshire, the great county of quarries and of fossil remains—of the Portland stone of which St. Paul's was built, and of the Purbeck marble whose sculptured columns adorn the Temple Church and Salisbury Cathedral—Dorsetshire was eighty years ago a district where agricultural improvements had made little progress. Arthur Young describes its bleak commons, quite waste, but consisting of excellent land; its downs, where sheep were fed without turnip culture; its three courses of corn-crops, and then long seasons of weeds. The Dorsetshire farmers, he implies, held his lessons in contempt, as the warreners and shepherds of Norfolk would have held them half a century before; and would have "smiled at being told of another race arising who should pay ten times their rent, and at the same time make fortunes by so doing." § The downs were not broken up, to any extent, until our own days. The foxes and rabbits have at last been banished from the wastes where a few sheep used to feed amidst the furze and fern. Where one shepherd's boy was kept, five men are now employed. From 1734 to 1769, there had been about five thousand acres inclosed; from 1772 to 1800, about seven thousand acres. During the first half of the eighteenth century, more than fifty thousand acres had been inclosed. ‖ Cranborne Chase, where twelve thousand deer ranged over the lands, and the labourers were systematically poachers, was not inclosed till 1828. The condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry, which was a public reproach, appears to have been essentially connected with "very large tracts of foul land," and with "downs that occupied a large portion of the county." The "mud-walled cottages, composed of road-scrapings and chalk and straw," made the Dorsetshire gentlemen take shame to themselves in 1843; and many set about remedying the

* Southey—"Life of Wesley," vol. ii. p. 124 and p. 192.
† "Natural History of Wiltshire," Preface, edit. 1847. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 103.
§ "Eastern Tour," vol. iii. p. 409.
‖ "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iii. p. 440.

evil, in the conviction that agricultural prosperity and a wretched and demoralized population could not exist together.

Aubrey has an interesting story of the agriculture of the middle of the seventeenth century. "The Devonshire men were the earliest improvers. I heard Oliver Cromwell, Protector, at dinner at Hampton Court, 1657 or 8, tell the lord Arundell of Wardour, and the lord Fitzwilliam, that he had been in all the counties of England, and that the Devonshire husbandry was the best." * In 1848, it is written, "It cannot be denied that the farming of Devon is at the present time inferior to that of most of the counties of England." † And yet a large proportion of the Devonshire population are, as they always have been, agricultural. The quantity of waste land is very great. Dartmoor contains a quarter of a million of acres, about one half of the wastes of Devonshire. The severity of the climate of Dartmoor is attributed as much to the want of drainage as to its great elevation. ‡ Any attempts at cultivating these sterile regions would have been commercially useless in the eighteenth century, when so many fertile districts remained uncultivated. The absolute necessity of supplying the great mining and metal-working population of South Wales with the farm produce that cannot be raised in their own boundaries, may eventually clothe even the barrens of North Devon with fertility. §

Somersetshire presented to Arthur Young a signal instance of neglect in its vast ranges of waste. High land and low land were equally unimproved. Leaving Bridgewater on his road to Bath, he passed "within sight of a very remarkable tract of country called King's Sedgmoor." He described this as a flat black peat bog, so rich that its eleven thousand acres wanted nothing but draining to be capable of the highest cultivation. "At present," he says, "it is so encompassed by higher lands that the water has no way to get off but by evaporation. In winter it is a sea, and yields scarce any food, except in very dry summers." ‖ King's Sedgmoor had probably been little changed since 1685, when Monmouth looked from the top of Bridgewater Church on the royal army encamped in the morass, amidst ditches and causeways, and speculated upon a night march by which he should surprise his enemy. ¶ Much of this moorland is now under arable cultivation, and contains some of the richest grazing-land of the country. ** The Quantock Hills are described by Young as wholly waste; as eighteen thousand acres yielding nothing. This range is now smiling with farms and gentlemen's residences, with woods and plantations. Exmoor, consisting of twenty thousand acres, was crown land, yielding a scanty picking to a few hundred ponies, and summer feed to sheep from neighbouring farms. Even from the time of its inclosure, improvements have been very slowly curtailing the range of the black-cock. The wild stag has not disappeared. A dwindled breed of sheep, kept chiefly for their wool, still occupy the sheep walks. "Sometimes," says Mr. Pusey, "you find a large piece of the best land

* "Natural History of Wiltshire," p. 103, Britton's edit.
† "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. ix. p. 495. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 486.
§ See an interesting paper in "Journal of Bath and West of England Society," vol. xiii. 1860.
‖ "Eastern Tour," vol. iv. p. 13. ¶ *Ante*, vol. iv. p. 395.
** "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol xi. p. 698.

inclosed with a high fence, and you hope that the owner is about to begin tilling his freehold. On the contrary, the object of this improvement is to keep out the only sign of farming, the sheep, and to preserve the best of the

Exmoor Ram.

land (because where the land is best the covert is highest) an undisturbed realm for the black-cock." And yet Mr. Pusey saw that Exmoor consisted in great part of sound land; and a farmer said to him, "here is land enough idle to employ the surplus population of England." Every black-cock, in Mr. Pusey's opinion, had cost more than a full-fed ox.* In Somersetshire the disproportion between the population and the amount of agricultural employment is very great. For every 100 acres in this county there were 41 persons returned in the census of 1841; in Norfolk there were 32 persons, and in Lincoln 22, taking the average of the several counties.†

Of Cornwall, it need only be remarked that its agriculture, at the end of the last century, was a very secondary object. Fishers and miners constituted the great body of the population. At the present time not more than 7 per cent. are agricultural. The farms were small, as they still are, chiefly cultivated by the occupier and his family. Corn crop formerly followed corn crop till the soil would yield no more. The turnip-culture was unknown till 1815. But improvement is making its way against old prejudices; and the Cornish cultivator may in time be as remarkable for intelligence as the Cornish miner.

South Wales, before the war of the French Revolution, grew little corn, and pasturage was the main occupation. The peasantry lived chiefly upon oatmeal and barley-meal. The war came, and corn was grown for export to

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iv. p. 309. † *Ibid.*, vol. xi. p. 754.

England. The iron works and copper works multiplied; and then South Wales in time became an importing district. North Wales was almost exclusively pastoral. The small sheep ran upon the mountains for three or

Welsh Sheep.

four years till they were sold to drovers. The lean black cattle could not be fattened where they grew, but were drafted off to the border fairs. A little tillage gradually mingled with the pasturage; but all the modern system of economizing manures for cereal crops, and of feeding stock with green crops, was utterly unknown. Like the cultivators of most mountainous districts, remote from towns, the farmers and the labourers were equally prejudiced and obstinate in their adherence to old practices. Much of this conceit still abides, with the hard diet, and the coarse home-made frieze, of former days.

The West Midland counties present few, if any, remarkable agricultural features which it may be proper to notice, with the view to mark the contrast between the past and the present. In Gloucestershire the sheep farms upon the Cotswolds, and the dairies in the valley of the Severn, are not peculiar to recent times. Cider and Perry are produced, as of yore. The Gloucestershire farmer planted his beans, and sometimes his wheat, in drills, before drilling-machines were invented. The Gloucestershire labourer, slowly as he moves, has kept that slow movement with his team, like others of the west, from time immemorial. Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, have not started into good cultivation in the course of half a century, but have gone on steadily improving.

One singular example of the slowness with which novel cultivation was extended, and new products were used, has been recorded, by an octogenarian, of his native county of Worcester. The late Mr. Thomas Wright Hill—a man most deservedly venerated in his own day, and whose sons have done service to their country which will not speedily be forgotten—says in an

autobiographical fragment, "My uncle had heard of potatoes"—this was about 1750—"perhaps tasted that root. In any case, however, he procured some seed potatoes from a gentleman's gardener near Bewdley, and planted them in his garden. The plants came up, and gave every promise of an excellent crop; but when the time of potatoe harvest arrived, and the tops were well ripened, my uncle gathered a few of their balls, and to his utter disappointment found them anything but good potatoes." The stems withered during the winter. The spring came; and when the good man dug up his supposed unproductive patch, he found that the plant which Raleigh gave to Devonshire, and which was the common food of Lancashire, was worth cultivating.*

In Warwickshire, the system of under-drainage was discovered accidentally by Joseph Elkington, of Princethorpe, in 1764. His fields were so wet as to rot his sheep. He endeavoured in vain to drain them by a deep trench, but could not effect any real remedy. He was meditating by the side of his drain, when a man passing with a crow-bar, the inquiring farmer took the tool, and forced it three or four feet below the bottom of his trench, with a view of discovering the nature of the sub-soil. Water burst up when he removed the crow-bar, and ran plentifully into the drain. He acted upon the hint, by boring; rendered his own land fertile; and received a reward of a thousand pounds from Parliament for the improvements consequent upon his discovery.† Staffordshire, the country of potteries and collieries, was too rapidly advancing at the end of the last century in manufactures to exhibit great changes in cultivation. Its wastes, in some parts, are still uncultivated. Cannock Chase, a low ridge of thirteen thousand acres, with the Potteries and the fires of Dudley within view, is described by Mr. Pusey as a fertile wilderness, feeding only a few starving sheep, but capable of being brought under the plough.‡

To speak of Lancashire in connection with agriculture may appear like an attempt to "give to Zembla fruits, to Barca flowers." Yet Lancashire was an agricultural county at the period we profess to describe; and its slowly developing manufactures were intimately blended with the occupations of an agricultural population. We shall have to trace the association of the spinning-wheel in the village and the loom in the town, in our next chapter. Meanwhile, before the cotton æra arrived, Southern Lancashire was very imperfectly cultivating the surface of its great coal-fields. The farms were small; the implements rude; the cultivators poor and prejudiced. Chat-Moss was, of course, left to its primeval state of desolation, man scarcely daring to tread where the railway now bears its thundering burthens. The middle district, with the exception of Preston, is wholly agricultural, as it was in the last century. On the north of the Ribble, the hill-farmers are a primitive race, differing little from their grandfathers and great grandfathers. Pasturing their black-faced sheep upon the moors, they care little for the quality of the land. They have no green crops, and no farm-yards for their cows in the winter. Turf is their only fuel, and their chief food is the oat-

* "Remains of T. W. Hill," privately printed, 1859.
† Sinclair's "Code of Agriculture."
‡ "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. iv. p. 310.

cake, baked on the hot hearth. What these cultivators are now may show what they were eighty years ago. We descend into the district called the Fylde, to the north of the Wyre, and we look upon operations which are now as much a modern triumph for Lancashire as the wealth of her factories. The mosses of this district amount to twenty thousand acres. "From a state of perfect sterility, producing nothing but moor-fowl and snipes, they are now being gradually converted into the most productive land of the kingdom." *

Cheshire, like Lancashire, was, for a large portion of the county, in the transition state from agriculture to manufactures, in the middle of the reign of George III. Its rich pastures and its dairy-farms have only been improved in degree, but not in kind. Its arable was imperfectly cultivated, without green crops. One mode of raising the productiveness, both of arable and pasture, was forbidden by a barbarous fiscal policy. The foul or dirtied salt, produced in hundreds of tons by the salt-works of Cheshire, was utterly lost; the heavy duty laid upon refuse salt preventing its use as manure.†

To attempt any minute description of the rural condition of Yorkshire, eighty or ninety years ago, divided as that great county is into three ridings, each having many peculiar characteristics of soil and climate, is far beyond the scope of our imperfect sketch of national progress in this department of industry. The great landed proprietors of the time led the way to that course of improvement which has made Yorkshire as remarkable in agriculture as in manufactures. The marquis of Rockingham, the leader of the Whig party, was more successful as a cultivator than as a politician. But, even around Wentworth House, he had to contend with those obsinate prejudices which beset the rich and noble, as well as the poor and lowly, improver. The marquis had to deal with "a set of men of contracted ideas, used to a stated road, with deviations neither to the right nor left." Arthur Young is not describing legislators, but farmers. "His lordship finding that discourse and reasoning could not prevail over the obstinacy of their understandings, determined to convince their eyes." He showed the agriculturists of the West Riding, in the management of two thousand acres of his own lands, what would be the result of draining, of cultivating turnips properly, of using better implements. "Well, convinced that argument and persuasion would have little effect with the John Trot geniuses of farming he determined to set the example of good husbandry as the only probable means of being successful." ‡

In the East Riding we may trace, in the pages of Arthur Young, the beginnings of that extension of the area of cultivation, which has converted a quarter of a million of acres of almost barren hills—the chalk district of the Wolds—into a country of luxuriant harvests, and of pasture and green crops for innumerable herds and flocks. There was a great improver at work upon these wild moors in 1770. Sir Digby Legard, who resided at Ganton, on the edge of the Wolds, experimented upon five thousand acres of uninclosed

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. x. p. 22.
† Aikin's "Manchester," p. 45.
‡ "Northern Tour," vol. i. pp. 307 to 353.

wold-land near his house. About five hundred acres were in tillage. The land was let at a shilling an acre. The annual value of the corn and wool of the five thousand acres was under 1000*l.*, and they maintained a hundred inhabitants. He was sanguine enough to believe that the same land might, at no great expense, be so cultivated as in a few years to produce a five-fold increase of corn, support twice the number of cattle, and be let at eight times its then rent. Mr. George Legard, in his Prize Essay on the farming of the East Riding, says, "It can be proved that in the very district to which sir Digby Legard refers, the produce of wheat has been doubled, that of oats has been increased five-fold, of barley six-fold; and that wherever skill and capital have been applied to these uncultivated hills, rent has been advanced even as much as twenty-fold." *

Arthur Young rides on, during his Tour, amidst the waste places and the cultivated grounds of Yorkshire, with alternate feelings of regret and of exultation. He passes from Newton by the road "across Hambledon, a tract of country which has not the epithet black given it for nothing; for it is a continued range of black moors, eleven or twelve miles long, and from four to eight broad. It is melancholy to travel through such desolate land, when it is so palpably capable of improvement." † After traversing a vast range of dreary waste, he looks down "upon an immense plain, comprehending almost all Cleveland, finely cultivated, the verdure beautiful." ‡ About Newbigill he sees "many improvements of moors, by that spirited cultivator, the earl of Darlington." On the road from Bowes to Brough, he deplores that, of a line of twelve miles, through a country exhibiting a fine deep red loam, not more than nine miles are cultivated. "It is extremely melancholy to view such tracts of land, that are indisputably capable of yielding many beneficial crops, lie totally waste; while in many parts of the kingdom farms are so scarce and difficult to be procured, that one is no sooner vacant than twenty applications are immediately made for it." § At Swinton, near Masham, where Mr. Danby had a colliery, upon the edge of his vast moor-lands which did not yield him a farthing an acre, Arthur Young saw an example of improvement which showed him of what the land was capable. The proprietor had allowed some of the more industrious of his colliers each to inclose a field out of the moors. Upon one of these humble improvers the agricultural tourist has conferred a fame as truly deserved as that of the Cokes and Bedfords of that age. James Croft, one of the colliers, thirteen years before Young visited the district, began his husbandry by taking an acre of moor. By indefatigable labour he soon raised oats and barley, and obtained fine grass land. He next took eight acres, which he could not cultivate all at once, for the land was full of large stones. But he finally succeeded. When his eulogist saw him he was at work upon eight acres more, attacking the most enormous stones, cutting them in pieces, carrying them away, and then bringing mould to fill the holes up. He had thus brought nine acres into excellent cultivation. He was clearing eight more acres of fresh land, paring and burning, confident of deriving from them an additional support for his family. Had James Croft assistance either of money or

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. ix. p. 95.
† "Northern Tour," vol. ii. p. 98. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 202. § *Ibid.*, p. 206.

labour? He had done everything with his own hands. He had worked in the mine from twelve o'clock at night to the noon of the next day. "From the time of leaving off work in the mine, till that of sleeping, he regularly spent in unremitting labour on his farm." The enthusiasm of Arthur Young on beholding this marvel of industry becomes eloquent: "Such a conduct required a genius of a peculiar cast. Daring in his courage, and spirited in his ideas, the most extensive plans are neither too vast nor too complicated to be embraced with facility by his bold and comprehensive imagination. . . . . The greatest, and indeed the only, object of his thoughts is the improvement of the wilds that surround him, over which he casts an anxious but magnanimous eye, wishing for the freedom to attack, with his own hands, an enemy, the conquest of whom would yield laurels to a man of ample fortune."* Out of such stuff as James Croft was made of, has arisen that wondrous race of enterprising men of the North who—some from beginnings as humble as this cultivator of the moors—have largely contributed to build up the material prosperity of their country; have contended with prejudice, with jealousy, with dishonesty; have been ridiculed as projectors under the once popular nickname of "conjurors;"—the daring men who, whether as creators of canals and railways, inventors of machines, organizers of factories, adventurous merchants, or spirited cultivators, have brought to their tasks the same qualities as James Croft brought—"a penetration that sees the remotest difficulty; a prudence and firmness of mind that removes every one, the moment it is foreseen." †

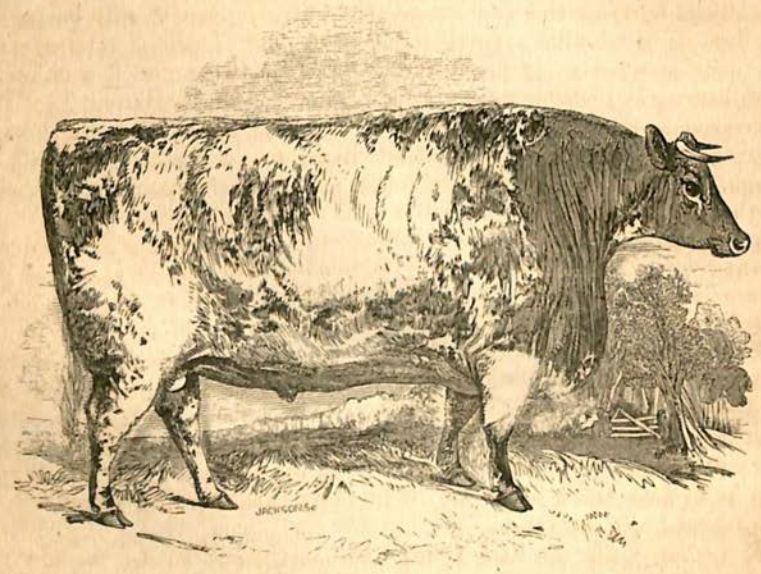
Young says of his agricultural collier, "his ideas are clear and shining; and though his language is totally unrefined and provincial, insomuch that some attention is necessary to comprehend the plainest of his meaning, yet whoever will take the pains to examine him will find him a genius in husbandry." Considerable attention would certainly have been necessary, if the intelligent Yorkshireman had expressed himself, as to the troubles of a Craven cultivator, in what is represented to have been the language of the country at the beginning of the present century. To the question of farmer Giles, "Whear's yawer Tom?" neighbour Bridget thus replies: "He's gaan aboon two howers sin weet fadder to git eldin, nabody knaws how far; an th' gaite fray th' moor is seea dree, unbane, and parlous; Lang Rig brow is seea brant, at they're foarced to stang th' cart; an th' wham, boon t' gill heead, is seea mortal sumpy an soft, at it taks cart up tot knaff ommost iv'ry yerd. Gangin ower some heealdin grund, they welted cart ower yesterday, an brack th' barkum, haams, and two felks." ‡ The author of "The Craven Dialect" says that the inhabitants of this district, pent up by their native mountains, and principally engaged in agricultural pursuits, "had no opportunity of corrupting the purity of their language by the adoption of foreign idioms." He expresses a regret, with which few will sympathize, that, "since the introduction of commerce, and in consequence of that a greater

* "Northern Tour," vol. ii. p. 298. † *Ibid.*, p. 299.

‡ From "The Craven Dialect," 1824, p. 6. The following are from the "Glossary" of this curious volume: *eldin*, fuel; *gaite*, road; *dree*, tedious; *unbane*, distant; *parlous*, perilous; *brant*, steep; *stang*, to put a lever on the wheel; *wham*, bog; *boon*, or *bane*, near; *gill*, glen; *sumpy*, wet; *tot*, the whole; *knaff*, nave; *heealdin*, sloping; *welted*, overturned; *barkum*, collar made of bark; *felks*, felloes of a wheel.

intercourse, the simplicity of the language has, of late years, been much corrupted." The dialect of Craven has taken its departure with the herds of wild white cattle, whose cows hid their young in the ferns and underwood of the wastes of Craven, and whose bulls were hunted by large assemblages of horsemen and their followers on foot, with something of the grandeur of the chase of the middle ages. *

The four Northern Counties have many points of interest, especially in the character of their population. Durham was a very neglected agricultural district in the second half of the last century. "Within a comparatively recent period, a large portion of this county was uninclosed and uncultivated, and lay either in wide tracts of desolate moor, or in more sheltered, though equally neglected, 'stinted pastures.'" † The land under cultivation was universally in want of draining. The farm-yard manures were insufficient, for little stock was kept. The county was indeed famous for a breed of



Durham Ox.

cattle known as the Durham short-horns—animals which were fattened into wonderful size, and were sold at fabulous prices. This breed has been improved into the most esteemed stock of England.

Arthur Young is indignant at the wretched breed of sheep that ranged over the Northumberland moors, in flocks as large as forty thousand, which did not pay for their keep more than a shilling or two per head. The millions of acres of improveable moors he holds to be "as waste as when ravaged by the fury of the Scottish borderers." ‡ Northumberland contained "large districts, which even within the last eighty years were in a state of nature

* Culley, in Bewick's "Quadrupeds."
† "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. xvii. p. 93.
‡ "Northern Tour," vol. iv. p. 337.

covered with broom, furze, or rushes." * It was long after the Union that the inhabitants of this border land acquired settled and industrious habits. But the fertile vales of the northern parts of the county attracted settlers, who soon introduced better cultivation than that of the small crofts which surrounded the miserable farm hovels. The famous agriculturists known everywhere by the name of Culley settled in the district of Glendale in 1767. Their example, and that of other cultivators and breeders, "gave a stimulus to the surrounding district; and in a few years the inexpert operations and languid system of husbandry which had previously prevailed, gave place to others of extraordinary expedition and efficacy." †

When Gray entered Westmorland from Yorkshire, in 1769, he saw a pleasing display of a rural population: "A mile and a half from Brough, on a hill, lay a great army encamped." It was the Brough cattle fair, held on the 29th and 30th of September. "On a nearer approach, appeared myriads of horses and cattle on the road itself; and in all the fields round me, a brisk stream hurrying cross the way;—thousands of clean healthy people in their best parti-coloured apparel, farmers and their families, esquires and their daughters, hastening up from the dales and down the fells on every side, glittering in the sun, and pressing forward to join the throng." ‡ The poet travels on into the heart of the beautiful Lake District. At the village of Grange, near Borrodale, he finds a contrast to the bustle of the fair at Brough. He is entertained by a young farmer and his mother with milk and thin oaten cakes, and "butter that Sisera would have jumped at, though not in a lordly dish." The farmer was a noted man of the district. He was "himself the man that last year plundered the eagle's aiery: all the dale are up in arms on such an occasion, for they lose abundance of lambs yearly." The bold dalesman "was let down from the cliff on ropes to the shelf of rock on which the eagle's nest was built, the people above shouting and hollowing to fright the old birds, which flew screaming round, but did not dare to attack him." The eagles are gone, never to return. Every season, says Miss Martineau, there is a rumour of an eagle having visited some point or another; "but, on the whole, we find the preponderance of belief is against there being any eagle's nest amongst the mountains of Westmorland or Cumberland." §

Poetry has made the Lake District her home; and amidst the glorious mountains, the lakes, and the tarns, will Poetry ever abide. The gifted writer who has added another celebrated name to the illustrious who have delighted here to dwell, has said of a mountainous district, "it is the only kind of territory in which utility must necessarily be subordinated to beauty . . . . Man may come and live, if he likes, and if he can; but it must be in some humble corner, by permission, as it were, and not through conflict with the genius of the place. Nature and beauty here rule and occupy: man and his desires are subordinate, and scarcely discernible." ‖ It was thus, on the slopes of the mountains, or in vales inaccessible, that the Dalesmen, deriving their name from the word *deyler*, which means to distribute, occupied their

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. ii., p. 151. † *Ibid.*, p. 153.
‡ "Journal."
§ "The Land we Live in," vol. ii. p. 235. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

little crofts as tenants of their ecclesiastical or military lord. These were the predecessors of the "statesmen," or "estatesmen," who still survive, though in diminished numbers, struggling with their small skill against the march of agricultural science and the extension of farm holdings. Even nature herself cannot resist this progress. The Kentmere Tarn, by whose shallow waters Bernard Gilpin might have meditated three centuries ago, has been drained in our own day. Wherever corn can be made to spring, the reed and the rush no longer flourish. The social condition of the population is as rapidly changing. The shepherd will still go upon the hills, "into the heart of many thousand mists." His dog will still bring down the flock from heights untrodden by man—that faithful servant, of whom it has been said, "without the shepherd's dog, the mountainous land in England would not be worth sixpence." The occasional Pedlar will still carry his pack to the cottage door. But the whole district has been brought into communication with the outer world; and its inner life has undergone a very marked change. "Book-farming" is no longer held up to ridicule.* Turnips were first grown as a field-crop in the vale of Bassenthwaite, in 1793. Oats are still half the grain crop; but the food of the people is wondrously altered since the time when a wheaten loaf could not be bought in Carlisle, and "it was only a rich family that used a peck of wheat in the course of a year, and that was used at Christmas." † Hemp and flax were grown in small patches for domestic use, the females spinning the flax, and the males plaiting the hemp into cordage, for leather for harness was not used till the end of the last century. "Wonderful Robert Walker," the good curate of Seathwaite, spun the wool out of which the cloth was woven which his wife made up into apparel for themselves and their eight children. But Yorkshire and Lancashire manufactures have banished such thrift. Wordsworth records how the change from hand-labour to machinery intruded itself into Seathwaite: "At a small distance from the parsonage has been erected a mill for spinning yarn. It is a mean and disagreeable object, though not unimportant to the spectator, as calling to mind the momentous changes wrought by such inventions in the frame of society." The spinning wheel went out when drills came in. "About the year 1795, the ancestor of the present Mr. Dixon, of Rucroft or Ruckcroft, in the parish of Ainstable, procured a barrow-drill for sowing his patch of turnips with; and so highly was it esteemed as a saving of labour by himself and his neighbours, that it was lent all round the country, and worked day and night during the season." ‡ The one-horse cart gradually drove out the pack-horse, which the farmer employed to carry his grain to the mill or to the market. Looking from Little Langdale, "a horse road is discerned sloping up the brown side of Wrynose, opposite. This track was once the only traffic-road from Kendal to Whitehaven; and it was traversed by pack-horses." § Not only are the usages of the Lake District changed, but the inhabitants are, in the more beautiful regions, changed from poor cultivators into luxurious gentry; the miserable farm steadings have given

* "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. xiii. p. 225.
† Eden. "History of the Poor," vol. i. p. 564.
‡ "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. xiii. p. 241.
§ "Land we Live in," vol. ii. p. 254.

place to splendid villas. Gray shows us what Grasmere was, ninety years ago: "A white village, with the parish church rising in the midst of it; hanging inclosures, corn fields, and meadows green as an emerald, with their trees, hedges, and cattle; fill up the whole space from the edge of the water. . . . . Not a single red tile, no flaring gentleman's house or garden walls, break in upon the repose of this little unsuspected paradise; but all is peace, rusticity, and happy poverty, in its neatest and most becoming attire."

"We entered Scotland," says Smollett, "by a frightful muir of sixteen miles, which promises very little for the interior parts of the kingdom. . . . . That part of Scotland contiguous to Berwick, nature seems to have intended as a barrier between two hostile nations." In a few hours he sees a plain "covered with as fine wheat as ever I saw in the most fertile parts of South Britain." * This fertility was exceptional. The agriculture of Scotland—even in the Lothians, now models of farming excellence—was in the rudest and almost barbarous state, when George III. came to the throne. East Lothian claims the honour of having led the march of improvement. But in the middle of the last century there was not a single mile of continuous hard road in the district. Grain was carried to market on horseback. The whole county of Haddington, long after the middle of that century, was open field. The tenantry frequently resided together in a cluster of mean houses called a town. Green crops were unknown, and the thistles among the corn were carefully gathered to feed the husbandry horses. The implements were of the rudest kind—"better fitted to raise laughter than to raise mould," according to lord Kaimes, an agricultural improver. The married ploughman was paid, as now, in the produce of the farm; but he received a far less proportion of oats than at the present time, and he had no potatoes in his patch of garden. The only occupation that flourished was that of smuggling.† Such was the agricultural state of the southern shores of the Frith of Forth. The pastoral district of the Lammermuir hills had no improved breeds of sheep till the beginning of the present century.

The beautiful country watered by the Tweed and the Teviot was for the greater part uninclosed seventy years ago. Roxburghshire exhibited the dominion of the plough in irregular and detached patches; the intermediate portions being devoted to grazing cattle, which were put under the charge of a herd, to prevent them trespassing upon the scanty divisions set apart for corn.‡ The produce of wheat was only in the proportion of one-twelfth to that of oats and barley. The great novelist has described Liddesdale as exhibiting "no inclosures, no roads, almost no tillage—a land which a patriarch would have chosen to feed his flocks and herds." He has perhaps somewhat exaggerated the abundance of "Charlie's Hope"—the noble cow-house and its milch-cows, the feeding-house with ten bullocks of the most approved breeds, the stable with two good teams of horses—the appropriate wealth of so worthy a yeoman as "Dandie Dinmont." § Selkirkshire has been rendered familiar to us by "The Ettrick Shepherd," as regards some

* "Humphrey Clinker."
† "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Haddington, p. 375.
‡ "Journal of Royal Agricultural Society," vol. i. p. 105.
§ "Guy Mannering."

aspects of its pastoral life. We see his flock, as he was driving them home, suddenly frightened, scampering over the hills, followed by his dog "Sirrah." A dark night is passed in fruitless search, Hogg and his man wandering over the steeps and dells from midnight till the rising sun. At length, at the bottom of a deep ravine, the faithful colley and his charge are found, not a lamb missing. This is the life which knows little change from one century to another; but time yet brings changes. Hogg laments that the black-faced

Black-faced Scotch Sheep.

"ewie wi' the crooked horn" had been banished from her native hills. Soberer records inform us that the sheep which once covered the Ettrick wastes produced a crop of wool of the coarsest kind, little adapted for manufacture.* The introduction of the Cheviot breed was one of the marks of progress. The management of sheep flocks in Eskdalemuir, the mountain region of Dumfriesshire, attests the innovations of a century. Smollett observes of the sheep which he saw upon the hills, that "their fleeces are much damaged by the tar with which they are smeared, to preserve them from the rot in winter, during which they run wild night and day, and thousands are lost under huge wreaths of snow. 'Tis a pity the farmers cannot contrive some means to shelter this useful animal from the inclemencies of a rigorous climate." † When snow storms of any long continuance came, it was the practice of the farmers of Eskdalemuir to fly with their sheep to Annandale. It was the same in the neighbouring mountain districts, when every part of Nithsdale, Annandale, and the lower part of Eskdale, were filled with them The pastures of the valleys to which the sheep fled are now subdivided and

* "New Statistical Account," Selkirkshire, p. 76.
† "Humphrey Clinker."

inclosed. Better provision is made upon the hills for food and for shelter, and the sheep continue around their own farms.*

The agriculture of Ayrshire, at the accession of George III., was in a rude condition; the arable farms very small, the tenants without capital, the tenure encumbered with services to the landlord. In the parish of Mauchline was the farm of Mosgiel, upon which Burns spent nine years of a life of rural industry. In the neighbouring parish of Tarbolton his father dwelt, on the farm of Lochlee. "The Cotter's Saturday Night" is descriptive of the simple household of the humble cultivator. The Cotter, says Gilbert Burns, was "an exact copy of my father in his manners, his family devotion, and exhortations. He lived with the most rigid economy, that he might be able to keep his children at home, thereby having an opportunity of watching the progress of our young minds, and forming in them early habits of piety and virtue; and from this motive alone did he engage in farming, the source of all his difficulties and distresses." The supper that "crowns their simple board" is

> "The halesome parritch, chief o' Scotia's food."

The mother, "wi' her needle and her sheers,"

> "Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new."

Burns prays that Scotia's "hardy sons of rustic toil" may long be preserved "from luxury's contagion." Smollett describes the peasantry as "on a poor footing all over the kingdom;" and there was then no great distinction between the occupier of a small farm and his "elder bairns, at service out amang the farmers roun'." But Smollett says of this peasantry, "they look better, and are better clothed, than those of the same rank in Burgundy, and many other places of France and Italy; nay, I will venture to say they are better fed, notwithstanding the boasted wine of these foreign countries." They seldom or never taste flesh meat, he adds, nor any kind of strong liquor, except twopenny, at times of uncommon festivity. He describes the breakfast of oat-meal, or peas-meal, eaten with milk; the pottage for dinner composed of kale, leeks and barley; the supper of sowens or flummery of oat-meal. "Some of them have potatoes; and you find parsnips in every peasant's garden. They are clothed with a coarse kind of russet of their own making, which is both decent and warm. They dwell in poor huts, built of loose stones and turf, without any mortar, having a fireplace or hearth in the middle, generally made of an old mill-stone, and a hole at top to let out the smoke. These people, however, are content, and wonderfully sagacious. All of them read the Bible." Out of this poor but acute stock came the poet

> "who walked in glory and in joy,
> Following his plough along the mountain-side."

To judge from his own verse, he must have been as energetic in his labour as "his auld mare, Maggie":

* "New Statistical Account," vol. iv. Dumfriesshire, p. 410.

"Aft thee and I, in aught hours gaun,
In guid March weather,
Hae turn'd sax rood beside our han',
For days thegither."

Sax rood! This is one-half more than was ploughed by the Suffolk "punches." We fear that the unprofitable land of Mosgiel had merely surface ploughing with the rude implement of poor Burns's time, as different from the Suffolk plough as the soil was different upon which the punches worked. The fields about Mauchline "are of a light sandy, or mixed kind." *

The changes of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire during eighty years are more remarkable in manufactures than in agriculture. Great have been the alterations in the industry of towns such as Glasgow and Paisley. But here, as throughout all Scotland, morasses have been drained, lochs have been made to bear corn, the domain of unproductive nature has been compelled to supply the necessities of man. There is a charming paper by John Wilson, entitled "Our Parish," in which the eloquent writer exhibits, in no placid mood, the ruthless invader of poetical wastes. A great part of our Parish, the Moor, was "ever so many miles long, and ever so many miles broad, and nobody thought of guessing how many miles round. But some twenty years ago it was absolutely measured to a rood by a land-louper of a land-surveyor,—distributed, drained, inclosed, utterly ruined for ever. No, not for ever. Nature laughs to scorn Acts of Parliament, and we predict that in a quarter of a century she will resume her management of that moor. We rejoice to hear that she is already beginning to take lots of it into her own hands. Wheat has no business there, and should keep to the carses." The prophecy has no doubt failed. The dogma upon which it is built is obsolete—"Agriculture, like education, has its bounds." †

The North Western parts of Scotland are noticed by Smollett as "by no means fertile in corn. The ground is naturally barren and moorish. The peasants are poorly lodged, meagre in their looks, mean in their apparel, and remarkably dirty." The soil in the district around Stirling is described by him as "poorly cultivated, and almost altogether uninclosed." But on the margin of the Clyde, from Glasgow to Dunbarton, "groves and meadows and corn fields interspersed," delight his eye. The banks of Loch Lomond "display a sweet variety of woodland, corn field, and pasture." His own "Leven Water" was "pastoral and delightful" then, as it still remains. He goes to Inverary. In Argyleshire he sees "hardly any signs of cultivation, or even of population;" but "a margin of plain ground, spread along the sea-side, is well inhabited, and improved by the arts of husbandry." Of this vast Highland district it is now computed that more than three hundred thousand acres are cultivated. But eighty years ago, to speak of the cultivation of the Highlands would be to describe a region in which agriculture was despised; where the mountaineers chiefly confided in the spontaneous bounty of nature, which gave them fish in the streams, and fowl in the heather, and rare patches of pasture for a few black cattle. Smollett says

* "New Statistical Account."
† "Recreations of Christopher North," vol. ii. p. 238.

that "the granaries of Scotland are the banks of the Tweed, the counties of East and Mid Lothian, the Carse of Gowrie, and some tracts in Aberdeenshire and Moray." The Carse of Gowrie maintains its ancient reputation as "the garden of Scotland." But other parts of Perthshire have witnessed great changes. The graziers of the lowland districts no longer quit their little farms to drive their cattle to shealings on the hills to graze during the summer, the men fishing and hunting whilst the women tend the cows and spin.* The Highlanders no longer come down to the cattle markets at Crieff, and take unceremonious possession of the fire-sides and beds of the country people.† The tenantry of certain districts are no longer compelled, as one of the modes of feudal slavery, to grind their corn at the lord's mill, and shoe their horses at the lord's forge. The whole system of cultivation in parts of Perthshire may be taken as a fair sample of the mode in which the cultivation of a large portion of Scotland was proceeding long after the middle of the last century. The farms lay in what was termed "runrig," consisting of "infield," upon which all the manure was laid, and "outfield," occasionally cropped, and then consigned to common pasture, if any feed could be got off it. There was no wheat, or artificial grass, or potatoes, or winter turnips. There were no separate farms; the cultivators lived in hamlets, upon the ancient principle of mutual protection. Tully Veolan exhibits a lively picture of such a hamlet:—the garden where the gigantic kale was encircled by groves of nettles; the common field where the joint labour of the villagers cultivated alternate ridges and patches of rye, oats, barley, and peas; the miserable wigwam behind some favoured cottage, where the wealthy might perhaps shelter a starved cow or sorely-galled horse; the stack of turf on one side the door, and the family dunghill on the other.‡ In such a village, hand-labour did more than the plough; but when that cumbrous instrument was used, it barely scratched the soil, without turning it over. Sledges were employed instead of carts. It is unnecessary to point out the contrast of a period half a century later; especially in the more remote districts of the North of Scotland, in which the country has been made accessible by roads, water communication, and railways, and its cultivation has no longer to struggle with other impediments than those of soil and climate. The climate itself has been ameliorated by judicious planting. Johnson was abused for dwelling on the bareness of the country, Fife in particular, through which he passed in his "Journey." Boswell, in defending him, says, "let any traveller observe how many trees, which deserve the name, he can see from Berwick to Aberdeen." There is now scarcely a parish in Fifeshire, described in the "New Statistical Account," in which there is not mention of extensive plantations, which, "instead of presenting to the eye a naked and barren landscape, enliven with verdure our higher grounds." At Inverary, there are noble trees, planted in 1746 by Archibald, duke of Argyle; the plantations were extended in 1771; but within the last quarter of a century plantation has gone on at the rate of half a million of oak and fir trees in five years.§ In an interesting paper upon

* "New Statistical Account," vol. x. Perth, p. 556. † *Ibid.*, p. 270.
‡ "Waverley."
§ "New Statistical Account," vol. vii. Argyleshire, p. 14.

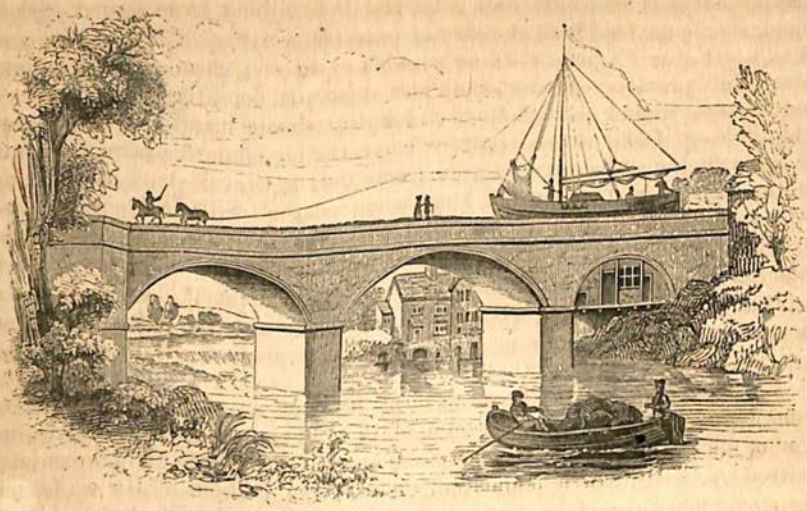
Moray it is truly said, with reference to cultivation, "The change which a single century has wrought in Northern Scotland can hardly be exaggerated."*

The remarkable powers of observation possessed by Arthur Young are signally displayed in his "Tour in Ireland," made in the years 1776 to 1779. In 1779 lord North saw the necessity of yielding to the national spirit which Grattan had evoked, and he carried three Bills for the relief of the commerce of Ireland.† The tillage and grazing of that country had been long impeded by prohibitory laws, which prevented the importation of black cattle to England, and which discountenanced the woollen manufacture, and consequently discouraged the breeding of sheep. The monopolizing spirit of jobbery went so far in 1759, that a Bill of the Irish Parliament for restricting the importation into Ireland of damaged flour was thrown out in England, at the instigation of a miller of Chichester. The natural fertility of Ireland, and her consequent advantages in carrying her agriculture to perfection, are shown by Arthur Young to be very great—a fertility superior to that of England, taking acre for acre. But the capital and skill that had made England what it was, even eighty years ago, were wanting in Ireland. Amongst the greatest evils were the "middlemen." "The very idea," says Young, "as well as the practice, of permitting a tenant to relet at a profit rent, seems confined to the distant and unimproved parts of every empire." ‡ It had entirely gone out in the highly cultivated counties of England; in Scotland it had continued to be very common. The class of Irish middlemen has been familiarized to us by the admirable pictures of Maria Edgeworth. Young describes them as screwing up the rent to the uttermost farthing, and relentless in the collection of it—the hardest drinkers in Ireland—masters of packs of wretched hounds, with which they wasted their time and their money. But whether the tenantry of Ireland were miserable cottars, or "the largest graziers and cow-keepers in the world," all were "the most errant slovens." In the arable counties the capital employed upon a given amount of land would not be a third of that of an English farmer; hence "their manuring is trivial, their tackle and implements wretched, their teams weak, their profits small." Wonderful as it may appear, the "barbarous custom" denounced by the statute of the 10th and 11th of Charles II., of ploughing, harrowing, drawing, and working with horses, by the tail, was not exploded at Castlebar and other places. In the mountainous tracts Arthur Young saw instances of greater industry than in any other part of Ireland; for the little occupiers, who could obtain leases of a mountain side, made exertions in improvement. The cottar system of labour resembled what had then recently prevailed in Scotland, and which was probably the same all over Europe before arts and commerce changed the face of it. "The recompense for labour is the means of living. In England these are dispensed in money, but in Ireland in land or commodities." The shrewd agricultural observer weighs the comparative advantages for the poor family, of payment [illegible] to produce potatoes and milk, or of a money payment. He seems to [illegible] for the plentiful supply of food, although the mud hovel of one room

* "Westminster Review," vol. xiii. p. 91.
† *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 445. ‡ Young—"Tour in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 329.

may blind the family with its smoke, and the clothing be so ragged that a stranger is impressed with the idea of universal poverty. "The sparingness with which our English labourer eats his bread and cheese is well known. Mark the Irishman's potatoe-bowl placed on the floor, the whole family on their hams around it, devouring a quantity almost incredible; the beggar seating himself to it with a hearty welcome, the pig taking his share as readily as the wife, the cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, the cur, the cat,—and all partaking of the same dish." * We now know what was the terrible end of this rude abundance of one species of food, produced upon small holdings, of which, in 1847, 500,000 acres maintained 300,000 families; whilst in England one labourer was employed to about fifteen acres of arable land. The abuse of the right of property in land, which went on for more than half a century, in allowing the landlords to consume the whole produce of the soil *minus* the potatoes,† resulted in that visitation which was regarded by the Society of Friends in Ireland as "a means permitted by an all-wise Providence to exhibit more strikingly the unsound state of our social condition." Arthur Young did not anticipate the frightful climax of the almost exclusive potato-cultivation. He saw a population under three millions. He could not anticipate what would be the result, when that population was more than doubled, without an adequate improvement in the cultivation of the land, and a more equal distribution of its produce amongst the great body of the miserable cultivators.

* "Tour in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 118.
† John Mill—"Political Economy," vol. ii.



Canal Aqueduct over the Irwell.

CHAPTER III.

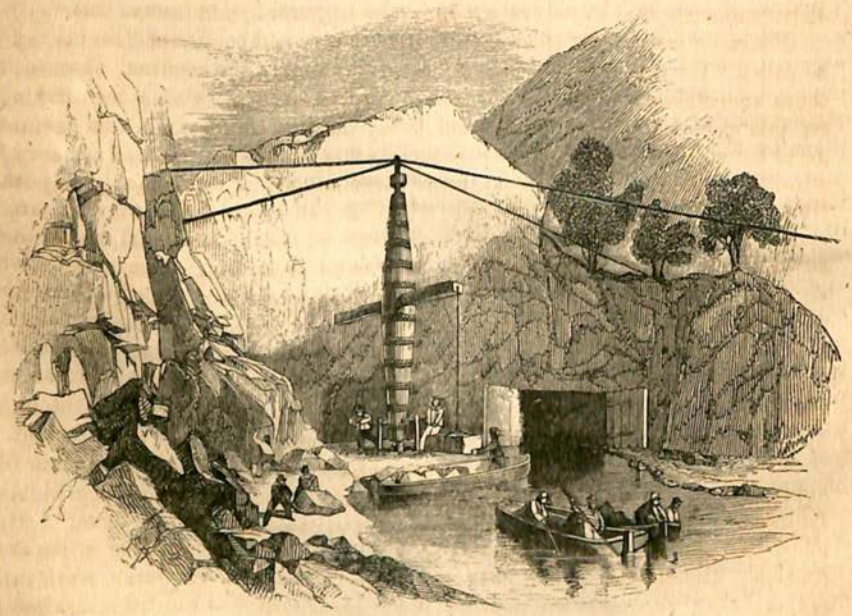
Revolution in the peaceful Arts—Great captains of Industry raised up in Britain—The duke of Bridgewater and Brindley—Canals first constructed in England—The Cotton manufacture—The fly-shuttle of Kay—Cotton-spinning machines—The spinning-jenny of Hargreaves—Cotton spinning ceasing to be a domestic employment—Richard Arkwright—His water-frame spinning machine—The first water spinning mill—Samuel Crompton—His Hall-in-the-Wood wheel, known as the mule—General rush to engage in spinning cotton—Rapid increase of Lancashire towns—Dr. Cartwright—His power-loom—Dr. Roebuck—First furnace at Carron for smelting iron by pit-coal—Wedgwood—Potteries of Staffordshire—Commercial treaty with France—Watt—Progress of his improved steam-engine—Its final success.

In the last year of the reign of George the Second, and in a few years after the accession of George the Third, there was begun in this country an enormous revolution in the Arts, for accomplishing which Providence raised up very special instruments. The great designs of Superior Beneficence may be as readily traced in the formation of minds which are destined to effect mighty changes in social organization by what may seem humble labours, as in the permission given to lawgivers and warriors to operate upon the destinies of nations by more direct exercises of power. The revolution in the peaceful Arts in the middle of the eighteenth century in Britain, which was commenced and carried forward in various directions by a knot of men not greater in number than the mythical Seven Champions of Christendom, exhibited an unequalled series of bloodless triumphs over physical and moral obstacles, and produced immediate and still developing results, which have raised this little band to the unquestioned honour of being the great Captains and Champions of Modern Industry. During less than half a century, the

labours of these men had increased the resources of their country to an extent which chiefly enabled it to sustain the pressure of the most tremendous war in which it ever was engaged; had bestowed upon a population increasing beyond all previous example abundant opportunities of profitable labour; and had opened new and unlimited fields of production, for the multiplication and diffusion of the necessaries of life and of the comforts and refinements of civilization. Whilst tracing the individual course of these remarkable contemporaries, we cannot fail to perceive what an intimate connection of apparently diverging purposes existed between each and all,—how, whilst Brindley, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Roebuck, Wedgwood, and, greatest of all, Watt, each pursued his one absorbing object, there was a natural harmony in their labours,—how no one attempt could have been carried to perfection without the aid of another effort, differing in degree but the same in kind.

In the old timbered manor-house of Worsley, about six or seven miles from Manchester, there were three men, in 1758, daily occupied in discussing one of the boldest schemes of public improvement that had ever been devised by associated or private enterprise. One of these men was Francis Egerton, third duke of Bridgewater. He was in his twenty-second year. Of weak health as a boy, his education had been neglected; but he had travelled, and had seen much of the unsatisfactory pleasures of the life of London, at a period somewhat notorious for the dissolute manners of the great. He had endured a matrimonial disappointment, and had retired to this one of his family estates, to pursue a course of the strictest economy, and to devise plans for the improvement of his fortune, by making his encumbered property more productive. The estate of Worsley contained a rich bed of coal, but it was comparatively valueless. Within an easy distance was the great town of Manchester, and its suburbs, with a population of about 40,000, ready to welcome an additional supply of fuel for domestic and manufacturing uses. But Worsley and its neighbourhood could not supply coal so cheaply by land carriage as the pits on the other side of the town. Liverpool, also, offered a vast market, if coal could be cheaply conveyed thither from Manchester; but the water carriage was twelve shillings per ton, and the land carriage was two pounds per ton. Could these difficulties be surmounted? Could a canal be constructed from Worsley to Manchester? Might the line not be extended to the Mersey? Such were the ideas that pressed upon the inquiring mind of the young nobleman in his self-enforced solitude. There was a neighbouring canal in course of construction, which arose out of an Act passed in 1755 for making the Sankey-Brook navigable, and finally a canal was opened in 1760, following the course of the stream. It was a work in which the country through which it passed presented few difficulties. But the duke of Bridgewater had grander views. He would adopt a line which should render locks unnecessary—which should cross rivers and cut through hills, like the railway-works of our own time. The duke had made two energetic men the confidential participators in his schemes. One was John Gilbert, a land agent, who had been engaged in mining speculations; and who was especially useful in raising money to carry on the projected operations. The other was James Brindley, a millwright,—almost without the rudiments of education, and totally deficient in scientific training. This extraordinary

man, the greatest civil engineer that had appeared in England before the present century—one whose constructive genius enabled him to overcome difficulties which appeared insuperable to other engineers of more technical pretensions—was twenty years older than his adventurous employer. He had effected some improvements in machinery, and had obtained a small provincial reputation. But when the professional men and the general public looked upon stupendous mounds of earth raised in deep valleys, and heard of an aqueduct to be carried over the Irwell, high enough for masted vessels to sail under it—when they inquired whence the supply of water was to be drawn to fill a canal of nine miles in length—they came to the conclusion that the duke and his engineer were equally mad, and that the project would end in total ruin. We have now become familiar with engineering difficulties far more vast; and can therefore scarcely forbear to smile at such forebodings. The aqueduct at Barton was opened in 1761. It has been said that when the moment arrived for admitting the water into this aqueduct, "Brindley's nerve was unequal to the interest of the crisis, that he ran away and hid himself, while Gilbert remained cool and collected to superintend the operation which was to confirm or confute the clamour with which the project had been assailed." *



Entrance to the Canal Tunnel at Worsley.

The subterranean canals in the coal-works at Worsley were as remarkable as the canal itself, and its branches. The open works, all of one level, extended thirty-eight miles; the tunnels were originally about a mile and a half in length, although they now extend forty-two miles, of which two-thirds have gone out of use. When the works, above ground and under ground,

* "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxiii. p. 311—a delightful paper by the late earl of Ellesmere.

were finished in 1762, they were described as "the greatest artificial curiosity in the world." * The immediate effect of the duke of Bridgewater's first great undertaking was sufficiently demonstrative of the public value of canals. The price of coals in Manchester was reduced one half after its completion. The duke and his brother-in-law, the first marquis of Stafford, were the chief promoters of the Grand Trunk Navigation, generally known as the Staffordshire Canal; and Brindley was the engineer. This work brought the iron and pottery districts into easy communication with the Mersey and the Trent. A letter dated from Burslem, in 1767, contains an interesting notice of the engineer: "Gentlemen come to view our eighth wonder of the world, the subterraneous navigation, which is cutting by the great Mr. Brindley, who handles rocks as easily as you would plum-pies, and makes the four elements subservient to his will. He is as plain a looking man as one of the boors of the Peak, or one of his own carters; but when he speaks, all ears listen, and every mind is filled with wonder at the things he pronounces to be practicable." † Brindley did not live to complete the Grand Trunk. But this, and concurrent undertakings which he designed or superintended, connected the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and the Mersey, and united London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Hull, by water communication, passing through a district unsurpassed in natural resources and productive industry.

Fourteen years after the duke of Bridgewater had established his claim to be called "the father of British inland navigation," the eventual success of these undertakings was regarded somewhat doubtfully: "Canals for carrying on inland navigation are new, and lately introduced, so as not to warrant great commendations; but the prospect is fair." Again: "What the actual advantages that will be derived from these canals, when finished, may be, time and experience only can determine." ‡ In 1794, the extent of canal speculation produced the inevitable protest against "bold and precarious adventure." There were the same rivalries of competing lines as we have seen in railways, and the same losses and disappointments. Yet the grandeur of these works excited the admiration even of those who doubted their eventual profit. "At the beginning of this century, it was thought a most arduous task to make a high road for carriages over the hills and moors which separate Yorkshire from Lancashire, and now they are pierced through by three navigable canals." §

The local historian of Manchester, who thus looks with a mixture of apprehension and of wonder at canal enterprise, says, "Nothing but highly flourishing manufactures can repay the vast expense of these designs." He adds, as if to enforce his doubts, that when the plans under execution are finished, Manchester "will probably enjoy more various water communications than the most commercial town of the Low Countries has ever done." ‖ The principal cause of this sudden increase to the power of cheap carriage possessed by Manchester,—a power greater than that which made the prosperity of Ghent and Bruges,—was, that within a quarter of a century it had become the Metropolis of Cotton,—the centre of that manufacture which, from very small beginnings, had grown into proportions then deemed

* Kippis; "Biographia Britannica," art. Brindley.
† *Ibid.*, p. 601.
‡ Campbell's "Political Survey," vol. ii. p. 261 & p. 265.
§ Aikin's "Manchester," 1795, p. 137.
‖ *Ibid*, p. 137.

gigantic, however dwarf-like they may appear in comparison with its present developement. The population, busy in the middle of the eighteenth century with "small things called Manchester ware," had passed away.* Waggons had driven out pack-horses for the conveyance of goods. Canals had come, in great part, to supersede waggons. But the Manchester merchant still sent out his "riders" with patterns in their saddle-bags; and the manufacturer did not disdain to mix with the humbler tradesman in a common public-house, to take his glass of punch, and hear the news of the town. There was such a house of great resort in the market-place, which had been kept by the same landlord for half a century: "It is not unworthy of remark, and to a stranger is very extraordinary, that merchants of the first fortunes quit the elegant drawing-room, to sit in a small dark dungeon, for this house cannot with propriety be called by a better name; but such is the force of long-established custom." †

It is asserted in a pamphlet published in 1788, that "not above twenty years before that time, the whole cotton trade of Great Britain did not return £200,000 to the country for the raw materials, combined with the labour of the people." ‡ This calculation takes us back to the period at which was invented the hand-machine for spinning cotton, termed "a jenny." A previous invention in the process of weaving stimulated the mechanical attempts for increasing the quantity of yarn to be woven. About 1760, the cotton weavers began to use a simple but efficacious plan of throwing the shuttle, introduced by John Kay, of Bury, "which enabled the weaver to make twice as much cloth as he made before." This was called "the fly-shuttle." The greater speed attained in the weaving process, "destroyed the arrangement which up to that time existed between the quantity of yarn spun and the weavers' demand for it." § John Kay was subsequently "mobbed out of the country, and died in obscurity in a foreign land." This was probably in consequence of some further invention to supply the place of hand-labour in spinning wool, to which the fly-shuttle was originally applied. Dyer, in his poem of "The Fleece," published in 1757, having noticed the spinning-wheel, the distaff, and wheels, "double spoled, which yield to either hand a several line," says that "patient art,

> "Sagacious, has a spiral engine formed,
> Which, on an hundred spoles, an hundred threads,
> With one huge wheel, by lapse of water, twines." ‖

The writer of a very able article on "Cotton-spinning machines" implies that this was supposed to be a spinning machine, introduced into Yorkshire by John Kay.¶ Robert Anderson, the editor of the valuable edition of "British Poets" published in 1795, appends this note to the passage in "The Fleece:"—"Paul's engine for cotton and fine wool." Lewis Paul, in 1738, took out a patent for a machine "for the spinning of wool and cotton in a manner entirely new." Several attempts were made to work this machine, persons of some note being concerned in the speculation, amongst others, Edward Cave, the proprietor of "The Gentleman's Magazine." But

* *Ante*, vol. v. p. 24. † Aikin, p. 189. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 178.
§ "Life of Samuel Crompton," 2d edition, 1860, p. 20.
‖ Book iii. ¶ "Quarterly Review," vol. cvii. p. 53.

Paul's machine, however ingenious, brought losses upon all concerned in it, and was finally abandoned. The demand for fine yarn still went on unsupplied; and it was increased by a growing market for fabrics in which it was endeavoured to compete with Indian muslins. An extensive manufacture of fabrics composed wholly of cotton does not appear to have been contemplated a few years before this period. "Bombaya's wharfs," writes Dyer, "pile up

> "Wool-resembling cotton, shorn from trees,
> Not to the fleece unfriendly; whether mixed
> In warp or woof, or with the line of flax,
> Or softer silk's material."*

The demand increased more and more, and it pressed on invention to find modes of supply. In 1764 the Society of Arts voted fifty pounds to Mr. Harrison "for a masterly improvement in the spinning-wheel, by which a child may do double the business that even a grown person can with the common wheel."† At length a great practical change was achieved.

In 1767, James Hargreaves completed his "Spinning-jenny." He was a weaver near Blackburn, and his wife and children were employed in spinning weft for him to work upon at his loom, the warp being supplied by the wholesale manufacturers who gave him employment. The spindle of the spinning-wheel was always horizontal, as may be seen in the following engraving:—

The old Jersey Wheel; with hand cards and bobbins of rovings.

* Book iv.

† "Annual Register" vol. vii. p. 66.

The spinster's machine in Hargreaves' cottage being accidentally overturned, it was observed that the wheel and the spindle continued to revolve. In the position of the wheel on its side, the spindle became perpendicular. The ingenious man caught the idea, and forthwith constructed a multiplying wheel, with eight rovings and eight upright spindles. He knew what would be the fate of a labour-saving inventor if he made his discovery public. He long worked in secret at his "jenny;" but such mysteries cannot be preserved. His jealous neighbours broke into his house, destroyed his invention, and compelled him to fly for his life to Nottingham. He there received assistance to enable him to take out a patent; but he had sold several of his machines before the date of his patent; the invention became common property; and the instrument, surreptitiously imitated, was soon found in every weaver's cottage in Lancashire. Thomas Highs, about the same period, invented a somewhat similar hand-machine. Samuel Crompton, the inventor of the "mule," which changed the whole course of cotton spinning, when sixteen years of age, in 1769, was spinning upon one of Hargreaves' machines of eight spindles.*

The time was fast approaching when the spinning of cotton would cease to be a domestic manufacture. The weaving would long continue under humble roofs; but machines, driven at first by water-power, would gradually banish the wheel and the jenny. The double occupation of weaver and small farmer was very common in Lancashire. This united business was conducted with small profit to the yeoman, who occupied a few acres, and worked at intervals at one loom. It was far from advantageous to the general interests of the country. Arthur Young described the North of Ireland as "a whole province peopled by weavers: it is they who cultivate, or rather beggar, the soil, as well as work the looms; agriculture is there in ruins. . . . The lands are infinitely subdivided; no weaver thinks of supporting himself by his loom; he has always a piece of potatoes, a piece of oats, a patch of flax, and grass or weeds for a cow." Young held the two occupations to be incompatible. "A weaver who works at a fine cloth can never take the plough or the spade in hand without injury to the web."† The Lancashire weavers had not driven out the farmers proper, as in the North of Ireland, but the same system was in partial operation in the whole cotton-working district. The father of Samuel Crompton was the occupier of a farm near Bolton; he and his family, "as was the custom at that time, employing their leisure hours in carding, spinning, and weaving." In 1758 he became the tenant of a portion of an old mansion, also near Bolton, called Hall-in-the-Wood. The father died soon after this removal. The widow continued the labours of the little farm, and devoted all her leisure, as before, to the spindle and the loom.‡ Bolton was then a place of very inconsiderable population. Their wants were so small that not more than one cow used to be killed in the town for a week's supply. To the weekly market London and Manchester traders resorted, to purchase the heavy fabrics for which Bolton was the chief mart. "The fustians, herring-bones, cross-overs, quiltings, dimities, and other goods, were carried to market by the small manufacturers (who were for the most

* Ure's "Cotton Manufacture," vol. i. book iii. chap. i.

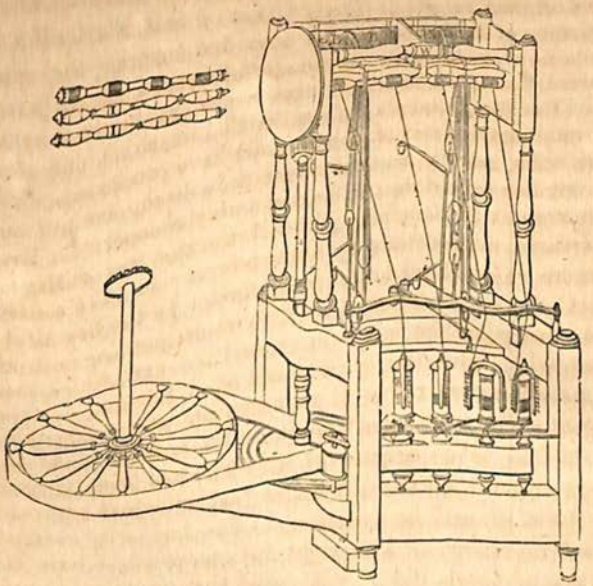
† "Tour in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 305.

French; "Life of Crompton," chap. ii.

part equally small farmers) in wallets balanced over one shoulder, while on the other arm there was often hung a basket of fresh butter." * There was one bustling man in Bolton who must have been among the most active on the market-day—Richard Arkwright, the barber, who had come from Preston, his native place, and hung out his attractive invitation to the townsman and the visitor, of "a clean shave for a penny." But he had higher aspirations. He was a peruke maker, and travelled about the country as a merchant in a peculiar line. An adroit man he must have been, and a pleasant; for at the statute fair he marked down the lass with the most attractive locks; and although he might not have played "with the tangles of Neæra's hair," he contrived to possess himself of the treasure for a pecuniary consideration, and bear it off to his wig-making shop in whatever new locality he chose to plant himself for a year or two. He saw many men, and acquired many valuable notions. He had a mechanical genius, and thoughts of "perpetual motion" sometimes engrossed his mind. At Warrington he became acquainted with John Kay, a clock-maker, the son of the fly-shuttle inventor; and the two set their ingenuity to work upon something likely to be more practicable and more profitable than "perpetual motion." Kay had been thinking of schemes for superseding the spinning-wheel, incited probably by having been employed by Thomas Highs in making the wheels and springs of his "jenny." Out of this communication of the ideas of Highs, who is alleged to have conceived the notion of spinning by rollers, was matured, by the ingenuity and perseverance of Arkwright, the invention which was very speedily to convert the region which Gray called "the deserts of Lancashire" into the busiest district of the world. Arkwright went to Preston, and having expended his last shilling in completing, however imperfectly, a machine of a new construction, it was exhibited, in 1768, in that town. In a lucky hour for Arkwright, murmurs and threats reached his ear. He hastily packed up his apparatus in the dread of mob-law; went to Nottingham; obtained two moneyed partners, of whom Jedediah Strutt was one; and took out his first patent in 1769.

Jedediah Strutt.

* Life of Crompton, chap. ii.



Arkwright's Original Patent Water-frame Spinning Machine.

[We must suppose that by the previous operation of carding, the cotton wool has been so combed and prepared as to be formed into a long untwisted line of about the thickness of a man's finger. This line so formed (after it has been introduced into the spinning-machine), is called a roving, the old name in hand-spinning. In order to convert this roving into a thread, it is necessary that the fibres, which are for the most part curled up, and which lie in all directions, should be stretched out and laid lengthwise, side by side; that they should be pressed together, so as to give them a more compact form; and that they should be twisted, so as to unite them all firmly together. In the original manner of spinning by the distaff, those operations were performed by the finger and thumb, and they were afterwards effected with greater rapidity, but less perfectly, by means of the long wheel and spindle. For the same purpose, Arkwright employed two pairs of small rollers, the one pair being placed at a little distance in front of the other. The lower roller in each pair is furrowed or fluted lengthwise, and the upper one is covered with leather; so that, as they revolve in contact with each other, they take fast hold of the cotton which passes between them. Both pairs of rollers are turned by machinery, which is so contrived that the second pair shall turn round with much more swiftness than the first. Now, suppose that a roving is put between the first pair of rollers. The immediate effect is merely to press it together into a more compact form. But the roving has but just passed through the first pair of rollers, when it is received between the second pair; and as the rollers of the second pair revolve with greater velocity than those of the first, they draw the roving forwards with greater rapidity than it is given out by the first pair. Consequently, the roving will be lengthened in passing from one pair to the other; and the fibres of which it is composed will be drawn out and laid lengthwise side by side. The increase of length will be exactly in proportion to the increased velocity of the second pair of rollers. Two or more rovings are generally united in this operation. Thus, suppose that two rovings are introduced together between the first pair of rollers, and that the second pair of rollers moves with twice the velocity of the first, the new roving thus formed by the union of the two will then be of exactly twice the length of either of the original ones. It will therefore contain exactly the same quantity of cotton per yard. But its parts will be very differently arranged, and its fibres will be drawn out longitudinally, and will be thus much better fitted for forming a thread. This operation of doubling and drawing is repeated as often as is found necessary, and the requisite degree of twist is given by a machine similar to the spindle and fly of the common flax-wheel.]

Such, as exhibited in the opposite page, was the machine described in Arkwright's original patent of 1769. Those who look upon the operations of a cotton-factory of the present day may feel surprise that such complete machinery as now exists, with its wonderful results, should have grown out of so apparently simple and rude a machine as that claimed by Arkwright as his design. But the principle existed in that machine, out of which all the more elaborate contrivances of ninety years have proceeded. "The principle remains the same, namely, to enable rollers to do the work of human fingers, with much greater precision, and incomparably cheaper."* The machines of the small factory at Nottingham, which Arkwright was enabled to establish with his partners, were worked by horse-power. In 1771 a site was selected by them where water-power might be applied. In the beautiful valley of the Derwent, at Cromford, was erected the first water-spinning mill. Henceforward the machine was called the water-frame, and the yarn which it produced was called water-twist. But the great merit of Arkwright, however disputable his claim as an inventor, was as an organizer of the labour required in a cotton-factory. The mechanics who made his machines had to be formed; the workmen had to be trained to accommodate their irregular habits to automatic precision. All the difficulties that interpose between the completion of an invention and its commercial value had to be overcome; and but for the wondrous energy of Arkwright, his career might have been as unsuccessful as that of Lewis Paul. "We find that so late as the year 1779, ten years after the date of his first patent, his enterprise was regarded by many as a doubtful novelty."† It was five years before any profit was realised at Cromford. But in the meantime Arkwright had, in 1775, taken out a second patent. His right to the inventions therein claimed was contested. His monopoly was invaded on every side. Actions at law were decided at one time in his favour; at another time the decisions of the courts were adverse. In October, 1779, a mill which he had erected in the neighbourhood of Chorley was burned by a mob; who in a similar manner destroyed the cotton-spinning machines at Manchester, Wigan, Blackburn, Bolton, and Preston. The Lancashire weavers had been reasoned out of their opposition to the jenny, and it was generally adopted. They abstained from destroying the water-frame only through the terror of the sword and the halter. The combinations of rivals and the violence of mobs had no power to turn the courageous Arkwright from pursuing the career which had opened to his sanguine view. To the fullest measure of success which could be reached by indomitable industry and perseverance, he devoted himself without relaxation, even when enormous wealth was accumulating around him. As he rose into rank and importance, he felt the necessity of correcting the defects of his early education; and after his fiftieth year, he applied two hours of each day, snatched from sleep, to improve himself in grammar, orthography, and writing.

The career of Samuel Crompton presents as striking a contrast to that of Richard Arkwright, as the difference in the characters of the two men. The orphan boy of Hall-in-the-Wood was shy, sensitive, studious, a mathematician, a musician, an inventive artisan. Arkwright was pushing, callous, ignorant,

* "Knowledge is Power," by Charles Knight, p. 219.

† Ure, vol. i. p. 237.

unrefined, without originality in his ideas, but a most skilful appropriator. The bold man died worth half a million sterling, for he had self-confidence, tact, and knowledge of human character. The timid man was easily disheartened, shrinking from speculation, and easily deceived. He would have lived a poor weaver to the end of his days, unable, as he said of himself, "to contend with men of the world," had not Parliament, in 1812, granted him a paltry compensation of 5000*l.* for the great invention which he "gave up to the country," as he said, but which he was really cheated into giving up by a host of selfish manufacturers, who made fortunes out of his simple trust. Crompton was spinning with Hargreaves' jenny, four or five years after Arkwright had produced harder and finer yarn by his water-frame than the jenny could produce, whatever amount it had added to the quantity spun. Crompton saw what was wanting. With a few common tools, and a clasp-knife, he worked for five years before he perfected what was originally called the Hall-in-the-Wood wheel. "The great and important invention of Crompton was his spindle-carriage, and the principle of the thread having no strain upon it until it was completed. The carriage with the spindles could, by the movement of the hand and knee, recede just as the rollers delivered out the elongated thread in a soft state, so that it would allow of a considerable stretch before the thread had to encounter the stress of winding on the spindle."* This was "the corner-stone of the merits of his invention," which Crompton connected with the system of rollers, and thus added the second great and permanent principle of the machinery for cotton-spinning.

In 1779, when this machine was completed by the young weaver, the riots broke out by which Arkwright's mill at Chorley was destroyed. From the solitary room where Crompton had been so long working in secret, he heard the shouts of a mob who were breaking to pieces a carding-engine in the adjoining hamlet of Folds. He was prepared for such an emergency. He had cut an opening in the ceiling of his room to the loft above, which aperture he had fitted with a trap-door. He hastily took his machine to pieces, and hoisted the parts into the dark hole where they were concealed for many weeks. The riots were put down, and tranquillity was restored; but not till after the jennies had been destroyed for miles round Bolton. Whilst working upon his invention Crompton had married. He took to wife a young woman of good family and education, but who, being left an orphan in reduced circumstances, maintained herself by spinning. The home of the young people was in a cottage attached to the Hall-in-the-Wood; and in a room of the old mansion they secretly worked on the now-perfected mule. No yarn comparable for fineness and firmness had ever been produced as that which Crompton carried to the Bolton market, obtaining a proportional price. People began to think that there was some mystery. Fingers could not produce such yarn; nor could the jenny. Manufacturers gathered round, some to buy, others to endeavour to penetrate the secret. They in vain tried to obtain admission to the old house. They climbed up to the windows to look in. The bewildered man soon saw that it would be impossible to keep his secret. In a manuscript which he left behind him, he says, of this anxious

* "Memoir of Crompton," by John Kennedy; quoted in Mr. French's "Life.

period] "during this time I married, and commenced spinner altogether. But a few months reduced me to the cruel necessity either of destroying my machine altogether, or giving it up to the public. To destroy it I could not think of; to give up that for which I had laboured so long was cruel. I had

Samuel Crompton.

no patent, nor the means of purchasing one. In preference to destroying it, I gave it to the public." Manufacturers had come about him with tempting promises, and had persuaded him to give up his secret, upon the condition, recited in a formal document, of subscribing sums to be affixed to the name of each "as a reward for his improvement in spinning." The whole sum they subscribed was 67*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* The subscription paper is in existence. "The list is curiously interesting as containing among the half-guinea subscribers the names of many Bolton firms now of great wealth and eminence as mule spinners, whose colossal fortunes may be said to have been based upon this singularly small investment." * In five years Crompton's "mule" was the machine chiefly employed for fine spinning, not only round Bolton, but in the manufacturing districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The common piracies of Arkwright's water-frame, its more extensive use when the patent expired in 1784, and the general appropriation of Crompton's mule, very soon changed the neighbourhood of which Manchester was the centre, from a country of small farmers into a country of small manufacturers. Houses on the banks of streams whose currents would drive a wheel and shaft were greedily seized upon. Sheds were run up in similar situations. The clank of wheels and the buzz of spindles were heard in once solitary places upon the branches of the Irwell. The smaller streams that

* French. "Life of Samuel Crompton," p. 72, from which interesting volume we derive the facts thus briefly related by us.

flowed from the barren hills into secluded valleys, might be apostrophized in the lines of Ebenezer Elliott:

> "Beautiful rivers of the desert! ye
> Bring food for labour from the foodless waste."

Crompton's mules, worked by hand, "were erected in garrets or lofts; and many a dilapidated barn or cow-house was patched up in the walls, repaired in the roof, and provided with windows, to serve as lodging room for the new muslin wheels." * Amidst this hurried system of expedients to obtain the gains of cotton-spinning, these small factories were supplied with the labour of children by a mode which excited the indignation of all right-thinking persons. Children of very tender age, collected from the London workhouses, and other abodes of the friendless, were transported to Manchester and the neighbourhood as apprentices. These were often worked through the whole night; had no regard paid to their cleanliness; and received no instruction. Aikin, who records these grievances, adds that in many factories, remedies had been adopted. It was forty years before the Legislature effectually interfered to protect factory children.

A greater change than that produced by the water-frame and the mule was impending. The period was quickly approaching when the tall stalk would start up in the bye-streets of quiet towns, and gather around its clouds of smoke a new population. Of Bolton, whose inhabitants had more than doubled from 1783 to 1789, it is recorded that "the want of water in this district is made up by the ingenious invention of the machines called mules." † The want of water would in a few years be made up by a far more manageable power. Bury had its "cotton manufacture, originally brought from Bolton," with "factories erected upon the rivers and many brooks within the parish." ‡ Its population had increased in a larger proportion than that of Bolton; but the increase would be far more rapid when the rivers and brooks were no longer essential for the movement of rollers and spindles. In 1794 some small steam-engines, made by Mr. Sherrard, a very ingenious and able engineer, had begun in Manchester to be "used in cotton-mills, and for every purpose of the water-wheel, where a stream is not to be got." This local manufacture of steam-engines was beginning to encounter a formidable rivalry: "Some few are also erected in this neighbourhood by Messrs. Bolton and Watts, of Birmingham, who have far excelled all others in their improvement of the steam-engine." § In this stage of his career, the name of the Glasgow mechanic whose statue is in Westminster Abbey, appears not to have been sufficiently known to be spelt correctly by a writer of note. Dr. Aikin probably knew little of the achievements of the man who, "directing the force of an original genius, early exercised in philosophic research, to the improvement of the steam-engine, enlarged the resources of his country, increased the power of man, and rose to an eminent place amongst the illustrious followers of science and the real benefactors of the world." ‖ The rotatory steam-engine of Watt was first applied to the

* French, p. 76.

† Aikin, p. 262. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 267. § *Ibid.*, p. 177.

‖ Lord Brougham's Epitaph on Watt.

textile manufactures of Lancashire in 1787, when one was erected at Warrington. It had been applied in Nottinghamshire in 1785.

In 1856, according to the Report of the Factory Commissioners, the steam-engines employed in 5000 factories represented 161,000 horse-power, giving motion to the astounding number of 33,000,000 spindles. It is calculated in the Statistical Account of the Population of 1851, that in Great Britain "more than a million young women are *spinsters*"—the still recognized name for unmarried women. To produce the same amount of yarn spun in the old domestic way, would probably require not only all the spinsters of our own country, and all the spinsters of our great Indian empire, where the Hindoo girl still produces the finest yarn from her primitive wheel, but all the spinsters of the habitable globe. The rate at which the spindles of a cotton-mill

Hindoo girl spinning cotton.

move so far exceeds the rate of the spinning-wheel, that no smaller number, we may presume, could convert a thousand million pounds of raw cotton into yarn in one year, as is now done in Great Britain. But if the rate of speed were equal, and the object could be effected by the daily movement for ten hours of thirty-three millions of spindles, it would be necessary that every British spinster should have the power of giving activity to thirty-three wheels with one spindle each; or that, having the advantage of the spinning-jenny with eight spindles, she should have the power of working four jennies at one and the same time. The contrast between the old spinning-wheel and the spinning-mill cannot be put in a stronger point of view.

Inventions connected with the more rapid processes of spinning were not long behind the jenny and the water-frame. Such was the cylindrical carding-engine. The natural progression of machinery in spinning, from the simplest domestic wheel to the complex mule, would, we may presume, have suggested that the same advance would be applicable to weaving; that as the fly-shuttle had doubled the rate at which a hand-weaver could work, so some invention might double, or even supersede, the still tardy process of the hand-weaver. Such an invention did come, though in a very rude and imperfect state. Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, bred at University College, Oxford—a

poet and a critic—was at Matlock in 1784, when, in a mixed company in which were some persons from Manchester, the talk was about cotton—how the want of hands to weave would operate against the spinning-mills. Cartwright knew nothing of machines or manufactures; he had never even seen a weaver at work; but he said that if it came to a want of hands, Arkwright must invent a weaving-mill. The Manchester men maintained that such a notion was impracticable. Cartwright went home, and, turning his thoughts from weaving articles for the "Monthly Review," laboured assiduously to produce a loom that would weave cloth without hands to throw the shuttle. His children remembered him as walking about as if in deep meditation, occasionally throwing his arms from side to side, and they were told that their father was thinking of the action of the shuttle.* He completed his machine, which, he says, required the strength of two powerful men to work at a slow rate, and whose springs were strong enough to have thrown a Congreve rocket. He took out a patent. Cartwright's power-loom, improved by the inventor by incessant exercises of ingenuity, came very slowly into use. A mill, the first erected for their employment on a large scale, was wilfully set on fire, and five

Dr. Cartwright.

hundred of the power looms were destroyed. The patent expired, having been to the inventor a constant source of loss and anxiety. The invention, great as its results have been, was scarcely recognized in the last century. The power-loom was first brought into profitable use at Glasgow, in 1801. But the ultimate advantage of the principle of automatic weaving was fully acknowledged; and in 1807, upon a memorial of the principal cotton-spinners, Parliament granted Dr. Cartwright 10,000*l.*, for "the good service he had rendered the public by his invention of weaving." There were only 2300 power-looms at work in Great Britain in 1813. In 1833 there were 100,000. At the present time, they are as universal as spinning machines,—very different in their beautiful construction from Cartwright's invention, but the same in principle. The Returns of the Factory Inspectors for 1856 show the employment of 369,205 power-looms, of which 298,847 were for weaving cotton. Such has been the progress of an idea casually impressed upon the

* The late Mrs. Penrose, whose "History" is known as that of "Mrs. Markham," was a daughter of Dr. Cartwright.

active mind of a scholar, who was previously conscious of no aptitude for mechanical pursuits. His parliamentary reward did not repay his expenses in working out his scheme.

The history of the cotton-manufacture, as of most other arts, abounds with examples of the struggles of inventors, if not against neglect and fraud, against the almost insuperable difficulties of carrying forward an invention to commercial success. Bentham has expressed a great truth in forcible words: "As the world advances, the snares, the traps, the pitfalls, which inexperience has found in the path of inventive industry, will be filled up by the fortunes and the minds of those who have fallen into them and been ruined. In this, as in every other career, the ages gone by have been the forlorn hope, which has received for those who followed them the blows of fortune." * Dr. John Roebuck, "who may be said to have originated the modern iron manufacture of Britain, though his merits as a great public benefactor have as yet received but slight recognition," † was one of those who encountered the snares and pitfalls in the path of inexperience. We have shown what the iron manufacture was in 1740.‡ In 1774, we find it alleged that "there is no room to doubt, that in every one of the three kingdoms there may be enough iron found to supply all the British dominions, and yet we import very large quantities from the North, from Spain, and from America. The reason of this is, because the inhabitants of these countries can make it cheaper." They had a great command of fuel for charcoal. "It is earnestly to be wished," says the writer, "that, as it hath been often proposed and promised, the use of pit-coal could be generally introduced, so as to answer in all respects as well as charcoal." He adds, "at this time, as I have been well-informed, iron is wrought with pit-coal at the Carron Works in North Britain." § The founder of these Carron Works, and the inventor of the economical processes which first gave cheap iron to our country, in many forms of utility, was Dr. John Roebuck.

The man who succeeded in proving, by the commercial results of his processes, that iron could be smelted by pit-coal, everywhere in abundance, instead of by charcoal from woods that were disappearing through the advance of agriculture, was a physician at Birmingham. He was a scientific chemist, as far as the science of chemistry was understood in the middle of the eighteenth century; and he was connected with a chemical manufactory, to which he devoted himself with the ardour of an experimentalist. By his improvements in the production of sulphuric acid (then called vitriolic acid), the use of which was even then extensive in manufactures, he reduced the price of that article to a fourth of its previous cost. He was one of those who led the way in those great chemical discoveries which have produced as wonderful changes in the productive power of the country as machinery has produced. Sulphuric acid, after Roebuck's time, partially did the work of bleaching that the sun and air were necessary to complete. But his attempts to connect bleaching processes with the vitriol works that he established at Preston Pans were not successful. Having abandoned his practice as a physician, and settled in Scotland, he turned his thoughts to smelting and manufacturing

* "Manual of Political Economy."

† "Quarterly Review," vol. civ. p. 78.

‡ *Ante*, vol. v. p. 13.

§ Campbell, "Political Survey," vol. ii. p. 43.

iron. At Carron, in the parish of Tarbert, in Stirlingshire, there were the great requisites for this manufacture. There was abundant coal, and ample command of water-power. Some iron-stone and lime were to be found within a mile; some was to be procured from places ten miles distant.* Workmen were brought from Birmingham and Sheffield; and on the banks of a river, renowned in Scottish history, was the famous foundry established in 1759, which sent cheap grates into the homes of England, and cast the guns for Wellington's battery-train. To Dr. Roebuck has been assigned the honour of inventing the process of converting cast iron into malleable iron. But it is enough to give him an enduring name in the history of manufacturing industry, that he first brought about that marriage between the neighbours coal and iron which time can never dissolve—that union which made iron "the soul of every other manufacture;" which, when the iron railing round St. Paul's was still pointed out as a great feat of charcoal-smelting, enabled a daring engineer, within fifteen years of the time when the first furnace was lighted at Carron, to throw a cast-iron bridge over the Severn of a hundred feet span; and which, during the lapse of a century, has covered our country with works that are amongst the noblest triumphs of a great era of the Sciences and Arts; compared with which structures the once famous Coalbrook Dale bridge appears a toy. Dr. Roebuck called

Iron Bridge, Coalbrook Dale, 1775.

Smeaton to his aid as an engineer, and he invited Watt to experiment upon the employment of his steam-engine in blowing the furnaces. He was at one time associated as a partner in the great career that was opening to Watt.

* "New Statistical Account of Scotland,—Stirlingshire," vol. viii. p. 373.

But he became involved in other undertakings beyond his capital; and had the common fate of those who undertake mighty enterprises without an adequate command of the sinews of all enterprise, whether of war or of peace.

The historian who has brought so large a fund of good sense and liberality to his narrative of English affairs from the peace of Utrecht to the close of the American war, says that the year 1763 "was distinguished by an event of more real importance than the rise or the resignation of lord Bute."* That year is considered memorable for the production of a new kind of earthenware, remarkable for fineness and durability. This ware was soon to remove the pewter dishes from their dingy rows in the tradesman's kitchen, and to supersede the wooden platter and the brown dish of the poor man's cottage. The artisan of Burslem, in Staffordshire, who brought about this change, was Josiah Wedgwood. We have already briefly indicated the condition of the Staffordshire Potteries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.† Dr. Campbell, in 1774, makes this statement: "In the space of about sixty years, as I have been well informed, the produce of this ware hath risen from 5000*l.* to 100,000*l.* per annum. These are entered by the thousand pieces for exportation, which is annually about forty thousand.‡" In 1857 there were a hundred million pieces of British earthenware and porcelain exported to every European country (with the exception of France), and to America, the United States being by far the largest importers. It is to Josiah Wedgwood that the creation of this great manufacture and commerce

Josiah Wedgwood.

is to be principally attributed. England had produced its Bow china, its Worcester china, and its Chelsea china, which was held to equal that of Dresden. But these elaborate tea-services and ornaments were for the luxurious. Palissy gave France the lead amongst industrious nations in her manufacture of expensive porcelain. But Wedgwood in his ware combined the imitation of the most beautiful forms of ancient art with unequalled cheapness. In his workshops we may trace the commencement of a system

* Lord Mahon—"History of England," vol. v. p. 2. † *Ante*, vol. v. p. 18.
‡ "Political Survey," vol. ii. p. 18.

of improved design, which made his ware so superior to any other that had been produced in Europe for common uses. England, by the discovery of a contemporary of Wedgwood, Mr. Cooksworthy, of Plymouth, was found to possess, in the Cornish clay, a material equal to that of the Sèvres and Dresden manufactories. His patent was transferred to the Staffordshire Potteries in 1777, and from that time we went steadily forward to the attainment of our present excellence in the production of porcelain, upon a scale commensurate with the general spread of the comforts and refinements of society.

The transference of power to Mr. Pitt, in 1784, and the firmness with which he was enabled to hold its possession, presented opportunities for wise endeavours to place the commerce of the kingdom upon a broader foundation. The first object attained was the removal, in 1785, of an odious system of restrictions and disabilities in the trade between Great Britain and Ireland. In the preliminary inquiries by a committee of the House of Commons, some interesting details of manufactures were elicited. Mr. Wedgwood pointed out how greatly the industry of the Potteries multiplied the industry of others besides that of the twenty thousand persons directly employed; the quantity of inland carriage it created; the labour it called forth in collieries, and in raising the raw material of earthenware; the employment of coasting vessels in the transport of this material from the Land's-End to different parts of the coast; and the re-conveyance of the finished goods to those ports "where they are shipped for every foreign market that is open to the earthenware of England." In 1787 the government carried through a bold measure of commercial freedom in a treaty of commerce and navigation with France, which opened new ports, not only to the earthenware of England, but to her woollens, her cottons, her hardware and cutlery, her manufactures of brass and copper. Previous to this treaty, most of the staple productions of Britain had been prohibited for so long a period in France that the notion of exchange, under a system of moderate duties, had ceased to be contemplated by the merchants of either country. The political arguments by which this great measure was supported, and those by which it was opposed, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. We introduce the subject here, because the debates in both Houses of Parliament supply some general views of the commercial policy of a period, when, as we have seen, the industry of this country had received an extraordinary impulse from new inventions, and from increased energy in the long-established modes of production. The general argument for the treaty was put with great force by Mr. Pitt: "France was, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, gifted, perhaps more than any other country, with what made life desirable, in point of soil, climate, and natural productions. It had the most fertile vineyards and the richest harvests; the greatest luxuries of man were produced in it with little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blest by nature; but on the contrary, it possessed, through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprises and a stability in its exertions, which had gradually raised it to a state of commercial grandeur. Not being so bountifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbour with all the necessary embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed

out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards each other." * The principle laid down by Pitt has a permanent importance. The national and commercial jealousies by which the principle was assailed are simply curious, as an exhibition of plausible fallacies. Bishop Watson,—one who had rendered good service to the arts of his country, by making chemistry popular in his amusing "Essays,"—maintained that, as in the time of Charles II., the trade with France was held to be detrimental to our interests because it showed a balance against us "by which we lost a million a year," such a trade would not be lucrative and safe in the time of George III.: that is, because the British consumer of the seventeenth century had paid in money to the French producer a million a year above what the British producer received, "we lost a million a year," the satisfaction of the wants of the consumer being nothing in the account. All this dust, which, from time immemorial, had been thrown into the eyes of the nation, is now scattered to the winds. But the anxious prelate thought that if our home market, the richest market in Europe, was opened to France, her own industry and ingenuity would be dangerously stimulated. France, he said, was ambitious to rival us in its rising manufactures of cotton, cutlery, hardware, and pottery. If she were to cultivate manufactures in the same degree as we had done, our ruin would be inevitable. France, Dr. Watson maintained, had abundant pit-coal; was casting pig-iron; was making cutlery at Moulins cheaper and neater than that of Sheffield; and, notwithstanding a recent law of England, prohibiting the exportation of tools and machines, France had got models of them, and would soon copy our tools, and not take our manufactures. The bishop proclaims, in his despair, that "every tool used at Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester, might be seen in a public building at Paris, where they were deposited for the inspection of their workmen."† Great manufactures are not created simply by possessing copies of another country's machinery. The French government obtained, in 1788, models of the cotton-spinning machines used in England; but whilst a peaceful intercourse enabled us to send France cotton fabrics, she did not attempt to manufacture for herself. Cotton-mills were established in Normandy and at Orleans when the continent was shut out by the war of the Revolution from commercial exchange with England.‡ But there was a power possessed by our country that France and other continental nations did not possess, and had not capital and trained workmen to acquire by imitation; a power, of which it was said in 1819 that it had "fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land;"—a power which upon the return of peace, "enabled us to pay the interest of our debt, and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we were engaged with the skill and capital of countries less oppressed with taxation."§ That great power was "our improved steam-engine."

In the year 1757, over the door of a staircase opening from the quadrangle of the College of Glasgow, was exhibited a board, inscribed "James Watt, Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University." In a room of

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxvi. col. 395. † *Ibid.*, vol. xxvi. col. 523, and col. 543.
‡ Say—"Cours d'Economie Politique," tome i. chap. xix.
§ Jeffrey—"Character of James Watt," 1819.

small dimensions sate a young man in his twenty-first year, filing and polishing quadrants and sectors, to sell for his livelihood. He had come in his eighteenth year from his paternal home, at Greenock, where his father carried on the business of a ship-chandler, to endeavour to learn the art of a mathematical-instrument maker; but he could find no one in Glasgow capable of instructing him. By the advice of a kinsman of his mother, who was a Professor in the Glasgow University, he went to London with the same object. For a year he worked with intense application in a shop in Finch Lane, Cornhill; but his health failing, he returned to Glasgow, having become a skilful mechanic, and possessing the far greater advantage of a sound mathematical education. He endeavoured to establish a shop in that city. The worshipful Company of Hammermen,—in that spirit of exclusiveness which the lapse of a century has scarcely eradicated, where Guilds and Corporations have any remnant of antiquated privileges,—resolved to prevent James Watt exercising his art. He was, however, employed within the precincts of the University to repair some astronomical instruments; and several of the Professors took the ingenious young man under their protection, and gave him a workshop within their walls. Here he soon attracted the notice and received the kind attentions of men whose names will be held ever in veneration—Adam Smith, Robert Simson, and Joseph Black. To these eminent philosophers even the members of the Company of Hammermen would lowly bow; as they bowed to the magnates of Glasgow, the tobacco-lords, who walked in scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs apart at the Cross, and to any one of whom no tradesmen dared speak till he caught the great man's eye, and was invited by him to come across the street and impart his humble requests.* Watt had an ardent friend in a college student, John Robison, about the same age with himself, who had also a genius for scientific pursuits. He has recounted that when he first went into Watt's little shop, and expected to see only a workman, he was surprised to find the quadrant-maker his superior in philosophy. But Robison left the University; went to sea as a midshipman; and was in the boat on the St. Laurence with Wolfe, on the morning on which the Heights of Abraham were scaled. The friends had conversed about steam-engines before Robison's departure. When the young man returned in 1763,—having been employed by the Admiralty to take charge of Harrison's chronometer on a voyage to Jamaica, to test its sufficiency for determining the longitude of a ship at sea,—he found that his old companion in the College workshop had been making more rapid advances in scientific attainments than himself; and had been long engaged in trying experiments in the construction of a steam-engine, upon principles different from that in common use. He had lighted upon the same principle as that now employed in a high-pressure engine. In that year of 1763 a small model of Newcomen's engine was put into the charge of Watt to repair. The imperfections of that invention, known as "the atmospheric engine," were evident to him; and he long laboured unsuccessfully to discover how its defects could be remedied. The radical defect was, that three times as much heat as was necessary for the action of the machine was lost. If one-fourth of the heat could generate an equal amount of available steam, the saving of fuel alone

* "New Statistical Account—Lanarkshire," p. 232.

would ensure the adoption of an engine constructed to produce such an important economy. Newcomen's machine was used in draining mines, in raising water to turn water-wheels, and in blowing furnaces for iron-smelting. But its expense of working was enormous. Its construction was clumsy and imperfect. We may imagine Adam Smith telling Watt the story which he has so well told in the "Wealth of Nations," of the first fire-engine; in which "a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended;" and how the boy, wanting to play, found out that "by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance." * Improvements such as this had been accomplished by accidental observation. What improvements might not be effected by careful examination, grounded upon scientific knowledge. The experimental philosopher was still working in the dark, when he discovered that water converted into steam would heat about six times its own weight of water at 47° or 48° to 212°. He mentioned this fact to Dr. Black, who then explained to him his doctrine of latent heat, with which Watt had been previously unacquainted. He says of himself that "he stumbled upon one of the material facts by which that beautiful theory is supported." Amongst the principal features of scientific progress at this period, sir John Herschel includes "the developement of the doctrine of latent heat by Black, with its train of important consequences, including the scientific theory of the steam-engine."† The ceaseless preparatory labour of thought was now to produce its results. In a solitary walk, Watt solved the great problem upon which he had been so long intent. The necessity of working for his bread, whilst he eagerly desired to bring his ideas into a practical shape, was still forced upon him. But he saw his way. The invention was complete in his mind. To have a model constructed was a work of great difficulty. He had no capital to employ in engaging better workmen than the blacksmiths and tinmen of Glasgow. He struggled against these difficulties till he found a zealous and powerful ally in Dr. Roebuck. At length, in May, 1768, Watt had the happiness of congratulating his friend on the achievement of their mutual hopes: "I sincerely wish you joy of this successful result, and hope it will make you some return for the obligations I ever will remain under to you."

It was agreed that a patent should be taken out; and Watt repaired to London to accomplish this business. On his way thither, he had an interview, at Birmingham, with Matthew Boulton, who desired to join in the speculation. This eminent manufacturer, in every quality of sterling integrity, of generous feelings, of skill in organization, of prudent enterprise, was worthy of being the associate of a man of genius like Watt, who was timid, and sometimes despondíng. Their partnership was unfortunately deferred till 1773, for Roebuck would not admit Boulton to a share of the patent, except upon terms to which the prosperous and ingenious proprietor of the works at Soho could not agree. Watt, meanwhile, had to maintain himself by the superintendence of several canals then in course of construction.

* "Wealth of Nations," book i. chap. i.

† "Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy."

The employment was disagreeable to him. He had no advantage from working his patent, for his partner, Roebuck, was engaged in too many losing undertakings to advance more capital. At length that partner, in whose

Matthew Boulton. From a Portrait by Sir William Beechy.

misfortunes Watt deeply sympathised, agreed to sell his property in the patent to Boulton. In 1774 Watt went to Birmingham to superintend the construction of his machines; and he wrote to his father, "the fire-engine I

Boulton and Watt's Works at Soho. From a View in 1798.

have invented is now going, and answers much better than any other that has yet been made." There was very soon a change in the character of Boulton's

manufactory. Dr. Johnson kept a Diary of a tour in Wales in 1774. On the 20th of September is this entry: "We went to Boulton's, who, with great civility, led us through his shops. I could not distinctly see his enginery—Twelve dozen of buttons for three shillings—Spoons struck at once." In 1776, Johnson and Boswell made an excursion to Oxford, and also saw Birmingham; of which Boswell has this record: "Mr. Hector was so good as to accompany me to see the great works of Mr. Boulton, at a place which he has called Soho, about two miles from Birmingham, which the very ingenious proprietor showed me himself to the best advantage. I wished Johnson had been with us; for it was a scene which I should have been glad to contemplate by his light. The vastness and the contrivance of some of the machinery would have matched his mighty mind. I shall never forget Mr. Boulton's expression to me,—'I sell here, sir, what all the world desires to have—POWER!'"*

It is unnecessary, for our purpose, that we should pursue the history of the final establishment of the steam-engine of Watt to be the great operative power of the larger industries of Britain. It quickly superseded Newcomen's machines in draining the Cornish tin and copper mines. It multiplied cotton-mills in the towns of Lancashire and of Scotland, without reference to the previous necessity of choosing localities on the banks of the Irwell or the Derwent, the Tweed or the Clyde. It was blowing the iron-furnaces of Dudley, and hammering steel at Sheffield. It was forging anchors and impelling block-machinery at Portsmouth. Yet it was ten years before Boulton and Watt derived any profit from the discovery. They had to struggle, in the first instance, against the common prejudice which attaches to every new invention. All the business sagacity of Boulton was necessary to encourage its use by the most moderate price; or by stipulating only for a royalty upon the amount of fuel which it saved, charging nothing for the engine. The partners had to contend, in actions at law, against unscrupulous pirates. But Parliament, in 1775, had granted an extension of the patent, and the reward to the inventor and his admirable associate would come in time. They would be repaid, however tardily, by the pecuniary fruits of their skill and perseverance, before the invention was thrown open to the world. But even before that period what mighty effects had been produced upon British industry by this crowning triumph of an enterprising age! Without its aid the energy of the people had more than counterbalanced the waste of the national resources by an obstinate government in a foolish and unjust war. The steam-engine of the "Mathematical-Instrument Maker to the University of Glasgow" gave a new impulse to the same energy in another war against a gigantic military despotism, wielded by a man originally as humble as himself—a student of the Military School of Brienne. Captain Sword and Captain Steam were to engage in a struggle not less arduous than that of "Captain Sword and Captain Pen." The one was to lay prosperous cities in ashes; the other was to build up new cities in desolate places. The one was to close the havens of ancient commerce; the other was to freight ships with products of such surpassing excellence and

* It has been said that Boulton, upon being asked by George III. what he dealt in, replied, "What kings delight in—Power!" Boswell's story is more probable.

cheapness, that no tyrannous edicts could exclude them from oppressed nations. The one was to derange every effort of continental industry; the other was to harmonize every form of British labour and invention, by lending to each an intensity and a concentration previously unknown. The one was to attempt the subjugation of the intellect of man to brute force; the other was to complete "the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter:"

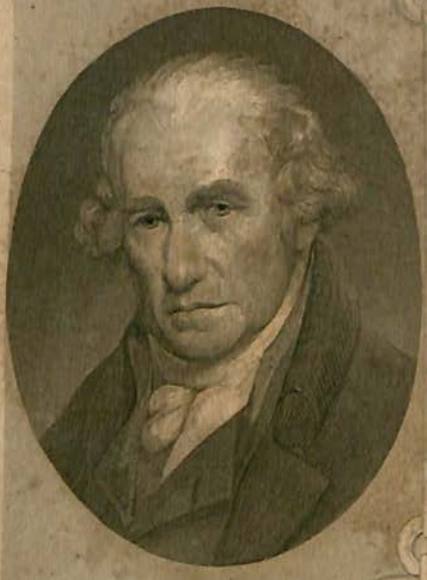
> "Engine of Watt! unrivall'd is thy sway.
> Compared with thine, what is the tyrant's power!
> His might destroys, while thine creates and saves,
> Thy triumphs live and grow, like fruit and flower,
> But his are writ in blood, and read on graves." *

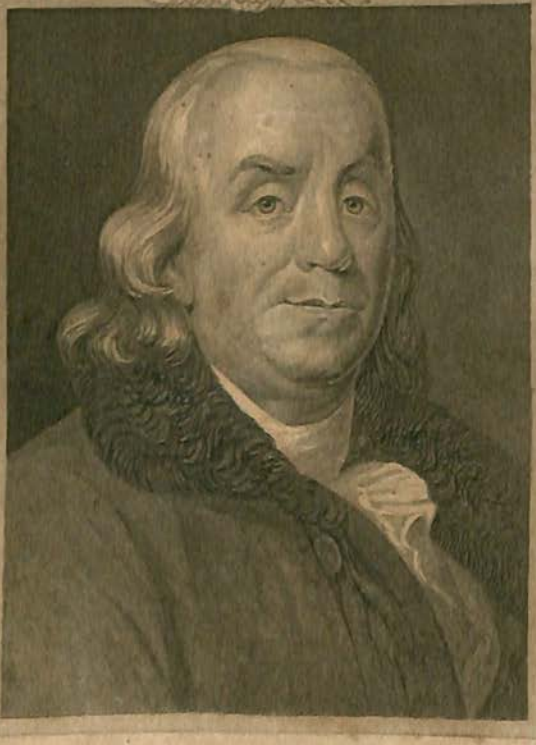
* Elliott—"Steam at Sheffield."

Statue of Watt.

JAMES WATT

PRIESTLEY





FRANKLIN

Old Academy in St. Martin's-lane.

CHAPTER IV.

State of Art in the reign of George II.—Inferiority of native artists—Formation of an English School of Painting—Academies—First Exhibition of Works of English Artists—Exhibition of Sign-paintings—Foundation of the Royal Academy—Early Exhibitions—Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wilson, and West—Engraving—Strange and Woollett—Mezzotint—Mac Ardell, &c.—Boydell and commerce in English engravings—Sculpture—Banks, Bacon, and Flaxman—Architecture—Sir William Chambers—Bridge-building.

A TRANSITION to the Fine Arts from Agriculture and Manufactures, from Spinning Machines and Cotton Mills, from Iron-works and Potteries, from Canals and Steam Engines, is not so abrupt as it may at first appear. In our immediate times, the intimate connexion between the Arts of Design and those exercises of industry which have too exclusively been designated as the Useful Arts, has been distinctly recognised. It has been found after a long experience, that Taste is an essential element in the excellence of manufactures, and of their consequent commercial value. But this connexion was perceived a century ago, when a society, now more flourishing than ever, founded by a drawing-master, proposed "to promote the arts, manufactures, and commerce of this kingdom, by giving honorary or pecuniary rewards as may be best adapted to the case, for the communication to the Society, and through the Society to the public, of all such useful inventions, discoveries,

and improvements, as tend to that purpose." The Society of Arts gave medals to Mr. Curwen for agricultural improvements, and he stated that but for this stimulus he should never have been a farmer. The Society of Arts awarded premiums for improvements in dyeing and tanning, in spinning and weaving, in paper-making and lace-making, and may thus have somewhat excited the inventive power which superseded many of the old modes of hand-labour. The Society of Arts gave its modest grants of ten guineas to Banks and Flaxman, for their earliest efforts in sculpture; and probably without this encouragement these eminent artists might never have been sculptors. The mutual dependance existing between the Polite Arts, as the Arts of Painting and Sculpture were then termed, and the humbler industrial arts which form the foundations of the industrial fabric, was never more distinctly asserted than in the proceedings of this comprehensive Association, for the encouragement of seemingly diverging pursuits, but all of which tended to the same development of public prosperity.

In a former chapter we traced the history of Art in England from the Restoration to the reign of George II. At that time English Art was in a very low state. Architecture had greatly declined from the position to which Wren had raised it. Painters and sculptors were numerous and well paid, but the high places of the professions were chiefly filled by Italians, Germans, Flemings and Frenchmen. Even in portrait painting, the branch in which employment was most abundant, the English practitioners were content if they could produce a satisfactory likeness; whilst for everything but the head they trusted to the skill of "drapery painters," whose highest ambition it was so to complete the work, that it might be recognised as in the style of Sir Godfrey Kneller. As a lively French writer said, "Englishmen make their portraits as they make their pins, each passes through several hands, one shapes the head, another the point; it takes as many painters to finish a full-length portrait as it does tradesmen to equip a *petit maître*." Whenever foreigners referred to the state of art in England it was with a sort of contemptuous pity. There is ample reward, it was said, for the foreign artist who shows even moderate skill, but nothing seems to evoke native talent; surely there must be something in the soil and climate inimical to artistic genius.* Even Englishmen shared the prejudice, or were too diffident of their own judgment to oppose in a matter of taste the acknowledged leaders of European opinion. Yet if there were no living English sculptor or

* Abbé du Bos—"Reflexions Critiques sur la Poësie et sur la Peinture," Par. 1755, vol. ii. 145–7. Le Blanc—"Lettres d'un Français," Par. 1745; and see the "Discours Préliminaire" to a 5th ed. of these Letters, Lyon, 1758; Rouquet—"L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre," Par. 1755. To the same effect were some remarks of Montesquieu, in his "Esprit des Lois," and of the Abbé Winckelmann. From the frequent references made to them by English writers on art for more than half a century, it is clear that these sarcasms were keenly felt by artists, and not without influence on patrons. Barry thought it necessary to write a formal answer to them in his "Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England," 8vo. 1775; and it was in order to refute them practically that he painted his series of pictures in the Great Room of the Society of Arts. (See the Introduction to his "Account of a Series of Pictures," &c.) As late as 1791, the intelligent German, Wendeborn, notes that "it is rather singular that most of those who have excelled in the polite arts in England have been foreigners," and he adds, that though it is no longer exclusively so, among the artists are still many foreigners. Wendeborn—"View of England towards the close of the 18th century," vol. ii. p. 185.

historical painter of unquestioned eminence, the name of Hogarth might seem sufficient to have turned the edge of so dull a sarcasm. But Hogarth, however great he was admitted to be as a humourist, was scarcely recognised even by his countrymen as a painter. His fellow-painters regarded him as an interloper, and the fashionable critic pronounced him "rather a writer of comedy with the pencil than a painter." "As a painter," says Walpole complacently, "he has but slender merit.* Indeed, though Hogarth was the true founder of the English school of painting, his example had but little apparent influence upon his contemporaries or immediate successors, and it was no doubt in perfect good faith that Burke, in his eloquent eulogy on Reynolds—written seven-and-twenty years after Hogarth's death—affirmed, and affirmed without contradiction, that "Sir Joshua Reynolds was the first Englishman who added the praise of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country."

But, however it might be in the days of George II., when his successor ascended the throne it must have been evident to all but the most prejudiced, that an English school of painting was in process of formation. Reynolds was already the acknowledged leader in portraiture, and Reynolds was an Englishman, and in no sense a disciple of Kneller; Wilson was strenuously asserting English superiority in landscape painting; and Gainsborough, though practising in a provincial town, was becoming known in the metropolis as a painter both of landscape and portrait, in a style at once thoroughly English and thoroughly original.

But what served most to give consistency to the labours of the artists, and to stimulate their efforts by bringing them distinctly before the public eye, was the foundation of the Royal Academy, with its great annual exhibition of works of art. The establishment of an academy of art had long been a cherished purpose with English artists. As early as 1711 a private academy for the study of art was instituted, with Sir Godfrey Kneller for its president; but after a time, differences arose, and the members separated into two or three adverse parties. At the head of one of these (the English section) was Sir James Thornhill, who, in 1724, opened a new academy at his own house in the Piazza, Covent Garden, which continued till his death in 1734. Hogarth, his son-in-law, having inherited "the apparatus of the academy," proposed to the other society, which held its meetings in Greyhound Court, by the Strand, and was presided over by Moser, the enamel painter, to unite into a single body, and to take a suitable room where thirty or forty persons might draw from the living model. "Attributing the failures of the previous academies," writes Hogarth, "to the leading members having assumed a superiority which their fellow-students could not brook, I proposed that every member should contribute an equal sum towards the support of the establishment, and have an equal right to vote on every question relative to its affairs. By these regulations the Academy has now existed nearly thirty years, and is, for every useful purpose, equal to that in France, or any other." † This was the famous "Academy in St. Martin's

* "Anecdotes of Painting," iv. 146, 160, ed. 1786.

† Paper by Hogarth in Nicholls's Hogarth, i. 293, and in supplement to Ireland's Hogarth; Walpole—"Anecdotes of Painting," v. 253: Edwards—"Anecdotes of Painting," Introduction, &c.

Lane," so often referred to in the lives of English painters, and to which many of the best artists of this period were indebted for no small portion of their skill in drawing. But these academies, as well as others, like Shipley's, and the Duke of Richmond's, were rather schools for drawing from the living model, or casts from the antique, than institutions such as we are accustomed to associate with the title of academies of art. Several efforts had been made, however, to establish societies of this more ambitious order. Before starting his own private school, Sir James Thornhill had submitted to lord Halifax, for the royal consideration, the scheme of a Royal Academy, with apartments for professors, which he proposed to erect "at the upper end of the Mews"—and pretty nearly therefore on the site of the present Royal Academy—and which he estimated would only cost 3139*l.**

A quarter of a century later the project was formally renewed "with the consent, and indeed at the desire, both of artists and lovers of art," by Mr. Gwyn, an architect of reputation, and one of the original members of the Royal Academy. The French Academy was pointed out as the model, though it was added, if an "English Academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture" were to be erected, it would be desirable to consult the laws of all similar institutions in Europe.† In 1753 the members of the St. Martin's Lane Academy made an effort to raise their institution to the rank of a "Public Academy for the Improvement of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture." It was in opposition to this proposition that Hogarth addressed to lord Bute the paper already quoted. Whether from internal opposition, or the apathy of the artists generally, the scheme fell to the ground; as did also a still more pretentious one for an Academy to be incorporated by royal charter, put forth a couple of years later.‡ Meantime the public interest in art was steadily gaining strength. The foundation, in 1734, of the Dilettanti Society, though its attention was directed chiefly to the arts of ancient Greece, had done something to foster the spirit of inquiry among the upper circles of society; and the Society of Arts had done still more to diffuse an interest in art among the middle classes. Failing in establishing an academy, it seems to have occurred to the artists that they might at least copy so much of the French plan as to set up a public exhibition of their works. Accordingly a committee was formed; the great body of artists were appealed to; the Society of Arts proffered the use of their room, and there on the 21st of April, 1760, exactly a hundred years ago, was opened the first public exhibition in London of the works of living artists. The works exhibited were few in number, and the greater part of little worth; but the names of Reynolds and Wilson were among the painters; Roubiliac and Wilton among the sculptors; Woollett and Strange among the engravers, who contributed examples of their skill; and the public crowded in such numbers to the novel spectacle that it was resolved to repeat the experiment next year on a larger scale. The "great room," Spring Gardens, was accordingly hired, and there, in May, 1761, was held the exhibition which was really the progenitor of that which still, every returning May, attracts to itself alike the rank, the beauty, and the intel-

* Walpole, iv. 46.

† "An Essay on Design: including Proposals for erecting a Public Academy," 8vo. 1749.

‡ Edwards; Nicholls; Sir Robert Strange—"On the Rise of the Royal Academy," 8vo. 1775; Plan of an Academy," &c., 4to. 1755.

ligence of the land. The admission was by catalogues, which, besides serving as guides to the exhibition, were adorned with a vignette by Wale, and a frontispiece and a tailpiece designed by Hogarth and engraved by Grignon—the one symbolising the growth of the arts under the fostering care of Britannia and the benignant influence of the sovereign; the other ridiculing the miserable fate of the decayed "exoticks" which a connoisseur (typified by a monkey in court-suit and ruffles) magnifying glass in hand is vainly watering. Thirteen thousand of these catalogues were sold at a shilling each,—what would one be worth now?

"This exhibition," wrote Johnson to his friend, Baretti,* "has filled the heads of the artists and the lovers of art. Surely life, if it be not long, is tedious, since we are forced to call in so many trifles to rid us of our time—that time which can never return." Next year, however, the sage we may presume took a less austere view of the matter, for the preface to the catalogue was clothed in his sonorous sentences.

But the great moralist was not alone in thinking that the artists were over exuberant in their enthusiasm. Where the philosopher sighed, however, the wits laughed outright. London was startled by the announcement of a rival exhibition to be held "at the large room, at the upper end of Bow Street, Covent-garden," and which was to consist of "Original Paintings, Busts, Carved Figures, &c., by the Society of Sign-painters," together with "such original designs as might be transmitted to them," the whole being "specimens of the native genius of the nation." The Society was, of course, a myth. The burlesque originated with the famous Nonsense Club, its prime contriver being Bonnell Thornton, under whose superintendence it was really carried out in all its parts. The whim took. It was seen to be a harmless jest, and Hogarth himself, who had contributed some works to the Spring Gardens exhibition, readily lent assistance to the Bow Street parody, by giving a touch with his pencil where effect could be added by it: thus in the companion portraits of the empress, Maria Theresa, and the king of Prussia, we are told that he changed the cast of their eyes so as to make them leer significantly at each other. Indeed the fun was altogether of this order. The apothecaries' sign of "The Three Gallipots" had for its companion "The Three Coffins." No. 16 in the catalogue was entitled "A Man:" while the picture was nine tailors at work. In No. 37, "A Man loaded with Mischief," a fellow was painted carrying on his shoulders a woman, a magpie, and a monkey: a sign still occasionally to be seen on some of the low public-houses around London, and on one in Oxford Street. Some of the jokes were rather broader than would be tolerated now, and some of the journals were disposed to treat the matter seriously; but the laughers carried the day: the jest was enjoyed, and it was not spoiled by repetition.†

Only in London, and at such a time, could an exhibition of this kind have been possible. Although an act had been passed for the removal of such sign-boards as obstructed the public ways, almost every shop still had its sign, and every tradesman strove to render his board more attractive than his neighbour's, if not by beauty of design, by oddity of conception, or some sort of extravagance. A market for ready-made signs was kept in Harp Alley,

* Boswell, under June, 1761. † Chalmers's "Preface to the Connoisseur."

Shoe Lane. But sometimes commissions for signs were given to painters of established reputation. Wale, for example, who was selected by his brother artists to draw the frontispiece for their exhibition catalogue, who was one of the first members, and subsequently professor of perspective and librarian of the Royal Academy, was not above painting signs; Penny and Catton, both among the first academicians, and the former the first professor of painting, with others of equal standing, at least occasionally employed their pencils in a similar manner. One of Wale's most famous signs was a portrait of Shakspere, which hung across the road at the north-east corner of Little Russell Street, Drury Lane, and which, with its elaborate frame, is said to have cost five hundred pounds. This branch of Art, however, outlived the exhibition but a very few years. A more stringent act was passed for their removal (11th Geo. III.), and sign-boards ceased to swing except over taverns.*

The members of the Spring Gardens society obtained a charter of incorporation and the exhibitions went on with increasing success. But the directors began to assume more authority than the other members were ready to allow. Differences ensued. The directors claimed the right of filling up all vacancies in their number. This the members refused to admit, and at a special meeting sixteen of the directors were ejected. The other eight shortly after resigned. They were all men of position and influence. West, one of their number, was the especial favourite of the king; Chambers was the royal architect; and they felt that if they could obtain the royal patronage they were strong enough to establish a new academy more comprehensive in purpose, but more exclusive in membership than that they had just left. A draft of a constitution and laws was drawn up by Mr. (afterwards sir William) Chambers, with the assistance of West, Moser, and Cotes, and submitted to the king, who entering with great zeal into the project, directed that the new institution should be called the Royal Academy, and placed under his immediate protection and patronage. By the "Instrument of Institution" the society was to consist of "40 academicians chosen from among the most able and respectable artists resident in Great Britain;" 20 associates from whom future academicians were to be selected; and six associate engravers. There is to be an annual exhibition of works of art, which is to be open to all artists to contribute works, subject to the approval of a committee of selection. Schools of painting and of drawing from the life and from casts are provided, which are to be open without charge to all students who have acquired proper rudimentary instruction, and who conform to the rules of the institution: and professors are annually to read courses of lectures on the principles of the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and also on anatomy and perspective. Hogarth was dead; but had he been living he would not have joined the infant academy, "considering," as he wrote to lord Bute, "the electing presidents, professors, &c., as a ridiculous imitation of the foolish parade of the French Academy." Reynolds held aloof from all the preliminary proceedings, and it was not until he was apprised that it was the wish of the king that he should be its first president, and that it was his majesty's intention on his installation into that office to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, that he consented to join the new society. The foun-

* Edwards—Introduction, and notice of Wale; Smith's "Anecdotes of Nollekens," &c.

dation of the Royal Academy dates from the 10th of December, 1768; its first exhibition was held at the auction room in Pall Mall, in 1769. The list of the original members is a curious index to the state of art in England at that time. Of the thirty-three whose names are inserted in the first catalogue, eight or nine are foreigners; two are ladies; some are only known as designers and engravers; some were coach and sign-painters—most are mere names now: probably not more than half-a-dozen would be recognised except by the student of the literature of art.

Zoffany's Picture of the Royal Academicians, 1773.

Equally curious is it to compare the first thin, loosely printed catalogue of 16 pages with one of the present day. Besides the thirty-three Academicians, only seventeen non-members contribute. There are in all but 136 entries, and among these some are of engravings, and others of drawings in crayons and "stained drawings." No quotations enliven the dreary lists of 'portraits,' 'flower-pieces,' and 'landskips'; but occasionally the descriptions are as curiously precise as though the painter supposed his picture would be carried for comparison to the very spot it was intended to represent. The fashionable landscape-painter George Barret,—one who was rich whilst Wilson starved—described his performances with the precision of a topographer. On the other hand Wilson has nothing appended to either of his three pictures but the single word a "Landskip." Reynolds sent four pictures, all portraits, and all in classic guise, and Gainsborough had also four pictures. West contributed two compositions. Angelica Kauffman, R.A., had four classical subjects, and Mary Moser, R.A., two "flower pieces."

As soon as Somerset House, erected on the site of one of the royal palaces, was completed, the Royal Academy removed to a suite of rooms which the king had caused to be constructed in the new building expressly for their use, and there the annual exhibitions continued to be held till the Academy was removed to the National Gallery. The first exhibition in Somerset House was held in 1780, and the progress from the opening exhibition eleven years earlier is very marked. While the Academicians who exhibit remain in number the same, the non-academicians have increased to 183; the number of entries in the catalogue is 489, and the character of the works exhibited is evidently higher. Besides the names enumerated above, we now meet with some who are destined to sustain the reputation of the school in the succeeding generation: J. S. Copley, R.A. elect (the father of lord Lyndhurst); Fuseli; de Loutherbourg; Zoffany; Stothard; Wyatt the architect; and the sculptors Banks, Bacon and Flaxman. At this time there was no limit to the number of works sent in, and we find Gainsborough on this occasion contributing six large landscapes and ten portraits, whilst in the next year Reynolds sent no fewer than one-and-twenty pictures, including his Dido, and the famous portraits of the ladies Waldegrave for which Walpole (though not without grumbling) paid the artist a thousand guineas—being the largest sum up to that time ever paid to an English portrait painter.

When the Royal Academy took possession of its apartments in Somerset House it stood alone as the visible exponent of British art. The Incorporated Society had persisted for some years in a vain struggle, but from the opening of the Royal Academy no new member joined its ranks; its exhibitions dwindled rapidly into insignificance; and it eventually succumbed before its too powerful rival. The humble Free Society which had clung like a parasite to the Society of Arts had also perished of inanition. The Academy, though often assailed from without, and not always at peace within, has continued in an unbroken career of prosperity down to the present hour —unchanged in its constitution, and without increase in its members, though everything around it has changed, and the number of professional artists has increased fifty-fold since its foundation.*

Among the founders of the Royal Academy were indeed men of no common order; and the glory which they shed around it must have done much to ensure its firm establishment. Reynolds, with whom the early years of the Academy are most intimately associated, was a painter who at once raised English portraiture from sheer mindless mimicry to a level with that of the noblest days of art. Without attempting to rival the great masters in

* The Academy has had no historian: its origin and progress must be traced too often by the light of unfriendly pilots, amid all sorts of muddy banks and quicksands. The following are a few of the sources from which we have derived assistance: "Abstract of the Instrument of the Institution and Laws of the Royal Academy of Arts," 8vo. Lond. 1797; "Catalogues of the Royal Academy;" "The conduct of the Royal Academicians while members of the Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain, viz., from 1760 to their expulsion in 1769. With some part of their transactions since," 8vo. 1771, and Abstracts of Papers of Incorporated Society published in the "Literary Panorama," 1808; Galt's "Life of Benjamin West," vol. ii. chap. iv., where full particulars respecting the foundation of the Academy are given on the authority of West himself, who conducted the negociations with the king; the Lives of Sir Joshua Reynolds, by Malone, Northcote, and Cotton; Barry's Works; Pye on "Patronage of British Art;" "Reports (with evidence) of Committees of House of Commons," 1834 and 1836; Hogarth, Sir Robert Strange, Nicholls, Edwards, Cunningham, &c.

the higher walks of painting, he strove to compete with the worthiest in his own peculiar line. He has been condemned for not attempting loftier themes, but we may in these days be well content that he employed his pencil in handing down the portraits of the statesmen, soldiers, and writers, and of the matrons, maids, and children among whom he lived and moved, rather than in fabricating from the recipes and models of the painting-room eighteenth-century Phrynes, Venuses, and Epaminondases, or even Apostles and Madonnas. For not only was Reynolds the greatest colourist that England had ever seen, but her most intellectual portrait-painter, and she had men, women, and children well worthy the best pencil that could be found to hand down their features to posterity. But whilst Reynolds could do this, he wanted, for what are called the higher branches of art, alike sufficient technical training, power of studious application, historical insight, and poetic imagination. All that he aimed to do he did perfectly. His mastery over his materials is the more surprising the more his works are studied. His touch is always sure and firm, yet light as zephyr. His clearness of perception is almost perfect. To every part is given just the tone and touch and surface which most befits it. Where his colours have not lost their original hue, they glow with a sombre splendour, which, though borrowed neither from Flanders nor Venice, reminds the spectator of the greatest masters of both those countries. Then what fascination in his female forms and features, how charming his children, how manly his men! Reynolds lived always in easy intercourse with the most distinguished of his time, and something of the genial grace of such companionship is visible in his works. He did not copy a face with camera-like particularity, but he always gave what was most essential: his likenesses are not perhaps always the most faithful rendering of the man in his ordinary daily life, but they bring out his most intellectual and characteristic aspect. Burke was mistaken when he said that Reynolds was the first Englishman who added the praise of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country. But if he was not that, we cannot but regard him, when we reflect on the influence which he exerted alike by his pencil, his writings, and his character, as the true founder of the English school of painting.

Gainsborough had far less technical power than Reynolds, and in portraiture far less variety. But if he could not attain the elevation of Reynolds's Mrs. Siddons, or Cornelia, he could more than equal Reynolds in depicting the lighter phases of female beauty. Those who saw Gainsborough's portraits in the wonderful collection brought together last year in the British Institution, or the exquisite specimens of his pencil in the great Manchester Exhibition, will be little likely to gainsay his powers as a painter of female portraits. But it is after all as a landscape painter, and the painter of those delightful "Cottage Doors," and similar homely rustic subjects which he painted with such unrivalled skill, that he ranks supreme. He was the first painter of the poetry of homely English scenery—the first who showed how the shallow ford, the village green, the leafy woodside, or shady river's bank might on canvas delight the eye and stir the memory and stimulate the fancy—and in his own way he has found no compeer and no successor.

By those whose tastes lead them to prefer what is called classic landscape, Wilson has always been placed above Gainsborough as a painter. But

Wilson was less original and less native in style. Italian scenes with Phaëtons or Apollos in the clouds, and Niobes on the earth, will never come home to the common understanding. Wilson was neglected whilst alive; he has been perhaps over-praised since his death. Like Gainsborough, he was altogether a painter. But there was less spontaneousness in his constitution. Even his English scenes are painted on an Italian model. If he looked abroad on nature it was to consider how the scenery would "compose" into a picture. The men and women who walked about were to him but "figures." He was a great painter, but his greatness was conventional. Yet few landscape-painters of any country have had a finer eye for grandeur of form and largeness of effect, and if it be to Gainsborough that we can trace the love of simple unsophisticated English scenery, truth and freshness of colour, and directness of imitation, which have ever since characterised English landscape-painting—the truest and noblest school of landscape that has yet been seen—it is to Wilson that we are indebted for its preservation in its early stages from vulgarity and commonplace.

Reynolds, Wilson, and Gainsborough were born within a few years of each other. The other painter, whose name is most closely associated with them in these early days of English art, who succeeded Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy, and who must, we fear, be regarded as the founder of English historical painting, Benjamin West, was some years their junior. A native of Pennsylvania, then an English colony, he came to London at the age of five-and-twenty, and was introduced by Drummond, archbishop of York, to George III., who, pleased with the simplicity of his quaker manners, and the grave religious character of his pictures and sketches, at once took the young American into his favour. West had spent three years in Italy in

West.

the study of the old masters, and he had acquired a fatal facility of composition and execution. His pictures, when scriptural, were always illustrative of passages which stirred the sympathies of every person of religious feelings, and they were so painted that all could at once understand them; and his historical and classical subjects were hardly more recondite and were equally clear. The king saw in them pictures he could feel and comprehend. West received an unlimited commission, and as long as the king retained his

faculties, West was duly paid his salary of 1000*l.* a year. The royal patronage would alone have insured the painter success, but the same qualities which delighted the king delighted a large section of his subjects also; and it was the popular belief that England possessed in West another Raffaelle. That belief has long passed away, and the reaction has been severe. West never rose above mediocrity, and mediocrity is as fatal to the painter as the poet. But worse painters have had a more enduring celebrity, and some pictures of West's ought to save him from oblivion. One of these is his celebrated "Death of General Wolfe," in which, in spite of the warnings of his friends, and it is said the united and semi-official protest of the president of the Royal Academy and the archbishop of York,* West, instead of clothing the hero and his associates in the costumes of Greece or Rome, or that conventional "drapery" which painters were accustomed to substitute for the dress of any particular age or country, ventured on the daring innovation of making the actors wear the actual coats and cocked hats in which they fought. The picture was painted with unusual care, referred to an event which stirred every heart, and was treated in a manner which men of all conditions could appreciate. It had an immense success. The king was delighted; Reynolds was converted; but the painter's brother artists—hardest of all to satisfy—were not convinced. Barry undertook to show how the event should have been treated in the classic style. He painted the scene, and people were amazed at beholding Wolfe and his grenadiers braving the climate of Canada as well as the bayonets of Montcalm in a state of nudity. But if Barry outraged all "the proprieties," West, some thought, had not wholly resisted temptation. He had painted the dying general in the midst of his officers, who were grouped about him, not as they must have been under such circumstances, but plainly with a view to scenic effect, and he had brought into the foreground a naked Indian, though no such person was actually there. Penny, then professor of painting at the academy, undertook to depict the hero's death as it really occurred—almost alone and in the rear of the fight. But he too got entangled in conventionalisms, and was, moreover, incompetent to grapple with the theme, and West's triumph was complete. "The Death of Wolfe," we may say now, went but a little way towards settling the still unsettled question of the extent of licence allowable to the painter of a familiar historical scene; but it at least put an end to the more outrageous anomalies previously tolerated, and the historical painter was thenceforth in this country understood to be to some extent amenable to the laws which govern the historical writer.

It had now become a favourite project to adorn our churches and public buildings with paintings, after the fashion of those of the continent. It was decided to make the experiment on St. Paul's. The leading painters, with West and Reynolds at their head, offered at their own cost to cover the bare walls of the metropolitan cathedral with paintings of the leading events of Old and New Testament history, and the king and the archbishop of Canterbury gave their cordial adhesion to the proposal. But the bishop of London, whose veto was decisive, sternly refused his sanction, and the whole scheme fell to the ground,—thereby, said the enthusiastic professors, throwing back historical

* See Galt's "Life of West."

painting in England for a century. That such willing service might not be lost, however, the Society of Arts (taking into account the profits derived by the exhibition of the pictures painted for the Foundling Hospital) invited the six painters, designated by the Royal Academy to execute the paintings in St. Paul's, with four others, to paint around their great room ten large pictures from English History; for which they were to be remunerated by the proceeds of an exhibition of them when finished. The painters declined; but Barry, who had been burning to remove from English art the reproach cast upon it by Winckelmann and Du Bos, proffered to cover the entire room himself with a series of large allegorical paintings illustrative of Human Culture. The Society accepted his offer, and though he had but sixteen shillings in his pocket, he commenced his mighty task, working at odd jobs for the booksellers by night to procure the sustenance necessary to carry on the work of the day. After labouring almost without intermission for nearly seven years, he brought his undertaking to a close. A work like this was almost heroic: and out of respect for the man who thus braved neglect and poverty that he might carry out worthily his patriotic enterprise, we would fain persuade ourselves that the work was not a failure. Happily for his own peace of mind, Barry himself never suspected that he missed his aim. In his celebrated letter to the Dilettanti Society, he speaks without stint of its "public interest, and ethical utility of subject; castigated purity of Grecian design, beauty, grace, vigorous effect, and execution." We read those words

Barry.

and turn with amazement from the pictures. But we look again and see ample evidence of genius, though of the genius that is near allied to madness. Few more efforts were made to achieve success in mural painting. It was reserved for our own day, and with another material, to show what English artists could effect in that branch of art. The frescoes of the New Houses of Parliament, and perhaps even more that in the great hall of Lincoln's Inn, have proved that if fitting opportunity offers, the skill will not be wanting to produce works worthy of the nation. But seeing what was in the 18th century regarded as the ideal of historical painting—looking at the cold mediocrity of West and his followers on the one hand, and the unchecked

extravagance of Barry and Fuseli on the other,—it is a matter rather for rejoicing than regret that our churches and public places were not adorned with such illustrations of sacred and secular history as the painters of that day must have produced.

If we were attempting more than a few illustrations of the state of art, there are many other painters who would call for record. Romney, whose life is a romance, and who for a while divided the town with Reynolds, when Thurlow, like his sovereign, declared himself "of the Romney faction;" Fuseli, who imported into England the wildest extravagances of Germany; Paul Sandby, by many regarded as the father of that essentially English art, water-colour painting; Wright of Derby, and many another might afford matter for remark: to say nothing of those who succeeded them, and reflected for the most part more or less strongly their genius or their manner—Northcote, Opie, Copley, Stothard, and those others of equal fame who handed down the practice and the traditions of their elders to the painters of our own day.

Nor should those who by means of the art of Engraving assisted in diffusing still more widely the works of the great artists who adorned this period, be left unmentioned. Sir Robert Strange and William Woollett did for English line engraving all that Reynolds and his associates accomplished for painting. More they could not do in their own country; but beyond its limits they perhaps did more. English pictures, except in special instances, never found their way across the channel; but the engravings of Strange and Woollett were eagerly purchased all over the continent. Both were men of rare genius. Strange confined his attention to historical engraving, and delighted in translating the works of the great masters of old. Woollett chiefly engraved landscapes, and especially those of British painters. Strange learnt the art from Le Bas, one of the most distinguished French engravers of the day, and he cultivated his powers by diligent study in the great centres of Italian art. But whilst no engraver ever entered more into the spirit of the painters whose works he copied, his style was decidedly his own. Nearly all his plates were executed from drawings made by himself from the original pictures; and much as we may admire them when seen apart, it is only on examining such a collection of his engravings as that in the Print Room of the British Museum, where they fill three folio volumes, that his remarkable industry and fertility of resource, as well as his artistic feeling and the brilliancy of his technical skill, can be fairly appreciated. Woollett owed little to any instructor. His teacher was an obscure English engraver, and he never studied out of his native country. But he lived at a time when England was putting forth her strength in art, and he fully participated in the movement. Like our landscape painters, he refused to be bound by established practices. The effect he desired to produce he took what seemed the surest means of producing, without regard to its being the most regular. Etching, the graver, and the needle he freely used, as each seemed the most efficient for the purpose in view. The best of his plates consequently exhibit a union of force and delicacy scarcely to be found elsewhere in landscape engravings. His characterization of surface is nearly perfect. The landscapes of Woollett indeed gave a decided impulse to landscape engraving abroad as well as at home. He engraved the figure also

with great ability, and his plate from West's "Death of Wolfe" is generally regarded as a masterpiece. But it is in his landscapes that his great originality and genius are shown, and Woollett is as justly considered the founder of the English school of landscape engraving as Strange is of that of historical engraving. Several other English line engravers, of very considerable skill, flourished during the same period, of whom it will be enough to name Major, who wrote himself engraver to the king; Basire, Byrne, Rooker, the able but unhappy Ryland, and the best of all our portrait engravers William Sharp, who together created a school of line engravers which though not always adequately patronized, has continued with unabated powers to the present day.

In mezzotint engraving—a branch of engraving in which England has always maintained the lead—the first practitioner was James MacArdell, who did for the portraits of Reynolds, at least all that his predecessor, John Smith, performed for those of Kneller. With MacArdell, or immediately succeeding him, practised Fisher, Valentine Green, Raphael Smith, W. Dickinson, Earlom, and the Watsons, James, Thomas, and Caroline; whilst Paul Sandby showed the capabilities of the infant art of aquatinta engraving. Along with the admirable native engravers, several distinguished foreigners found ample employment. Of these the chief were Bartolozzi, best known by the "chalk" engravings after his own designs, and the drawings of the great masters; Vivares, unrivalled for the freedom of his foliage, and the graceful ease with which he rendered the landscapes of Lorraine, Poussin, and Gainsborough; Grignon, who seems to have been equally expert in every class of subjects and in every style; and Gravelot, now recollected only by his book-plates.

English engravings had indeed become an important branch of commerce. If we may credit the statement made in the House of Lords by lord Suffolk in his speech on Boydell's 'Lottery Bill,' "the revenue coming into this country from this source at one time exceeded 200,000*l.* per annum." Boydell was the principal agent in promoting this traffic. Himself an engraver, though of but small talent, he was led by observing the success of Hogarth's plates to speculate on the possibility of establishing a print-selling business on an extended scale. He tried and succeeded, and with every fresh success his boldness increased, until he was able to assert that he had laid out "above 350,000*l.* in promoting the fine arts in this country."* On the plates issued by him he employed engravers of the highest standing; and he set the example of publishing illustrated books of a more splendid character than had previously been issued by any English publisher. By his fellow citizens he was elected alderman, and then lord-mayor, but his highest ambition was to produce an edition of Shakspere which should in its illustrations be the most perfect which the arts of the country could produce. To effect this he invited the principal painters of the day to paint finished oil pictures of incidents selected from the various plays; and to contain the pictures so produced he built a spacious suite of rooms in Pall Mall, which he designated the Shakspere Gallery, but which is now the Gallery of the British Institution. The engravings as published formed a magnificent work in nine

* Petition to House of Commons—"Annual Register," vol. xlvi.

folio volumes. The pictures, with the gallery which contained them, Boydell intended to have bequeathed to the nation; but commercial losses arising out of the French revolution compelled him to sell them, and he obtained the sanction of parliament for disposing of them by lottery. Boydell was of course not alone in his enterprise. His success stimulated other publishers, and some of them produced works scarcely less important than his own.

Boydell.

In the early years of the reign of George III. there was only one English sculptor of any reputation, and his celebrity arose rather from the paucity of competition than from his own ability. Into what strange defiances of common sense the lack of imagination will lead artists who are poetic by rule, the monuments of Joseph Wilton which disfigure our metropolitan cathedrals will be sufficient to convince any one who will take the trouble to examine them. Banks (1735-1805) some thirteen years the junior of Wilton, was our first great English sculptor. He loved to work on classic themes, and Reynolds said that he had the mind of an ancient Greek. But his poetic subjects brought him only the poet's fare, and like most of his craft who find portraiture irksome he had to turn for profit to the sculpture of monuments. His real strength however lay in his poetic conception; his monumental groups are for the most part of inferior value—the exceptions being when there was something to call for simple poetic treatment, as in the exquisite monument to a child, Penelope Boothby, in Ashborne Church, a work which when in the exhibition room at Somerset House by its gentle pathos moved to tears the crowd that daily surrounded it. John Bacon (1740-1799) was a more popular, and in a pecuniary point of view far more successful sculptor than Banks: but in all the higher qualities of his art greatly his inferior. To his chisel we owe a very large proportion of the public monuments erected in the latter part of the last century.

Later in date than the sculptors just noticed, came one greater than either. Had his powers of execution been equal to his conception, John Flaxman would have been one of the very greatest sculptors of modern times. As it is, in chastened affluence of imagination, purity and grace, he has hardly a superior. His was a fancy which could soar into the highest heaven of invention, yet stoop without discredit to the humblest task-work. Some of his

grander productions like the Archangel Michael and Satan (at Petworth) are the glory of the English school of sculpture; his designs from Homer (and there are others scarcely less noble or beautiful) have won the admiration of the best critics throughout Europe; yet he was ready to model a porcelain cup or plate for Wedgwood, and in doing so never failed to produce one that an ancient Greek would have beheld with delight. Along with our three famous countrymen lived and laboured a Dutchman, if not more famous than they, far more the favourite of fortune. This was Joseph Nollekens, a carver of Grecian deities, the best of which is renowned as the 'long-sided Venus.' But if he missed the ideal, he never missed sober every-day reality. He was in portrait-sculpture what Reynolds was in portrait-painting, and he prospered accordingly. He died at a ripe old age worth 200,000*l.*—which is a fair measure of his ability.

We have traced * the progress of Architecture from Wren down to Kent and Burlington. From the era of churches and mansions, we have arrived at that of public and commercial buildings. Sir Robert Taylor was the leading architect when George III. ascended the throne. He was a man of taste and industry, but not of much original power: the wings he added to the Bank, an adaptation of a design by Bramante, were much admired at the

The Bank of England, as altered by Sir Robert Taylor.

time, but were ruthlessly swept away by his successor as bank architect, sir John Soane. Contemporary with Taylor was Dance, the architect of the Mansion House and of Newgate—the latter a work of most prison-like character. The Woods (father and son), of Bath, and the brothers Adam, of Edinburgh and London, call for honorable notice for their efforts to raise the character of our street architecture. Bath, "that beautiful city which charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio," † may be said to have been created by the Woods: the taste of Robert and James Adam is fairly shown in the Adelphi—though they erected a large number of other buildings. But the greatest architect of the time was sir William Chambers, whose fame—his Chinese fantasies being forgotten—now rests secure, on his one grand work, Somerset House—by far the noblest English building of its time, and, with all its faults, still one of the noblest buildings in the capital. Unfortunately, it was never completed on its original plan; and the erection of King's College in an anomalous style—itself about to be rendered still more anomalous by the perversion of the

* Vol. v. chap. xxix. † Macaulay.

semi-Greek chapel into semi-Gothic—will for ever prevent the completion of its eastern side, a misfortune rendered the more obvious by Mr. Pennethorne's recent admirable completion of the western portion. Somerset House was the last crowning triumph of the Italian style, introduced by Inigo Jones, and carried on with very unequal success by succeeding architects. The

The Quadrangle, Somerset House.

investigations of two painters, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, as made known in their "Antiquities of Athens," (1762-94), by calling the attention of professional men and the public to the architecture of ancient Greece, effected an entire change in the received notions of architectural beauty. It was of course some time before the change became apparent in our public edifices, but, from the publication of the "Antiquities," there was a constantly growing approximation to Greek forms, however much the Greek spirit might be absent, until in our own day it culminated in the works of sir Robert Smirke, and was followed by the inevitable reaction. Stuart himself, after the publication of the first volume of his great work, adopted the profession of an architect, and found considerable employment: his best known building is the Chapel of Greenwich Hospital—an elegant structure, but alone sufficient to show that he was by no means a purist in the application of Greek principles. Revett also practised as an architect, but without any marked success. It remains only to notice James Wyatt, who suddenly became famous by the erection of the Pantheon, Oxford-street (1772), and during the rest of the century secured a large share of public favour. His ambition in the first instance was to produce an Italianised Greek style; but later he unhappily turned his attention to Gothic, and to him is due the destruction of much, and the disfigurement of more, of the most precious of our mediæval remains. His tasteless additions are now for

the most part removed, or in process of removal, but the injury to the originals is irreparable.

We ought not, however, to quit this part of our subject without mentioning the names of two or three architects to whom we owe some bridges of great value and beauty, though unfortunately in the chief instances deficient in the essential quality of stability. Of these architects—for bridge-building was not then considered a branch of engineering—the earliest was Labelye, a Swiss, builder of Westminster bridge, opened in 1750, and now in process of replacement by a less picturesque but far more convenient and, we may hope, more lasting structure. Blackfriars bridge (opened in 1760), a more elegant but not more stable edifice than Labelye's, was the work of Richard Mylne. A competitor with Mylne for the erection of this bridge was John Gwyn, whose proposals for a Royal Academy we have mentioned. Gwyn had studied the subject of bridges and public ways closely, and was a man of remarkably clear insight. In his "London and Westminster Improved," (1766, to which Johnson wrote the "Noble Dedication," as Boswell terms it), Gwyn not only urged the necessity of replacing old London bridge by a new one, carrying another bridge across the Thames near the site where Waterloo bridge now stands, and removing Smithfield and Fleet markets but in maps, as well as in the text, clearly pointed out most of the new lines of thoroughfare and principal improvements which have been since effected in the metropolis, and others which yet remain unaccomplished. Gwyn was the builder of the well-known Magdalen bridge, Oxford, and of the handsome but inconveniently steep English bridge at Shrewsbury.

Edward Cave.

CHAPTER V.

Manners as depicted in the Literature of the period—Changes in the commerce of Literature—Samuel Johnson the link between two periods—Literature of George the Second's time—The Novelists—Richardson—Fielding—Smollett—Sterne—Goldsmith—Literature of the first quarter of a century of the reign of George the Third—Manners—Stage Coaches—Highwaymen—The Post—Inns—Public refreshment places of London—Ranelagh—Vauxhall—The Pantheon—The Theatre—Garrick—Bath—Gaming Tables.

On a rainy day, somewhere about the year 1780, a man of advanced age stood bareheaded in the market of Uttoxeter, making strange contortions of visage whilst he remained for an hour in front of a particular stall. It was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had gone from Lichfield to this small market town, to subject himself to the penance of rough weather and mocking by-standers, for expiation of an act of filial disobedience which he had committed fifty years before. His father was a bookseller at Lichfield, who died in 1731,—a man who knew something more of books than their titles; a proud man struggling to conceal his poverty. He had a shop with a good stock of the solid folios and quartos of the age of Anne and George I. "He propagates learning all over this diocese," said a chaplain in 1716. His manner of trade was nevertheless somewhat different from that of the bookseller of a cathedral town in the next century. He carried some of his most vendible stock to markets around Lichfield. "At that time booksellers' shops in the provincial towns of England were very rare, so that there was not one even in Birmingham, in which town old Mr. Johnson used to open a shop every

market-day." * The old man, being on a sick-bed, had requested his son Samuel to attend the book-stall at Uttoxeter. The young student had come home from Oxford too poor to complete his academical career. "My pride prevented me from doing my duty, and I gave my father a refusal," said the literary veteran, whose pride, during the fifty years that had elapsed between the committal of the fault and its singular atonement, had sustained many a grievous trial and sore indignity. As Johnson was enduring his hour of penance, we may well believe that thoughts of the great changes that he had witnessed in the commerce of literature would come into his mind. He had seen his father's book-stall at Birmingham succeeded by the Circulating Library which William Hutton established there in 1751. When he was a lad of sixteen, idling, as some thought, in the desultory reading offered to him in his father's shop, he might have learnt from a pamphlet of that time, that there were only twenty-eight "Printing-houses in all the Corporation towns of England," seven towns having two printers each, and fourteen towns only one each.† Half a century later the desire for News had called forth a Printing House in every considerable town, to provide its own "Post-man," or "Mercury," or "Gazette," or "Courant," or "Chronicle," or "Times," or "Advertiser." In 1782 there were in England fifty Provincial Journals.‡ In the year that Johnson's father died, 1731, Cave issued his "Gentleman's Magazine." The "London Magazine" immediately followed. The rapid extension of a class of readers somewhat distinct from "the learned" produced "the Golden Age of Magazines, when their pages were filled with voluntary contributions from men who never aimed at dazzling the public, but came each with his scrap of information, or his humble question, or his hard problem, or his attempt at verse." § Johnson was to nurse the infant into manhood, with food more substantial than this spoon-meat. If the Printer of St. John's Gate had no other claim to the respect of coming generations, it would have been praise enough that he was the first who gave the hard-earned bread of literature to Samuel Johnson, as a regular coadjutor in his Magazine, "by which," says Boswell, "he probably obtained a tolerable livelihood." That form of popular literature which Cave originated was followed up, some twenty years later, by the more ambitious "Review." The "Monthly Review" was the parent of "The Critical," "The London," and other Reviews, that addressed a great mixed class of readers. "The History of the Works of the Learned" might have higher aims, but it was not calculated for a large and enduring success. The Monthly Magazines and Reviews called into existence a new race of authors. The division of large books into weekly or monthly numbers, so as to suit a more extended market, was another of the many indications of the growth of a different race of book buyers than the purchasers of costly works.

Johnson came to London, a literary adventurer, in 1737. He was long destined to bear the poverty, and to encounter the supposed degradation, that surrounded the author who wrote for subsistence—the successor of the author who wrote for preferment. Coming at a period when the circle of readers

* Boswell's "Life of Johnson," chap. i.
† See Nicholls's "Literary Anecdotes," vol i. p. 288.
‡ Andrews's "History of Journalism," p. 274.
§ Southey—"The Doctor," chap. cxii.

was rapidly and steadily enlarging, he was rescued from the slavery of waiting in a lord's antechamber for five guineas for a dedication, to pass through the scarcely less painful dependence upon the capricious or mercenary publisher for a guinea for an article. But from this second stage of the author's misery relief was sure to come in time. Johnson swallowing the scraps from Cave's table, hidden behind a screen to conceal his ragged clothes,—Johnson wandering about the streets, hungry and houseless, with Savage; or collecting a few shillings, when his acquaintances were few and as poor as himself, to redeem the clothes of Boyse from the pawnbroker,—and Johnson the acknowledged head of the Literary Club of which Burke and Reynolds were members,—are indications of social changes that were of more importance than the vicissitudes in the life of the individual. In many respects Johnson may be regarded as the Representative Man of the Literature of half a century —the Magazine-writer, the Essayist, the Critic, the Poet, the Philologist—the chapman, with many articles of use or ornament in a crowded market. But, in a point of view not altogether fanciful, Johnson was something higher than a Representative—he was a King. Of his death, in 1784, it has been said, "it was not only the end of a reign, but the end of kingship altogether, in our literary system. For king Samuel has had no successor; nobody since his day, and that of his contemporary Voltaire, has sat on a throne of Literature, either in England or in France."* More fortunate than most sovereigns, king Samuel from the time when he began really to reign instead of fighting his way to the royal chair, had an annalist who has not damaged the character of the potentate by a minute record of the frailties and prejudices of the man. Johnson has indeed an interest apart from that of being the hero of the most amusing book in any language, from his position as the chief connecting link between the Literature of two periods which appear, at the first glance, to be very widely separated. In 1738, Johnson published anonymously his poem of "London"; and Pope is reported to have said, "the author, whoever he is, will not be long concealed." In 1783, Johnson "read with great delight" Crabbe's poem of "The Village," and suggested alterations in some of the lines. The association with Pope carries us back to the time of Anne. The association with Crabbe leads us onward to the time of William IV. But Johnson, isolated from the literature that preceded him and the literature that followed him, is the faithful mirror of the literature of his own age. In social intercourse with him, we see a large number of the most distinguished of his brethren. In his estimates of their value, and of others his contemporaries—estimates often prejudiced to the extent of absurdity, but even in their prejudices reflecting the opinions of his day—we obtain a broader general view of the literature of a very remarkable period of transition than from any other source. Johnson, as preserved to us by Boswell, is the universal commentator. In his admiration or in his contempt, we collect who were the writers filling the largest space in the estimation of the public they addressed. We may trace them, like himself, obtaining almost an absolute command over the national thought, by lighting up the obscure places of knowledge, and by bringing the remote places into easy communication.

* G. L. Craik—"Literature and Learning in England."

The precise period at which Johnson launched his little bark upon the wide ocean of literature, would appear, in many respects, as one offering small encouragement to a man possessing high genius, even if combined with the rarer faculty of turning his learning and abilities to account. The

James Boswell.

government of sir Robert Walpole would bestow wages upon needy hacks, without much regard to the quality of the work that was to be done for the hire. To shower lucrative places upon Walpole's scribbling eulogists and defenders, would have been to take the bread out of the mouths of the other hungry tribe who required sinecures as the payment for their votes. When Johnson came to London he found the authors up in arms against that partial interference with "the precarious dependence" of the wits which Walpole had accomplished by placing the stage under the control of a licenser.* Yet if, by the effect of this law, the Lord Chamberlain was to be the chief supervisor, who would not suffer one species of wit to be retailed without a permit, the restrictions upon the theatre had no influence upon the speedy and luxuriant growth of many other forms of intellectual production, adapted, like that of the stage, for a general diffusion amongst all classes of society.

It is not uncommon to hear the reign of George II. spoken of as an age of dullness. Except by looking accurately at bibliographical dates, we can scarcely form a notion of the literary vigour that was displayed in the last twenty years of that reign. The greatest of the productions of Pope was the fourth book of "The Dunciad," published in 1742. He died in 1744. The mighty intellect of Swift had been long shut up in hopeless imbecility, when he died in 1745. Young, who had made his reputation and his fortune by his Satires in the latter years of George I., achieved what the world was inclined to consider a far higher distinction by the publication of his "Night

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 89.

Thoughts" in 1741. Thomson, who, in 1726, had established his enduring claim to the honours of a true poet, published his "Castle of Indolence" in 1748, the year of his death. Another generation of poets was at hand, to fill up the choir when the elder race were silent. Johnson made a poetical name by his "London" in 1738, and by his "Vanity of Human Wishes" in 1749. Akenside's "Pleasures of Imagination," and Armstrong's "Art of Preserving Health," appeared in 1744. The "Oriental Eclogues" of Collins in 1742, and his "Odes" in 1746, marked the day-spring of a genius that was too soon clouded in a dark night. Gray's "Elegy" "first made him known to the public," according to Johnson, in 1751; and soon commanded that popularity which it never lost. His "Bard" and "Progress of Poesy" found few admirers upon their appearance in 1757, amply compensated by subsequent over-praise. The English poetical succession was thus honourably continued through the reigns of the foreigners who had succeeded to the throne of the Stuarts; and was handed on to that of their successor, "born and bred a Briton."

A new species of literature, that may almost be considered indigenous, is the marked characteristic of the period we are now regarding. In 1740 Samuel Richardson published the first part of his novel of "Pamela;" of which the second part, issued in 1741, was regarded as the natural falling-off of most "continuations." To understand the extraordinary popularity of "Pamela," we must take Richardson's own account of the object which he proposed to himself in its composition: "I thought the story, if written in an easy and natural manner suitable to the simplicity of it, might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance-writing; and, dismissing the improbable and marvellous, with which novels generally abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue." The novels to which Richardson alludes were not of English growth; for, with the exception of Defoe, we had no novelist who attempted to invest the ordinary concerns of the life of unheroic men and women with the charm of reality. We had translations from French romances, and imitations of French romances, from the time of Scudery to the time of Crebillon. It was reserved for Richardson to carry on a story with such an implicit reliance upon his power of exciting sympathy without "the improbable and marvellous," that the educated and the uneducated have confided in his fictions as absolute truths. That confidence has subsisted even to recent times, when these creations, too tedious for a more busy age, were not quite forgotten. Sir John Herschel has preserved a tribute to the genius of Richardson which is worth a wilderness of criticism: "I recollect an anecdote told me by a late highly-respected inhabitant of Windsor, as a fact which he could personally testify, having occurred in a village where he resided several years, and where he actually was at the time it took place. The blacksmith of the village had got hold of Richardson's novel of 'Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded, and used to read it aloud in the long summer evenings, seated on his anvil, and never failed to have a large and attentive audience. It is a pretty long-winded book, but their patience was fully a match for the author's prolixity, and they fairly listened to it all. At length, when the happy turn of fortune arrived which brings the hero and heroine together, and sets them living long and happily according to the most approved rules, the congregation were

so delighted as to raise a great shout, and, procuring the church keys, actually set the parish bells ringing." * "Clarissa" was not published till 1748; "Sir Charles Grandison" followed in 1751. There is a singular passage in a letter of Johnson to Richardson, which is suggestive, as it appears to us, of one of the peculiar merits of the novelist. He writes, speaking of "Clarissa," "I wish you would add an *Index rerum*, that when the reader recollects any incident he may easily find it." Johnson makes a similar suggestion when "Grandison" was published. "'Clarissa,'" he says, "is not a performance to be read with eagerness, and laid aside for ever; but will be occasionally consulted by the busy, the aged, and the studious." It is one of the most characteristic excellences of Richardson, that there is not the minutest incident in his narratives which has not some distinct bearing upon the development of the complete story. To trace the connexion of these circumstances, would have been facilitated by an index; and it is not impossible that this was in Johnson's mind, although Mr. Croker regards the suggestion as an adroit piece of flattery to a vain man.† We remember to have heard an eminent lawyer declare that he studied Richardson's plots as he would study a mass of evidence in a complicated case; and that the extreme art by which the chain was kept entire, in links not always apparent, could be readily traced by one who brought the legal mind to discover something beyond meaningless prolixity in the endless details of these novels.

In 1742 Henry Fielding published "The Adventures of Joseph Andrews," the hero of which history "was esteemed to be the only son of Gaffer and Gammer Andrews, and brother to the illustrious Pamela, whose virtue is at present so famous." No one now reads Fielding's first novel as a burlesque of Richardson, for which it was really intended. It would appear, from a letter of Gray to West, that he had been amused by "Joseph Andrews," without a suspicion that any ridicule was intended of another novelist; and, indeed, Fielding, having discovered his own real power, appears very soon to have resigned himself to delineations of character and manners without much regard to his purpose of satirizing the over-wrought sentiment of Richardson. Gray says: "The incidents are ill-laid and without invention; but the characters have a great deal of nature, which always pleases, even in her lowest shapes. . . . . Throughout he shows himself well read in stage-coaches, country squires, inns, and inns of court." Johnson, who always professed contempt for Fielding in proportion as he admired Richardson, maintained that Fielding's characters were characters of manners, whilst Richardson's were characters of nature.‡ "Richardson used to say, that had he not known who Fielding was, he should have believed he was an ostler. Sir, there is more knowledge of the heart in one letter of Richardson's than in all 'Tom Jones.' I, indeed, never read 'Joseph Andrews.'" This dispraise of Fielding indicates his great value to those who would understand the manners of his age; in what Boswell properly termed "very natural pictures of human life," but which Johnson despised as "of very low life," Fielding, "well read in stage-coaches, country squires, inns, and inns of court," is a faithful historian, in his own line, of a condition of society that was worth the

* "Address to the Subscribers to the Windsor and Eton Public Library;" 1833.

† Boswell, ed. 1848, p. 73. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

closest observation of one capable of exhibiting its characteristics. His "Jonathan Wild," published in 1743, can scarcely be regarded as a novel. Before the appearance of his greatest work, "Tom Jones," in 1749, another novelist came upon the field, with equal readiness of observation, but with a coarser power of delineating what he saw. Smollett's "Roderick Random" appeared in 1748. In 1751 were published both Fielding's "Amelia" and Smollett's "Peregrine Pickle." In 1753, Smollett's "Ferdinand Count

Smollett.

Fathom" appeared. Fielding died in 1754. Another of equal genius with these two great novelists—at his outset equally popular—came in the last year of George II. The first two volumes of Sterne's "Tristram Shandy" were published in 1759, the other seven volumes at intervals extending to 1767. In 1776 Johnson said, with some truth, of this remarkable book, "Nothing odd will do long. 'Tristram Shandy' did not last." One whose hold upon readers of every class has never been loosened, from the hour when he appeared as a novelist in 1766, Oliver Goldsmith, produced, in his "Vicar of Wakefield," a picture of English life which puts us in far better humour with his time than the freer delineations of either of the great masters of fiction who had preceded him. The people had either become more loveable, or they are presented to us by a more kindly observer.

In the decade immediately preceding the accession of George III., there was something like a revival of that species of literature which Addison and Steele had naturalized amongst us. In 1750 appeared the "Rambler," by Johnson, published twice a week. In 1758, "the great moralist," as he was called, commenced his "Idler." The "Adventurer," in which Johnson was also concerned, was issued in 1752. The "World," issued in 1753, and the "Connoisseur," in 1754, had more of the spirit of the earlier Essayists than the measured periods in which Johnson descanted upon human follies. Edward Moore and Owen Cambridge, in the "World," George Colman and Bonnell Thornton, in the "Connoisseur," looked upon life in the spirit of the sage invoked by Johnson:—

"Once more, Democritus, arise on earth,
With cheerful wisdom and instructive mirth."

The period had also its exponent in one whom the admirers of satire, made doubly attractive by personality, called "Aristophanes." Samuel Foote was not a vulgar libeller. In his caricatures of vice and folly, during thirty years from 1747 to 1776, we may see not the mere humours of individuals, but the marked characteristics of prevailing manners.

The literature of the first quarter of a century of the reign of George III. presents us much indifferent Poetry, but some that has survived. The vigour of Churchill may yet be admired, in spite of his coarseness. If, with the exception of Goldsmith and Beattie, there was little verse that was unaffected and natural until the time of Cowper, a taste for simplicity and freshness, in preference to the artificial and elaborate, was produced by the publication of Percy's "Reliques of Ancient Poetry." Johnson did far less for a right direction of the national taste in his "Lives of the Poets," than Thomas Warton in his "History of English Poetry." Garrick made Shakspere in fashion, and occasionally ventured, in his desire to give him a more fashionable dress, to patch the poet's golden mantle with the tinsel of the player's wardrobe. For graver literature, this portion of the reign of George III. acquired a lasting distinction. It gave us Burke as the greatest of political philosophers; Adam Smith as an economist; and Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon as historians. More important as a painter of manners even than the Novelists, the Dramatists, or the Essayists, that age bequeathed us Horace Walpole. The public of his own time knew little of his surpassing power of presenting the peculiarities of his own exclusive class; and, in common with other letter-writers of the same period, of introducing us to the saloons, where, hidden from profane eyes, the noble and the great were playing "Low Life above Stairs."*

Let us endeavour to note a few of the more prominent features of the national character and habits, as delineated in the light literature of half a century. It was the transition period from an age in which the decencies of life were very imperfectly observed, to an age in which decorum was beginning to assert an authority which has steadily gone on, to preserve a greater semblance of morality, and therefore, in no inconsiderable degree, to hold fast its substance. The grossness of society was reflected in the novelists and dramatists of the middle of the century; but, as we advance towards its end we find the grossness veiled in double meanings, and the profaneness smothered in stars and dashes. Amidst much deep-seated depravity in all classes, there was a larger amount of indecorum. When the indecorum vanished, much of the vice, no doubt, remained behind; but in its hiding-places it unquestionably became less dangerous. We shall glance, in the first instance, at the public resorts of society;—the places where all ranks meet, and to a certain extent associate.†

Stage Coaches; Inns;—Public Conveyance; Public Accommodation. This is a large subject; a subject that, at the first view, might appear to touch only

* "George Selwyn and his Contemporaries," vol. i. p. 20.

† This sketch carries on the delineation of manners at the beginning of the century—*ante*, vol. v. chapters xxvi., xxvii., and xxviii.

the surface of society. But it really involves many features of a nation's social life. In the days of our early novelists the stage coach was an institution, and on some roads had arrived at the dignity of being called a "Machine." But this rapid vehicle of four miles an hour was not for common travellers—indeed, very genteel travellers were content with cheaper accommodation. There was a mode of transit upon the North Road, which only cost a shilling a-day to a passenger, and in conveying him from York to London did not occupy quite a fortnight. This was the conveyance of Roderick Random to the metropolis, and we may believe that the waggon and its inside have been faithfully portrayed out of Smollett's personal recollections. Random, and his faithful follower, Strap, overtake the waggon upon the road; ascend by a ladder; and tumbling into the straw find themselves in the society of Captain Weazel with his spouse, and an old usurer with a vivacious female companion. The captain—an ensign made out of a nobleman's valet—when the waggon arrived at its inn, demanded a separate room for his lady and himself, with a supper apart. The inn-keeper replied that, "he could not afford them a room by themselves; and as for supping, he had prepared victuals for the passengers in the waggon without respect of persons." In the stage-coach we find the same assumption of superiority. "The human species are divided into two sorts of people, to wit, high people and low people. . . . These two parties, especially those bordering nearly on each other, to wit, the lowest of the high, and the highest of the low, often change their parties according to place and time." The bickerings of a stage-coach company illustrate this philosophic view of Fielding. Miss Graveairs, the daughter of a gentleman's steward who had been a postillion, would not demean herself to ride with Joseph Andrews, a footman. The youth had met with an accident:—"there were waggons on the road," said the genteel personage. A young lady, who was an earl's grand-daughter, begged, almost with tears in her eyes, that the poor fellow might be admitted. To the remark that "no one could refuse another coming into a stage-coach," the fine lady replied, "I don't know, madam, I am not much used to stage-coaches; I seldom travel in them." There is another witness to the assumption of gentility in female stage-coach passengers:—"I have always remarked that within half-a-dozen miles of the end of our journey, if there has been a fine spoken lady in the coach, though but a country shop-keeper's wife, who imagined herself a stranger to the company, she has expressed great anger and astonishment at not seeing the chaise, the chariot, or the coach, coming to meet her on the road." *

The pretension of the ladies to the respect due to "quality," is matched in the novelists by the boasts of the gentlemen to the confidence produced by courage. To be cool and collected in the presence of danger was as necessary in a journey from London to Bath as in the march from Carlisle to Culloden. The highwayman was an institution especially connected with the stage-coach. He had been growing into a power for many years. He was in his most high and palmy state when Fielding had ceased to write, and George III. began to reign. In 1761, "the Flying Highwayman engrosses the conversation of most of the towns within twenty miles of London . . . He robs upon three different horses, a gray, a sorrel, and a black one. . . He

* Edward Moore; "World," November 29, 1753.

has leaped over Colnbrook turnpike a dozen times within this fortnight." * A lawyer, in Fielding's stage-coach, boasts that he had often met highwaymen when he travelled on horseback, but none ever durst attack him. A ruffian stops the coach, and the lawyer and the rest of the passengers quietly surrender their money; but the lawyer informs the company that if it had been daylight, and he could have come at his pistols, he would never have submitted to the robbery. A stage-coach is crossing Hounslow Heath at day-break. The Heath at that period, and long after, invariably suggested the idea of highwaymen. The courage of a "son of Mars" was to assure the ladies of adequate protection:—"Make yourselves perfectly easy on that head, madam. I have got a pair of pistols—here they are—which I took from a horse-officer at the battle of Dettingen; they are double loaded, and if any highwayman in England robs you of the value of a pin, while I have the honour of being in your company——" The oaths may be imagined. Two highwaymen appear in sight; the ladies begin to scream; a lawyer (the novelists delight to introduce a lawyer) exclaims, "no matter—we'll sue the county and recover," his teeth chattering; the warrior quietly gives up his pistols to Smollett's hero, who jumps out of the coach to face the robbers.

Such were the scenes when few persons travelled; when the facilities of locomotion did not make travellers, as in the later days of the mail, and in our own wondrous days of the railway. A little boy going to school, and his mother, are the only passengers in the one stage-coach from Worcester to Gloucester. The vehicle rolls about; and a horseman is seen speaking earnestly to the coachman, who is at last peremptorily ordered by him to stop. The horseman is not a robber. He is an honest farmer, who opens the coach door; tells the lady that the driver is so drunk that there will be an accident; conducts her and her son to his farm hard by; and finally puts a pillion upon his horse, and carries them safely to Gloucester. The relator of the incident contrasts the one coach—probably not a daily stage—between Worcester and Gloucester, and its scanty supply of passengers, with the long and well-filled trains that vibrate many times a-day between these two cities.† The coach which Fielding's Parson Adams could outstrip in pace as he walked before it, brandishing his crab stick, was, in twenty or thirty years, to pass into a vehicle whose rapidity was somewhat dangerous upon roads very unscientifically made. Chatterton tells his sister that on his ride outside the stage from Bristol to London, the coachman complimented him upon his courage in sticking upon the roof without holding to the iron. A Prussian clergyman, Charles Moritz, travelling in England in 1782, for the most part on foot, being anxious to return to London, mounts the outside of a "post coach" at Leicester. To him it was a new situation. "I sat nearest the wheel, and the moment that we set off, I fancied that I saw certain death await me." The machine seemed to fly; it was a miracle that they still stuck to the coach. "At last, the being continually in fear of my life became insupportable, and as we were going up a hill, and consequently proceeding rather slower than usual, I crept from the top of the coach, and got snug into the basket."‡ The increased speed of the stage operated no

* "Annual Register," vol. iv. p. 189.
† "Remains of T. W. Hill," p. 109.
‡ "Travels through various parts of England."

reform in the conveyance of letters by the post. The letter-bags were carried by boys on horseback. If a bag reached its destination in safety, without being rifled, it was more by a happy chance than by any care of the post-office authorities for the prevention of robbery. As to accelerating the conveyance of letters that was an impossibility. The post that left London on Monday night reached Worcester, Birmingham, Norwich, Bath, on the Wednesday afternoon. A letter from London to Glasgow was only five days on the road. What more could be done? The manager of the Bath theatre proposed a plan for bringing the letter-bags from Bath to London, in sixteen or eighteen hours. Great was the merriment at so wild a scheme amongst the wise officials. Mr. Palmer persevered; and he had the support of a more vigorous power than that of the salaried haters of innovation. Mr. Pitt took the project under his care; and in 1784 the first mail-coach left London. There was an end of robberies of the mail—of the system under which "the mail is generally entrusted to some idle boy without character, mounted on a worn-out hack, and who, so far from being able to defend himself, or escape from a robber, is much more likely to be in league with him."* The letters went safely, and they went at twice or thrice their former speed.

Inns. Half a century ago the inns of a small English "Borough" were described by Crabbe. More than half a century before Crabbe, Fielding and Smollett had shown us the inns of their time. Much of the poet's description is now of things passed away. The hostelries described by the novelists are as obsolete as the old signs over the London shops. We now rarely find the "Head Inn" of the time when the world travelled in carriages with post-horses; when the ready chaise and smart driver were to be had in five minutes; when the ample yard contained "buildings where order and distinction reign;" when the lordly host bent in his pride to the parting guest; when the lady hostess governed the bar and schooled the kitchen.† According to Fielding, "it was the dusk of the evening when a grave person rode into an inn, and, committing his horse to the ostler, went directly into the kitchen, and, calling for a pipe of tobacco, took his place by the fireside, where several other persons were likewise assembled." The grave person was Parson Adams, a clergyman of much learning, but humble means; who had been accustomed to take his cup of ale in the kitchen of the squire who had given him his curacy of twenty-five pounds a-year, and whose lady did not think his dress good enough for the gentry at her table. It is true that in a nobler apartment of this inn there was another clergyman, named Barnabas, who had condescended to administer ghostly consolation to a poor man supposed to be dying; but "proceeded to prayer with all the expedition he was master of, some company then waiting for him below in the parlour, where the ingredients for punch were all in readiness, but no one would squeeze the oranges till he came." Select as the company in the parlour might be, there was no distinction in the kitchen. The next day, in that general temple of good cheer, the reverend punch-maker, the surgeon, and the exciseman, "were smoking their pipes over some cider-ale;" and Parson

* Palmer's plan—presented to Mr. Pitt.
† Crabbe—'The Borough."

Barnabas having learnt the profession of Parson Adams (for his cassock had been tied up when he arrived) invited him to adjourn, with the doctor and the exciseman, to another room, and partake of a bowl of punch. This libation finished, Barnabas takes his seat upon a bench in the inn yard, to smoke his pipe. This inn—the great coach inn—was a very different affair to the little public-house on the side of the highway described by Smollett: "The kitchen was the only room for entertainment in the house, paved with red bricks, remarkably clean, furnished with three or four Windsor chairs, adorned with shining plates of pewter and copper saucepans, nicely scoured, that even dazzled the eyes of the beholder."* In this description there is nothing obsolete; nor have the "parlour splendours" of Goldsmith's Auburn inn passed away—"the royal game of goose"—the "broken tea cups wisely kept for show." It was proper that corporal Trim should take his seat in the kitchen of the village inn; and natural that the sick lieutenant's son should make at the kitchen fire a piece of thin toast that his father fancied with a glass of sack. But Parson Adams, and Parson Barnabas, and the surgeon, and the exciseman, drinking in the kitchen, is a scene of other times. Forty years later, landlords and landladies were growing exclusive, and despised vulgar company. The Lutheran clergyman, Moritz, set out upon a pedestrian tour to Oxford and the midland counties. Walking seems to have been considered in those days only fit for the poorest. The tired and hungry German enters an inn at Eton, and with difficulty obtains something to eat, and a bed-room that much resembled a prison for malefactors. "Whatever I got, they seemed to give me with such an air as showed too plainly they considered me a beggar. I must do them the justice to own, however, that they suffered me to pay like a gentleman." He was rejected when he applied for a bed, even at common ale-houses. At last he obtained a place of refuge at Nettlebed. "They showed me into the kitchen, and set me down to sup at the same table with some soldiers and the servants. I now, for the first time, found myself in one of those kitchens I had so often read of in Fielding's fine novels; and which certainly gave me, on the whole, a very accurate idea of English manners." The next day, being Sunday, the pedestrian, having put on clean linen, was shown into the parlour; and "was now addressed by the most respectful term, sir; whereas the evening before I had been called only master."

Of the infinite diversities of the Public Refreshment life of London, there are ample materials for a full description if our space would afford any such elaboration. The kindly Scot who let a lodging to Roderick Random over his chandler's shop, told him, "there are two ways of eating in this town for men of your condition—the one more creditable and expensive than the other; the first is to dine at an eating-house, frequented by well dressed people only; and the other is called diving, practised by those who are either obliged or inclined to live frugally." The young surgeon was disposed to try the diving, if it were not infamous. His landlord gave him convincing proof of its propriety: "I have seen many a pretty gentleman, with a laced waistcoat, dine in that manner very comfortably for threepence half penny, and go afterwards to the coffee-house, where he made a figure with

* "Sir Launcelot Greaves.

the best lord in the land." The experiment is determined on, and the hero of the novel dines luxuriously off shin of beef, "surrounded by a company of hackney-coachmen, chairmen, draymen, and a few footmen out of place or on board wages." When he is become more ambitious, he dines at an "Ordinary"—a mode very different from the French table d' hôte, and never quite naturalized in London. The ordinary had more success in the suburbs—such as Goldsmith frequented. "There was a very good ordinary of two dishes and a pastry, kept at this time at Highbury-barn, at tenpence per head, including a penny to the waiter; and the company generally consisted of literary characters, a few Templars, and some citizens who had left off trade." * The chop-houses were more popular than the ordinaries. "In these common refectories you may always find the jemmy attorney's clerk, the prim curate, the walking physician, the captain upon half-pay." † The tavern life of Dr. Johnson is as familiar to us as his rusty wig. The houses of entertainment which he frequented are as famous as the Devil Tavern of his dramatic namesake. We know by common fame, as well as from Boswell, of "the Mitre Tavern in Fleet-street, where he loved to sit up late"—the "old rendezvous" where grave divines and smart lawyers came to listen to his violent politics, his one-sided criticism, his displays of learning, his indignation against vice and meanness, his banter of Goldsmith, and his insolence to Boswell. Johnson maintained that "a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity." "There is nothing," he affirmed, "which has been yet contrived by man, by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn;"—and then he repeated, "with great emotion," Shenstone's lines:

"Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn."

When Goldsmith, to complete what he called "a shoemaker's holiday," had finished his refection at Highbury-barn, he and his companions, about six o'clock in the evening, "adjourned to White Conduit-house to drink tea; and concluded by supping at the Grecian or Temple-exchange coffee-house, or at the Globe in Fleet-street." White Conduit-house, near Islington, was an especial resort of the citizens. The coffee-houses, although frequented by peculiar classes, were open to all men. The "Connoisseur" has described the coffee-houses of 1754. Garraway's, frequented by stock-brokers; the Chapter, by booksellers; the Bedford, "crowded every night with men of parts," who echoed jokes and bon-mots from box to box; White's, where persons of quality resorted, who do not trouble themselves with literary debates, as at the Bedford. "They employ themselves more fashionably at whist for the trifle of a thousand pounds the rubber, or by making bets on the lie of the day." ‡ The fashionable coffee-houses were gradually transformed into exclusive clubs, of which form of social life we

* Quoted from "The European Magazine" in Forster's "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith," book iv.

† "Connoisseur," June 6, 1750.

‡ No. 1.

shall have presently to speak. The more plebeian coffee-houses had sometimes to endure intruders, who asserted the independence which Englishmen sturdily maintained in the last century. Dr. Thomas Campbell, in 1775, strolled into the Chapter coffee-house, which he heard was remarkable for a large collection of books, and a reading society. "Here I saw a specimen of English freedom. A whitesmith in his apron, and some of his saws under his arm, came in, sat down, and called for his glass of punch and the paper, both which he used with as much ease as a lord. Such a man, in Ireland,

White Conduit House, 1749.

and I suppose in France too, or almost any other country, would not have shown himself with his hat on, nor any way, unless sent for by some gentleman: now really every other person in the room was well dressed." * The Irish Dr. Campbell must have indeed been surprised at the contrast between England and Ireland, where, according to Arthur Young, nothing satisfies a landlord but unlimited submission. "Disrespect, or anything tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security." †

"Such places of pleasure as are totally set apart for the use of the great world I meddle not with." Thus writes Fielding, in his capacity of magistrate. ‡ He goes on to say, "though Ranelagh and Vauxhall, by reason of their price, are not entirely appropriated to the people of fashion, yet they are seldom frequented by any below the middle rank." Ranelagh was opened in 1742: "The prince, princess, duke, and much nobility, and much mob besides, were there," according to Walpole. In two years Ranelagh had "totally beat Vauxhall." The usual amusement was to parade round and round the Rotunda. The dullness was occasionally relieved by the depravity of the masquerade. Nevertheless, on ordinary nights, the dazzling illumi-

* "Diary of a Visit to England, in 1775." "The Edinburgh Review" (October, 1859) gives an interesting article on this curious book, published at Sydney in 1854. The Reviewer supposes that his copy is "the only one on this side of the equator." The author of this History met with a copy at the French Exhibition of 1855; and seeing its peculiar value wrote several notices of it, during his visit to Paris, in an English journal, in which he had an interest, "The Town and Country Newspaper."

† "Tour in Ireland," vol. ii. p. 127.

‡ "Causes of the Increase of Robberies;" section i.

nation of the building; the music; the cheap refreshments (half-a-crown entrance included tea, coffee, or punch); the opportunity of looking upon lords with stars and ladies with hoops,—these attractions drew a motley group to Ranelagh, who were either genteel or affected gentility. The landlady of the Prussian clergyman, a tailor's widow, told him that she always fixed on one day of the year in which, without fail, she hired a coach and drove to Ranelagh.* Johnson moralises upon this scene: "When I first entered Ranelagh it gave an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced anywhere else. But, as Xerxes wept when he viewed his

Ranelagh Gardens, Rotunda, &c., 1751.

immense army, and considered that not one of that great multitude would be alive a hundred years afterwards, so it went to my heart to consider that there was not one in all that brilliant circle that was not afraid to go home and think."† Vauxhall was cheaper than Ranelagh in its price of admission, but far more costly in its refreshments. The citizen takes his wife and two daughters to the garden; grumbles over a chicken, no bigger than a partridge, which costs half-a-crown, and vows that the ham is a shilling an ounce. As he leaves the lamp-lit walks, he moralises also: "It would not have cost me above fourpence-halfpenny to have spent my evening at Sot's Hole; and what with the coach-hire, and all together, here's almost a pound gone, and nothing to show for it."‡ There was a great deal of good com-

* Moritz, "Travels through England." † Boswell, 1777.
‡ Connoisseur, No. 68.

pany indeed, declared the citizen's wife, though the gentlemen were so rude as to stare at her through their spy-glasses. Lady Caroline Petersham, "looking gloriously jolly and handsome," goes to Vauxhall with a large party, of which were lord Granby, "very drunk," and Horace Walpole, and Harry Vane. Lady Caroline minced seven chickens in a china dish, and stewed them over a lamp; and Betty the fruit-girl brought her strawberries and cherries, and supped by them at a little table. "The whole air of our party was sufficient to take up the whole attention of the gardens; so much so, that from eleven o'clock till half an hour after one, we had the whole concourse round our booth," and Harry Vane took up a bumper and drank their healths.* Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs were humble imitators of lady Caroline Petersham and Harry Vane. They "would sit in none but a genteel box; a box where they might see and be seen."† The Pantheon was opened in 1772—"a new winter Ranelagh in Oxford Road." Dr. Campbell was there in 1775, and saw "the duke of Cumberland and lady Grosvenor, a fine woman, lost to all sense of modesty;" and "lady Archer, painted like a doll, whose feathers nodded like the plumes of Mambrino's helmet;" and some still more disreputable ladies who had longer peacock feathers.‡ Such was the mixed society of the public places of London, before the people of quality grew more exclusive, and set up coteries in which profligacy could be screened from vulgar eyes.

Fashionable Costumes, 1760.

It has been said, "The Stage, at this period (1774), was either a school of immorality, or a vehicle of slander."§ We venture to think that the Stage, at this period, was singularly untainted with the grosser vices of society; and that what is termed its slander was a fearless expression of contempt for crimes and follies which even the pulpit suffered to flourish in their rankness. Looking candidly at the time when Wycherley, Vanbrugh,

* Walpole to Montague, June 23, 1750.
† "Citizen of the World," No. 71. ‡ "Diary," p. 47.
§ Massey—"History of England during the reign of George III.," vol. ii. p. 220.

Congreve, Farquhar, and Mrs. Centlivre, had been succeeded, as the popular dramatists, by Goldsmith, Colman, Cumberland, Murphy, Sheridan, and Mrs. Cowley, it can scarcely be denied that the theatre was, comparatively, a school of purity. Blemishes of course there were. It was still too much the fashion to assign the virtues of truth and sincerity to the dissipated, and the vices of hypocrisy and meanness to the decorous. Situations and expressions that would not now be tolerated were presented and uttered without offence. But there was no systematic endeavour to make licentiousness the foundation and corner-stone of wit. The chief complaint against the stage of that time was, that "the most popular plays and farces, if they were not founded on the scandal of the day, contained pointed allusions to the gossip of political and fashionable society, and persons conspicuous in either." * Political and fashionable society had scarcely a right to complain of the scandal, when it was so little careful of its own reputation. We may well believe that the personalities of Foote, objectionable as a system of personal satire always must be, kept many of the fashionable in awe of ridicule, who held in scorn the disapprobation of the classes below them in rank; and somewhat abated the imitative ambition of many of the rich pretenders to distinction of the middle classes, who esteemed their fellows only in the proportion of their wealth.†

The Theatre, under the management of Garrick, directed, however imperfectly, the course of public taste. He did, what Betterton had done before him, he gave Shakspere an extended popularity by his wonderful power as an actor. But it was amongst the exaggerations of that flattery which had

Garrick.

attended Garrick when living, and followed him in death, to pretend that the actor had given new life to the poet; that Garrick and Shakspere were for ever to shine as "twin stars." There had been thirteen editions of Shakspere's Plays when it was pretended that they were sunk to death and lay in

* Massey—vol. ii. p. 220.

† The masterly essay of Mr. Forster on "Samuel Foote," amply refutes the notion that he was a mere mimic who caricatured peculiarities of manner, and an unprincipled lampooner who sold his forbearance.

night; * of which nine editions had appeared in the preceding forty years. Garrick did also what Tate had done before him. He mangled Shakspere, giving improved versions of Romeo and Juliet, the Midsummer Night's Dream, The Tempest, the Taming of the Shrew, the Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, and Hamlet. He patched the mammock'd plays with tawdry rags, in the "design to adapt them to the present taste of the public." † His conception of Shakspere was as imperfect as his notion of the costume in which Shakspere's characters should be presented. But Garrick unquestionably made the people understand the true and the natural in dramatic art, as opposed to the pomposity and the exaggeration of the actors whom he supplanted. Garrick, according to the critical Mr. Partridge, did nothing in Hamlet beyond what any man would do in similar circumstances: "I am sure if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in the very same manner, and done just as he did." The king, who spoke "half as loud again," was the actor for Partridge's money. ‡ The town had sense enough to confirm the verdict of Churchill, in the "Rosciad," of "Garrick, take the chair."

Garrick as Macbeth.

The Bath of the middle of the last century is familiar to all readers of the light literature of that period. The city, early in the reign of Anne, began to be frequented by people of fashion; but the nobility refused to associate with the gentry at any public entertainments. Gentlemen came to the balls in boots, and ladies in aprons. A dictator arose in the person of Mr. Richard Nash, who was elected Master of the Ceremonies, and presided over the company who assembled in a booth to dance and game. § During a reign of many years this king of Bath had got his unruly subjects into tolerable

* Epitaph on Garrick in Westminster Abbey:

"Though sunk to death the forms the Poet drew,
The Actor's genius bade them breathe anew."

† "Biographica Dramatica." ‡ "Tom Jones." § Goldsmith—"Life of Nash."

order. He had compelled the squires to put off their boots when they came to the balls, and the ladies to forego their aprons. His dominions were the resort of all the sharpers and dupes in the land, when the London season was over. Every game of chance was here played without restraint, and Nash had his full share of the spoil of the unwary. At Tunbridge he established a colony; and, like a great monarch, he often travelled there in state to receive the homage of his subjects, drawn in a post-chariot by six grays, with out-riders, footmen, and French horns. All went merrily till a cruel legislature passed an Act to declare Basset and Hazard and all other games of chance illegal. The statute was evaded; and an amended law was next year passed, to declare all games with one die or more, or with any instrument with numbers thereon, to be illicit. The law-makers did not foresee that an instrument with letters thereon might be as effectual; and the well-known game of E. O. was invented, and first set up at Tunbridge. Nash brought the game to Bath, not to offend the decorum of the Assembly-Room, but to be carried on snugly in private houses, to which Nash introduced those who had money to lose, confederating with the E. O. table-keepers for a share of their profits. This answered for some time, until another statute effectually put down all gaming-houses and gaming-tables, as far as law could accomplish their suppression. There was no resource for the persecuted people of quality but to establish private clubs.

A Minuet.

31629

Horace Walpole, after Muntz.

CHAPTER VI.

View of manners continued—The Duke of Queensberry—Club-life—Excessive Gaming—Excesses of Charles Fox—Dress—Conversation—The Squires of England—The Country Justice—The Clergy of England—The Universities—Professional Classes—The Mercantile Class—The Lower orders—The Rabble—Mobs—Police of London—The Prisons—Social Reformers—Howard—Coram—Hanway—Raikes—Education—Rise and Growth of Methodism.

A FEW years after the beginning of the present century, there was to be seen in Piccadilly, on every sunny day, an emaciated old man sitting in a balcony, holding a parasol. The coachman of the Bath road as he drove by would tell some wondering passenger that there was the wicked duke of Queensberry; that he kept a man in readiness to follow any female not insensible to the bewitching ogles of his glass eye; that his daily milk bath was transferred to the pails of the venders of milk around Park-lane; with many other tales, more befitting the days of the second Charles than of the third George. This very notorious nobleman died in 1810, at the age of eighty-six. As Dr. Johnson was the link between the varying literature of two periods,

the duke of Queensberry was the link between the changed profligacy of two generations. He had flourished as the earl of March and a lord of the bedchamber in the times when to violate every decency of life was to establish a claim to wit and spirit; when "at the rehearsal, on Wednesday night, of the Speech, at lord Halifax's, lord Lichfield came extremely drunk, and proposed amendments;"* when sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762, held his frantic orgies with his brother "Franciscans" at Medmenham Abbey, drinking obscene toasts out of a sacred chalice; when George Selwyn said, with as much truth as wit, when one of the waiters at Arthur's Club was committed on a charge of felony, "What a horrid idea he will give of us to the people in Newgate." Queensberry lived on, into an age of comparative decorum, which to him was as insipid as he thought the Thames seen from his Richmond villa: "I am quite tired of it—there it goes, flow, flow, flow, always the same."† He had no resources for amusement out of the libertine society of the turf and the gaming-house. Even these resorts had become decent.‡ He could no longer sup with the duke of York (the brother of George III.) as in 1776, "with some of the opera girls."‡ "Information, as acquired by books, he always treated with great contempt."§ There was nothing left for him to do, as a vigorous octogenarian, but to sit in the balcony at the corner of Park-lane, gazing upon "the full tide of human existence;" or retire to his drawing-room to enjoy what Wraxall calls a "classic exhibition," which if the unrefined passers-by had chanced to see they would have broken every window of that mansion of ill-fame. He had utterly neglected the duties of his station; he had regarded his tenantry as the mere slaves of his will, and the poor upon his estates as vermin that might be buried in the ruins of dilapidated hovels. Sir Walter Scott described, in 1813, the rebuilding of the cottages at Drumlanrig, by the duke of Buccleugh (the inheritor of the estate), for pensioners who, in the days of "old Q." were "pining into rheumatisms and agues, in neglected poverty."‖

Time has removed the veil that hid the Club-life of Queensberry and his set from the gaze of contemporaries. We are now permitted to see the fine gentlemen of the days of Chatham and lord North pursuing their vocation of gambling with the assiduous perseverance of the most money-getting tradesman. If they were ruined there were two resources against starvation—a place, or a wife. "You ask me how play uses me this year," writes the hon. Henry St. John to Selwyn in 1766; "I am sorry to say very ill, as it has already, since October, taken 800*l.* from me; nor am I in a likely way to reimburse myself soon by the emoluments of any place or military preferment, having voted the other evening in a minority."¶ This distinguished honourable, for whose misfortunes it was the bounden duty of the government to have provided a refuge, became lord Bolingbroke. He still pursued his calling with indifferent success in 1777, when Charles Townshend writes to Selwyn, "Your friend lord Bolingbroke's affairs are in a much more pros-

* "Selwyn and his Contemporaries," vol. i. p. 352.
† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iii. p. 417.
‡ "Selwyn," vol. ii. p. 47.
§ Wraxall, "Memoirs."
‖ Letter to Joanna Baillie, in Lockhart's "Life of Scott."
¶ "Selwyn," vol. ii. p. 102.

perous state than those of the public. He is gone down to Bath in pursuit of a lady, who he proposes should recruit his finances. . . . It is said she has accepted his proposal."* The reputation of lord Sandwich has survived as one of the most profligate in his private life, and one of the meanest in his public career. His club-gambling has given a name to "a bit of beef between two slices of bread," the only food he took for four-and-twenty hours without ever quitting his game.† Common men pass away from the gambling clubs, whether to insolvency, or suicide, or death in a duel, without much sympathy from their fellows, who, like lord Sandwich, are too much absorbed in their thirst for lucre to take warning from the fate of those they call their friends. The right hon. Tom Foley is sold up. The rev. Dr. Warner gives an amusing account of the proceedings to George Selwyn. The creditors could not take the heir-looms; but every personal article was sold, whether of the right honourable or his lady. "He and she are left there among their heir-looms, chairs and tables, without any thing to put upon them, or upon themselves, when the clothes on their backs become dirty."‡ The hon. John Damer shot himself at the Bedford Arms in 1776. Lord Carlisle, who at this time was himself plunged in difficulties, says of this event, "It is a bad example to others in misery. . . There never appeared anything like madness in him, yet the company he kept seemed indeed but a bad preparation for eternity."§ At Bath, Nash dealt rather severely with the duellist gamesters, for a few mischances might have thinned the numbers of his votaries by a general panic. He forbad the wearing of swords, "as they often tore the ladies' dresses, and frightened them;" and when he heard that a challenge was given and accepted, he immediately procured an arrest for both parties.

On the 24th of June, 1776, Gibbon, writing to his friend Holroyd, and dating from Almack's, says: "Town grows empty; and this house, where I have passed very agreeable hours, is the only place which still unites the flower of the English youth. The style of living, though somewhat expensive, is exceedingly pleasant, and, notwithstanding the rage of play, I have found more entertaining and even rational society here than in any other club to which I belong." Amongst "the flower of the English youth" was the earl of Carlisle, who, when Gibbon thus wrote, was in his twenty-eighth year. He was a man of talent; ambitious to be a poet and a statesman; happy in his marriage; fond of his children; surrounded with every worldly advantage. In July, 1776, he writes to Selwyn: "I have undone myself, and it is to no purpose to conceal from you my abominable madness and folly. . . . I never lost so much in five times as I have done to-night, and am in debt to the house for the whole." A few days after this loss of ten thousand pounds, he again writes to his friend, "I do protest to you that I am so tired of my present manner of passing my time—however I may be kept in countenance by the number of those of my own rank and superior fortune—that I never reflect upon it without shame." Lord Carlisle abandoned his dangerous course when not too late. This was not the case with one of far higher intellect. There is no scenic representation of the horrors of gambling so truly pathetic as the history of Charles Fox, nor one which conveys more fearful warnings.

* "Selwyn and his Contemporaries," vol. iii. p. 247.
† Grosley—"Tour to London in 1765," vol. i. p. 149.
‡ "Selwyn," iv. 147. § *Ibid.*, viii. 148.

The precocious son of lord Holland was furnished, by the overweening fondness of his father, with guineas to stake at the gaming-table at Spa, when he was a boy of fifteen. "Let nothing be done," said the rival of Chatham, "to break Charles's spirit; the world will effect that business soon enough." He soon was in Parliament. The acquirements of the young politician were as extraordinary as his abilities. His profligacy was as remarkable as either. Lord Brougham says: "The dissipated habits of the times drew him, before the age of manhood, into the whirlpool of fashionable excess. . . . The noble heart and sweet disposition of this great man passed unscathed through an ordeal which, in almost every other instance, is found to deaden all the kindly emotions." * Yet these excesses, at that period of his life when his transcendant powers had placed him in the first rank as a party leader, materially diminished the confidence which the nation would otherwise have reposed in him, and not unjustly rendered him obnoxious to his sovereign. They had probably a more fatal consequence in the encouragement of the heir-apparent in a course of profligacy, which the lower nature of the prince of Wales cherished into that confirmed sensuality which rendered him unfit for the duties of his high station, and made him odious as a sovereign to a people who would otherwise have supported him with something better than "mouth-honour." In 1772, Fox was a lord of the Admiralty, opposing, as a member of the government, the petition of some of the clergy that subscription to the thirty-nine articles should not be enforced at the Universities. Gibbon writes, "Charles Fox prepared himself for that holy work by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise of hazard; his devotion only cost him about five hundred pounds an hour—in all, eleven thousand pounds." Lord Carlisle said of him at this period: "He is not following the natural bent of his genius; for that would lead him to all serious inquiry and laudable pursuits." † In 1778, Fox was in opposition—with a distant prospect of office. Lord Carlisle then says, "I do think it does Charles, or ought to do, great credit, that under all his distresses he never thinks of accepting a place on terms that are in the least degree disreputable." ‡ In 1779, the same friend writes, "Charles tells me that he has not now, nor has had for some time, one guinea, and is happier on that account." § Yet though he possessed this extraordinary elasticity of mind—could be found calmly reading Herodotus in the morning after having lost his last shilling the previous night—yet his sense of degradation, when he had to borrow money of club-waiters, and saw his goods seized in execution, must have been somewhat real, however carefully concealed. What might he not have been, great as he was, had he possessed the firmness of Wilberforce, founded upon a juster sense of honour than Fox possessed. Wilberforce has recorded his club-experience when he came up to London, young and rich, the member for Hull, in 1780: "The very first time I went to Boodle's, I won twenty-five guineas of the duke of Norfolk. I belonged at that time to five clubs—Miles and Evans's, Brookes's, Boodle's, White's, and Goostree's. The first time I was at Brookes's, scarcely knowing any one, I joined from mere shyness in play at the Faro table, where George Selwyn kept bank. A friend who knew my inexperience,

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen of the time of George III."
† "Selwyn," vol. iii. p. 23. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 292. § *Ibid*, vol. iv. p. 165.

and regarded me as a victim decked out for sacrifice, called out to me, 'What, Wilberforce, is that you?' Selwyn quite resented the interference, and, turning to him, said in his most expressive tone, 'O, Sir, don't interrupt Mr. Wilberforce; he could not be better employed.'" * Some time after, he was persuaded to keep the bank at a Faro table of one of the clubs. "As the game grew deep," says his son, "he rose the winner of six hundred pounds. Much of this was lost by those who were only heirs to future fortunes, and could not therefore meet such a call without inconvenience. The pain he felt at their annoyance cured him of a taste which seemed but too likely to become predominant." † Pitt once displayed intense earnestness in games of chance, but he suddenly abandoned gambling for ever. He shunned the rock upon which his rival had been wrecked.

In the letters of some of the fine gentlemen of the time of George Selwyn, we find them writing about dress much in the style of boarding-school misses—giving their friends in Paris commissions for velvet suits and embroidered ruffles. The Macaroni Club was in great repute at the beginning of the reign of George III. Wraxall, in 1815, laments over the change which forty years had produced: "That costume, which is now confined to the levee, or the drawing-room, was then worn by persons of condition, with few exceptions, everywhere, and every day." Mr. Fox and his friends "first threw a discredit on dress. From the House of Commons, and the Clubs in St. James's Street, the contagion spread through the private assemblies of London." The glories of buckles and ruffles perished in the ascendancy of pantaloons and shoe-strings. "Dress never totally fell, till the era of Jacobinism and of Equality in 1793 and 1794." ‡

Cowper, in the days of his town life, wrote a paper on "Conversation." He holds that it is "in vain to look for conversation, where we might expect to find it in the greatest perfection, among persons of fashion: there it is almost annihilated by universal card-playing; insomuch that I have heard it given as a reason why it is impossible for our present writers to succeed in the dialogue of genteel comedy, that our people of quality scarce ever meet but to game." § There is a prevailing opinion, resting chiefly upon the reputation of George Selwyn, that this was the age of conversational wit. The sayings of witty men are always reported very imperfectly. They appear to little advantage without the accessories that gave them point. The anecdotes of Selwyn's "social pleasantry and conversational wit," appear now sufficiently common-place. It does not require any great force of genius to utter such witticisms as these: A member of the Foley family having hurried to the continent to avoid his creditors, Selwyn remarked, "It is a pass-over that will not be much relished by the Jews;" or as this: Bruce having been asked if there were musical instruments in Abyssinia, and replying that he believed he saw only one lyre there, Selwyn whispered, "Yes, and there is one less since he left the country." ‖ More vapid still were the *mots* of James Hare, which had a prodigious reputation; for example: His report of Burgoyne having been defeated at Saratoga being discredited, Hare said.

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 17. † *Ibid.* p. 19.
‡ Wraxall—"Historical Memoirs," vol. i. p. 138.
§ "Connoisseur," Sept. 16, 1756.
‖ "Selwyn and his Contemporaries," vol. i. p. 21.

"take it from me, as a flying rumour."* Yet we cannot doubt that amidst the frivolity and pretence of high society, the sterling qualities of Englishmen prevailed over the fashionable attempts to imitate French vivacity. Cowper truly says, "As the English consist of very different humours, their manner of discourse admits of great variety; but the whole French nation converse alike."† Arthur Young, travelling in France in 1787, observes that at the tables d'hôte of officers you have a voluble garniture of indecency or nonsense, and at those of merchants, a mournful and stupid silence. "Take the mass of mankind, and you have more good sense in half an hour in England, than in half a year in France." ‡ It is Government—all, all, is Government,—he says. The passing observations of the poet and the traveller are confirmed by the philosopher who looks back upon the manners of that period, for a solution, in part, of the causes of the French Revolution: "The men of that time, especially those belonging to the middle and upper ranks of society, who alone were at all conspicuous, were all exactly alike . . . . . Throughout nearly the whole kingdom the independent life of the provinces had long been extinct; this had powerfully contributed to render all Frenchmen very much alike . . . . . In England, the different classes, though firmly united by common interests, still differed in their habits and feelings; for political liberty, which possesses the admirable power of placing the citizens of a state in needful intercourse and mutual dependence, does not on that account always make them alike. It is the government of one man which, in the end, has the inevitable effect of rendering all men alike, and all mutually indifferent to their common fate." §

In England, "the independent life of the provinces" was as vigorous in the days of sir George Savile and the Associations, as in the days of John Hampden and Ship-money. The squires of England still exhibited the natural varieties of the rich soil upon which they flourished. From the monotonous gambling of the fashionables of St. James'-street, it is almost pleasant to turn to the rougher amusements of the Country House. There was a considerable change in provincial manners during the last half of the reign of George III. Fielding presented Allworthy, as a portrait of Allen, the friend of Warburton; benevolent, placable, not learned, but a competent judge of literature, improved by much conversation with men of eminence, Allworthy is one of the class who, with some narrowness, gave lustre to the great Country-party of the House of Commons. Squire Western, coarse, passionate, violent in his politics—a roaring, drinking fox-hunter—is not to be wholly despised, for out of his rough material was to be carved the decorous and considerate landlord of another century. There were few Allworthys and many Westerns in the last years of George II. Soame Jenyns has admirably described a visit to sir John Jolly, he proposing to exchange the bustle of London for the soothing indolence of a rural retirement. It was the race week, and a great cavalcade set out from the mansion to the country town. The Ordinary at the Red Lion before the race; the Assembly, over a stable, after the race; the dancing and cards;

* "Selwyn and his Contemporaries," vol. iii. p. 285.
† "Connoisseur."
‡ "Travels in France," p. 135.
§ De Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," chap. viii.

the cold chicken and negus; the ride home as the sun rose—this repetition of the same dreary round of pleasure, day by day, wearies the Londoner, who gets away to his quiet lodgings next door to a brazier's at Charing-cross, rather than stay upon the assurance of the lady, that though the races were over he should not want diversion, for they should not be alone one hour for several weeks.* There is a somewhat loose clerical correspondent of George Selwyn, who describes Leicester "at *reace* time"—the country squires, with their triple bands and triple buckles on their hats, "to keep in their no-brain;"—"the clod-pated yeoman's son in his Sunday clothes,—his drab coat and red waistcoat, tight leather breeches, and light gray worsted stockings, with one strap of his shoe coming out from under the buckle upon his foot,—his lank hair, and silk handkerchief, new for *reace* time, about his neck." With a touch of real wit this worldly parson finishes his picture of the yeoman's son:—"depriving of all grace and rendering odious a well-fancied oath from the mint of the metropolis, by his vile provincial pronunciation."†

The Squire sits for the portrait of the Country Justice; whose notions of law are not very different from those of the London Justice who said, "he would commit a servant to Bridewell at any time when a master or mistress desired it."‡ The fox-hunting justice before whom Parson Adams is taken will not condemn him at once to the hangman: "No, no; you will be asked what you have to say for yourself when you come on your trial; we are not trying you now; I shall only commit you to gaol." In vain the poor curate asked, "Is it no punishment, sir, for an innocent man to be several months in gaol?" His mittimus would have been signed, had not a bystander affirmed that Mr. Adams was a clergyman, and a gentleman of very good character. Then said the justice, "I know how to behave myself to gentlemen as well as another. Nobody can say I have committed a gentleman since I have been in the commission."§ But squires and justices were rapidly improving. In 1761, a writer in a periodical work called "The Genius," attributes to "the intercourse between the town and the country, of late so much more frequent," an extraordinary change which he describes with a good deal of vivacity: "It is scarce half a century ago, since the inhabitants of the distant counties were regarded as a species almost as different from those of the metropolis as the natives of the Cape of Good Hope. Their manners, as well as dialect, were entirely provincial; and their dress no more resembling the habit of the town, than the Turkish or Chinese. But time, which has inclosed commons, and ploughed up heaths, has likewise cultivated the minds and improved the behaviour of the ladies and gentlemen of the country. We are no longer encountered with hearty slaps on the back, or pressed to make a breakfast on cold meat and strong beer; and in the course of a tour through Great Britain you will not meet with a high-crowned hat, or a pair of red stockings. Politeness and taste seem to have driven away the horrid spectres of rudeness and barbarity that haunted the old mansion-house and its purlieus, and to have established their seats in the country."‖ In 1766, the rev. W. Digby writes to Selwyn, from Coleshill, "Thank you for your offer of Swift's works.

* "World," No. 154.
† "Selwyn," vol. iv. p. 311.
‡ "Tom Jones," book vii. chap. x..
§ "Joseph Andrews."
‖ Quoted in the "Annual Register," for 1761, p. 206.

They are arrived at this place; for you must know we are civilized enough in this country to have instituted a club called a book-club, where I never saw pipe nor tobacco, and take in all the new things we choose. This respectable corps consists of twenty neighbouring clergy and squires, chosen by ballot." *

In the immediate vicinity of the Country Squire is the Country Parson. The permanent resident in the parish is almost invariably the Curate. The incumbent is a pluralist, who passes much of his time in London, or Bath, or Tunbridge, or in the nobleman's establishment as chaplain; the arduous duties of his chaplaincy demanding a freedom from common parochial offices, and entitling him to hold several preferments and to do the duties of no cure of souls. From the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745, the orthodox clergyman had a decided tendency to Jacobitism. After that period he gradually became less earnest in politics, and resolutely applied himself to uphold government and oppose innovation. He had his own peculiar business in life to perform, which was chiefly to make himself as comfortable as possible. The indecorum, if not the profligacy, of a large number of the English clergy, for a period of half a century, is exhibited by too many contemporary witnesses to be considered as the exaggeration of novelists, satirical poets, travellers, and dissenters. Passages of every variety of writer—private correspondence now laid open—strictures of those of their own profession—are overwhelming in their testimony to this deplorable laxity of morals. Ridicule, pity, indignation, produced little or no change for more than a generation. The curate of Fielding, engaged in a most excellent political discourse with the squire, during which they made a libation of four bottles of wine to the good of their country, is a sober picture.† The young fellow of Smollett, in the rusty gown and cassock, confederating with the exciseman to cheat two farmers at cards, swearing terrible oaths, and talking gross scandal of his rogue of a vicar, is probably a caricature.‡ The visitation dinner of Goldsmith, in which all are gormandizing, from the bishop to Dr. Marrowfat, may be received as the fancy-piece of a great humorist.§ The Jack Quickset of Colman and Thornton is the representative of those "ordained sportsmen, whose thoughts are more taken up with the stable or the dog-kennel than the church; who are regarded by their parishioners not as parsons of the parish, but as squires in orders."‖ The wits, it may be said, are thus attacking a sacred profession in the wantonness of their scurrility. What shall we say to the testimony of Dr. Knox, head-master of Tunbridge school? "The public have long remarked with indignation, that some of the most distinguished coxcombs, drunkards, debauchees, and gamesters who figure at the watering-places, and all public places of resort, are young men of the sacerdotal order." ¶ What, to the "shepherd" of Crabbe?

> "A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday task
> As much as God or man can fairly ask;"

who comes not to the sick pauper's bed; and who, when the bier is borne to the churchyard, is too busy to perform the last office "till the day of prayer." **

* "Selwyn," vol. ii. p. 23.
‡ "Roderick Random," c. 9.
‖ "Connoisseur," No. 105.
† "Tom Jones," book iv. c. 10.
§ "Citizen of the World," No. lviii.
¶ Knox's "Essays," 18.
** "The Village."

Surely these writers are not conspiring against their own order. Hear a sober-minded traveller, if the novelists, essayists, and poets are not to be credited: "The French clergy preserved, what is not always preserved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour. One did not find among them poachers or fox-hunters, who, having spent the morning in scampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit. Such advertisements were never seen in France as I have heard of in England: 'Wanted a curacy in a good sporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood convivial.'"* A conscientious writer has pointed to the reverend Dr. Warner as an object of contemplation for "those who would hastily accuse Fielding of exaggeration in his portraitures taken from the church."† Let us regard a few traits of this popular preacher from his own letters. He desires Selwyn to send him "the magazine, with the delicate amours of the noble lord, which must be very diverting."‡ He describes a dinner with two friends—"We have just parted in a tolerable state of insensibility to the ills of life."§ "I have been preaching this morning, and am going to dine—where?—in the afternoon. We shall bolt the door and—(but hush! softly! let me whisper it, for it is a violent secret, and I shall be blown to the devil if I blab, as in this house we are Noah and his precise family)—and play at cards."‖ The Reverend Dr. Warner is an unimpeachable witness.

The apathy of the Clergy at this period was as injurious as their indecorum. Their eloquence was of the tamest character. An accomplished foreigner thus describes their sermons: "The pulpit declamation is a most tedious monotony. The ministers have chosen it through respect for religion, which, as they affirm, proves, defends, and supports itself without having any occasion for the assistance of oratory. With regard to the truth of this assertion, I appeal to themselves, and to the progress which religion thus inculcated makes in England."¶ Dr. Campbell goes to the Temple Church, where the brother of Thurlow preached: "The discourse was the most meagre composition, and the delivery worse. He stood like Gulliver stuck in the marrow-bone, with the sermon, newspaper-like, in his hand, and without grace or emphasis he in slow cadence measured it forth."** Goldsmith has hit upon the true cause of the dry, methodical, and unaffecting discourses of the English preachers, delivered with the most insipid calmness: "Men of real sense and understanding prefer a prudent mediocrity to a precarious popularity; and fearing to out-do their duty, leave it half done."†† He further says that the lower orders are neglected in exhortations from the pulpit—"they who want instruction most find least in our religious assemblies." The fear of being called Methodists was one of the causes that made too many of the clergy careless in their lives and indifferent in their vocation.

When Cowper denounced

"A priesthood, such as Baal's was of old,"

* Arthur Young—"Travels in France," 1789, p. 543.
† Forster—"Life of Goldsmith."
‡ "Selwyn," iii. 394. § *Ibid.*, iv. 132. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 285.
¶ Grosley—"Tour to London," vol. ii. p. 105. ** "Diary," p. 23.
†† "Essays," No. 17.

he tracked the "deep mischief" to its source. "The sage, called Discipline," had ceased to be reverenced in "colleges and halls;" he had declined into the vale of years; had fallen sick and died. Then "study languished, emulation slept, and virtue fled." The schools became a scene of solemn farce; scrutiny went stone blind; gowns were mere masquerade.* Is this only the declamation of a poetical enthusiast, moping on the banks of the Ouse? A distinguished fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, a master-of-arts, describes the externals of that consecrated place—superb dining halls; painted chapels; a peculiar race in the streets; doctors and proctors in solemn procession, with velvet sleeves, scarlet gowns, and hoods black, red, and purple. He then tells us what all this parade ends in—the most absurd forms of examination for degrees, "in which the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius," in one stage of the process; and in another, when "the examiners and the candidates often converse on the last drinking bout, or read the newspaper, or a novel, or divert themselves as well as they can in any manner, till the clock strikes eleven, when all parties descend, and the *testimonium* is signed by the masters." So much for the Bachelor's degree, which is attained after four years' term-keeping. For the degree of Master-of-Arts three more years must be employed in trumpery formalities; and then, "after again taking oaths by wholesale, and paying the fees," the academic issues into the world with an "undeniable passport to carry him through it with credit."† "Accidental visitors to Oxford," writes Knox, "are naturally led to conclude that here, at length, wisdom, science, learning, and whatever else is praiseworthy, for ever flourish and abound." The Prussian clergyman, walking into Oxford at midnight, was introduced by a courteous pedestrian, who had overtaken him on the road, to an alehouse. "How great," he says, "was my astonishment, when, on being shewn into a room, I saw several gentlemen in academic dress, sitting round a large table, each with his pot of beer before him." He thought it extraordinary that at this unseasonable hour, he should suddenly find himself in a company of Oxonian clergy. The foreigner was kindly received. He told them stories of riots in German universities. "O, we are very unruly here, too," said one of the gentlemen, as he took a huge draught of his beer, and smote the table with his fist. One "weakly and impiously attempted to be witty at the expense of scripture; and I had the good fortune to be able to convict him of his ignorance of its language and meaning." As the morning drew near, after a carousal which stupified the German, the gentleman who introduced him "suddenly exclaimed, 'I must read prayers this morning at All Souls.'"‡ Cambridge was not behind Oxford in its capacity of qualifying its students as "gamesters, jockies, brothellers impure." Wilberforce entered St. John's, in 1776, at the age of seventeen. He tells us his experience: "I was introduced, on the very first night of my arrival, to as licentious a set of men as can well be conceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even worse than their lives. I lived amongst them for some time, though I never relished their society; often, indeed, I was horror-struck at their

* "The Task," b. 2. † Knox—Essay 77.
‡ Moritz—"Travels in England, in 1782."

conduct; and after the first year, I shook off in great measure my connection with them." He got into better society; he lived much among the Fellows of the College. "But those," he complains, "with whom I was intimate, did not act towards me the part of Christians, or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be, to make and keep me idle. If ever I appeared studious they would say to me, 'Why in the world should a man of your fortune trouble himself with fagging?'" * Wilberforce was one of the few who could "escape contagion, and emerge pure from so foul a pool."

It would be absurd to imagine that the professional class, and the trading class, were untainted amidst the corruptions of the time. "Profusion unrestrained" producing unmitigated selfishness, was not likely to decrease, during half a century of very rapidly increasing wealth, amongst those who had a more than common share of the national advantages. Public servants were as rapacious in 1783, as when, forty years before, Smollett carried his qualification for a surgeon's mate to the Navy Office, and found that he had not the slightest chance of an appointment, "without a present to the Secretary, with whom some of the Commissioners went snacks." † It was the system of corruption which gave the charge of a man-of-war to the brutal captain Oakum, who declared with terrible oaths that there should be no sick in his ship, while he had the command; and which chose for his successor, captain Whiffle, who came on board in a coat of pink-coloured silk, lined with white; his hair flowing upon his shoulders in ringlets; his blue meroquin shoes studded with diamond buckles—Whiffle, who languished on a sofa, his head supported by his valet-de-chambre, who from time to time applied a smelling-bottle to his nose.‡ Such were the vermin of the navy, till Rodney taught even fribbles to fight, and Collingwood showed bullies how gentle manners and tenderness of heart could be combined with the most heroic courage. The Weazels and other reptiles of the army were gradually exchanged for such as went from the ball-room at Brussels to fight in silk stockings. Young men of fashion drank deep and swore hard; but if they saw service, and they had ample opportunities in Chatham's day, they might have some sense of religion upon the principle laid down by corporal Trim, that when a soldier "is fighting for his king, and for his own life and his honour too, he has the most reason to pray to God of any one in the whole world." §

The Medical Profession was so distracted by jealousies and rivalries between its different ranks, and between individuals of the same rank, that, from Garth to Foote, the satirists have always a joke ready for the physician's pomp and the apothecary's rapacity. The Law was necessarily open to the ridicule which properly attached to the inflated harangues and absurd technicalities of the Courts—"injunctions, demurrers, sham-pleas, writs of error, rejoinders, sur-rejoinders, rebutters, sur-rebutters, replications, exceptions, essoigns, and imparlance." ‖ Quackery was keeping pace with the progress of luxury. Litigation was encouraged by the multiplication of statutes, and by the general ignorance even of the educated, of

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 10.
† "Roderick Random," chap. xviii.
‡ "Roderick Random," chap. xxxiv.
§ "Tristram Shandy."
‖ Foote—"The Lame Lover."

the laws and constitution of their own country, "a species of knowledge in which the gentlemen of England have been more remarkably deficient than those of all Europe besides." *

The members of the Mercantile Class were, in London especially, accumulating wealth, and losing respectability. The citizen of the beginning of the century had become a hybrid of fashion before its close. After George III. had been ten years on the throne the traders began to desert the city. The capacious mansion in the narrow street was given up for the inconvenient house in the new-built square. It is curious to mark the changes in the fashionable estimate of locality. The citizen of ninety years ago is reproached for "the petty vanity of residing in the circle of fashion; to have descended from the first in the neighbourhood of the Exchange to be the last in Bloomsbury square." † The Essayist asks a question, which has not yet been more satisfactorily answered than he answers it:—"When the rich and respectable leave it, who are to fill its magistracies and its council? The lower orders of tradesmen, destitute of education and of liberal views, and thrust forward into office by nothing but their own pragmatical activity." The city had its evil reputation for gluttony and ignorance, which might be some excuse for the men of refinement and education deserting it. Dr. Campbell is taken to dine with a citizen. He says, "I'll do so no more, for there is no entertainment but meat and drink with that class of people." ‡ When Johnson was told that the society of Twickenham chiefly consisted of opulent traders, retired from business, he declared that he never much liked that class of people; "for, sir, they have lost the civility of tradesmen, without acquiring the manners of gentlemen." § Johnson's contempt of trade was one of his prejudices. Boswell asked, "What is the reason we are angry at a trader's having opulence?" The answer was, "the reason is, we see no qualities in trade that should entitle a man to superiority." Reasonable men have ceased to be angry at a trader's having opulence, provided his wealth has proceeded from the true qualities of a tradesman, honesty, skill, perseverance, decision of character—qualities that in any position "should entitle a man to superiority." It is the pretence to be what they are not that has always made the traders ridiculous. Mr Zachary Fungus learning to dance, and practising fencing, and keeping his riding-master waiting while he recites the speech which he has learnt from Mr. Gruel, "the great orationer who has published a book," by which Fungus hopes to rise in the state; ‖—this is the citizen to be despised, whether he be exhibited by Mr. Foote, or be labelled as "a snob" by a greater humorist.

Fielding, in "The Covent Garden Journal," has an amusing paper on the power of "the fourth estate," by which he means "the mob." Their insolence to passengers on the river, "whose dress entitles them to be of a different order from themselves;" their rudeness on the footpaths of the streets; the habits of carters and draymen "to exclude the other estates from the use of the common highways;" their abuse of women of fashion in the Parks of a Sunday evening—these are the crimes which an acute observer lays to their charge. To the justice of peace and the soldier,

* Blackstone, section i. † Knox—Essay 8. ‡ "Diary," p. 75.
§ Maxwell's "Collectanea," in Boswell. ‖ Foote—"The Commissary," act ii.

whom they hold in awe, he considers that it is "entirely owing that they have not long since rooted all the other orders out of the commonwealth." * Foreigners agree in this species of censure. M. Grosley says that the porters, sailors, chairmen, and day-labourers who work in the streets, "are as insolent a rabble as can be met with in countries without law or police." Their rudeness to foreigners he especially dwells upon; and he gives an example. His servant had followed the crowd to Tyburn, to see three men hanged. Returning home through Oxford-road, he was attacked by several blackguards; and Jack Ketch joined in the sport. But two or three grenadiers, belonging to the French guards, who had deserted, rescued their countryman. The man was frightened, and would not go out for a fortnight; but M. Grosley says that if he, being a stout fellow, had taken his coat off and boxed with the weakest among them, they would have carried him home in triumph. Grosley admits that the obliging readiness of the citizens and shopkeepers sufficiently consoles the foreigner for the insolence of the mob.† Nevertheless, he affirms that "even amongst those of the lowest rank, the people of London, though haughty and ungovernable, are in themselves good natured and humane." Opposed to the complaint of Fielding against the carters and draymen, the Frenchman maintains that their good nature appears in their great care to prevent the frays almost unavoidable, amidst the eternal passing of carriages in narrow streets; and in their tender treatment of children, and persons low of stature, in ceremonies which attract a crowd.‡ Moritz saw the proceedings at an election in Covent Garden: "What is called hanging-day arrived. There was also a parliamentary election. I could only see one of the two sights." There was no contest, and sir Cecil Wray was elected, to fill one vacant seat. "In the area before the hustings immense multitudes of people were assembled, of whom the greatest part seemed to be of the lowest order." The moment that the candidate began to speak, "even this rude rabble became all as quiet as the raging sea after a storm." Another gentleman spoke; and a gruff carter who stood near our foreigner exclaimed, "Upon my word that man speaks well." The enthusiasm of the Prussian is awakened; and it warms his heart to see "how in this happy country, the lowest and meanest member of society thus unequivocally testifies the interest which he takes in everything of a public nature,—how high and low, rich and poor, concur in declaring their feelings and their convictions that a carter, a common tar, or a scavenger, is still a man and an Englishman, and as such has his rights and privileges defined and known as exactly and as well as his king and his king's ministers." § Moritz, who was familiar with our literature, had probably the fine lines of Goldsmith in his mind:

> "Fierce in their native hardiness of soul,
> True to imagined right above controul,
> While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
> And learns to venerate himself as man."

It must not be forgotten when we speak of the licentiousness of the lower orders in the period of which we are writing, that they were constantly

* No. 40, June 20, 1752.
† "Observations on England," vol. i. p. 84. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 63.
§ "Travels through England, in 1782."

stimulated by demagogues to abuse the liberty of which they were proud; that whatever was brutal in their nature was not softened by any care for their education; that the police of London was utterly inefficient; and that the frequency of executions would have rendered them blood-thirsty, if, with all their curiosity to see men hanged (which low taste they partook in common with George Selwyn and others of rank), they had not had essentially a greater respect for human life than any other people in the world. A writer, who presents us many vivid but rather vague generalizations on the manners of that time, says, "The rabble of London, though to this day the most brutal and odious rabble in Europe, were never sanguinary." * This is somewhat hard upon the rabble of London, if we consider that they have not the advantage of those lessons of politeness enjoyed by every other rabble in Europe—that they are not tamed by a soldiery always ready to shoot them down without magistrate or riot act. "The English rabble," continues this historian, "are chiefly remarkable for mischief and cowardice. They destroy property, but they rarely attempt life." One who had a very considerable experience in the political power of mobs, was anxious that what he considered their courage should be kept alive by the humanizing lessons of the gallows. Romilly describes a dinner in 1785, at which he was present with John Wilkes and Mirabeau: "The conversation turned upon the English criminal law, its severity, and the frequency of public executions. Wilkes defended the system with much wit and good humour, but with very bad arguments. He thought that the happiest results followed from the severities of our penal law. It accustomed men to a contempt of death, though it never held out to them any cruel spectacle; and he thought that much of the courage of Englishmen, and of their humanity too, might be traced to the nature of our capital punishments, and to their being so often exhibited to the people." † When the system came to an end, under which ninety-seven malefactors were executed in London in one year, and twenty were hanged on one morning, did the "cowardice" increase; so that "a file of soldiers will, at any time, disperse the most formidable crowd; and a few resolute individuals, armed with bludgeons, can generally beat them off." ‡ The admirable metropolitan police of the present day has prevented any frequent opportunities of analyzing the composition of the qualities of the London rabble. Mischievous boys are generally more conspicuous than brutal men. The chairmen are gone, and so are the street porters. That large class who stand behind carriages in plush breeches and silk stockings, are no longer the most turbulent in the theatres; no longer have private riots of their own, of a character quite as formidable as those of the denizens of St. Giles's. A singular state of manners is presented in the following record of a scene which took place on the 11th of May, 1764. "A great disturbance was created at Ranelagh-house, by the coachmen, footmen, &c., belonging to such of the nobility and gentry as will not suffer their servants to take vails. They began by hissing their masters; they then broke all the lamps and outside windows with stones; and afterwards, putting out their

* Massey—"History during reign of George III.," vol. ii. p. 85.
† "Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly," vol. i. p. 61, 3rd edit.
‡ Massey.

flambeaux, pelted the company in a most audacious manner with brickbats, whereby several were greatly hurt, so as to render the use of swords necessary." * Can we have better evidence of the disorder of all society, in which the valet emulated the indecorum of his master, and the drunken mechanic copied the drunken lord.

The Police of London in the last ten years of George II., and through the remaining years of the century, was a system that combined the hateful and the ridiculous to an extent that requires some strong power of relying upon evidence to believe in. The character of the watchman may be found in every novel. A sober traveller sums up the qualifications of these protectors of life and property: "London has neither troops, patrols, nor any sort of regular watch; and it is guarded during the night only by old men chosen from the dregs of the people, who have no other arms but a lanthorn and a pole; who patrole the streets, crying the hour every time the clock strikes; who proclaim good or bad weather in the morning; who come to awake those who have any journey to perform; and whom it is customary with young rakes to beat and use ill, when they come rioting from the taverns where they have spent the night." † A curious example of the influence of routine upon public functionaries is given by Wraxall. He went out amidst the mob on the worst night of the riots of 1780, whilst the premises of Mr. Langdale, the distiller, were burning on Holborn Hill, and a frantic mob was raging in the street. "While we stood by the wall of St. Andrew's churchyard, a watchman, with his lanthorn in his

Watchmen.

hand, passed us, calling the hour as if in a time of profound tranquillity." ‡ The police-officer of that day was called a "thief-taker,"—he was in no sense of the word a detective or a preventive functionary. He knew the thieves,

* "Annual Register," vol. vii. † Grosley, vol. i. p. 48.
‡ "Historical Memoirs," vol. i. p. 329.

and the thieves knew him. His business was to "let the matter ripen" when he had information of a house to be broken open or a mail to be robbed. When he was sure of a capital conviction, he took his man, and obtained forty pounds "blood-money." It was a thriving trade. "I remember," said Townsend, the Bow Street runner, "in 1783, when sergeant Adair was Recorder, there were forty hung at two executions."

The horrible state of the Prisons in 1738 has been already shown in some notice of a Report of a Parliamentary Committee.* We may trace in the writers of fiction how little the dominion of cruelty, neglect, and extortion had been diminished at the accession of George III. Fielding's Mr. Booth is committed by an ignorant justice to Bridewell, upon a charge of assaulting a watchman, when he had only interfered to prevent an outrage by two men of fortune, who bribed the constable to let them escape. When he goes to prison a number of persons gather round him in the yard, and demand "garnish." The keeper explained that it was customary for every new prisoner to treat the others with something to drink. The young man had no money; and the keeper quietly permitted the scoundrels to strip him of his clothes. All persons sent to Bridewell were treated alike, so far as the prison discipline was concerned. Three street robbers, certain to be hanged, were enjoying themselves over a bottle of wine and a pipe; the man without a shilling in his pocket, had the prison allowance of a penny loaf and a jug of water.† Felons and debtors were in some cases separated; but there was

Gang of prisoners being conveyed to trial.

little distinction in the treatment of the burglar and the bankrupt. Those who could pay exorbitant fees had privileges and indulgences—a full meal and unlimited liquor. In 1773, John Howard, in his capacity of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, had his eyes opened to the disgraceful condition of the prisons of England, and the enormities committed in them. Before 1775 he had personally inspected nearly every one of these abodes of vice made more wicked; of innocence corrupted; of human beings, whether innocent or guilty, subjected to filth, starvation, contagious disease, and the capricious temper of savage and mercenary gaolers. In 1777 he published his book "On Prisons." He awakened public attention to the evil; and the Legislature adopted some measures for its remedy—measures, however, founded upon no enlarged principles,—mere palliatives, that fitted a state of society

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 63. † "Amelia."

in which expediency might suggest a few obvious changes, but where principle made no attempt to go to the root of one of the most difficult of social questions,—the mode of dealing with the criminal population. The system of the Hulks was commenced in 1776. In nineteen years 7999 convicts were ordered to be punished with hard labour on the Thames, and in Langston and Portsmouth harbours. It was something to have given fewer victims to the devouring maw of the gallows; but it was more than ten years before these offerings to Moloch had been diminished. But the Hulks utterly failed in producing the reformation of offenders. "Most of them, instead of profiting by the punishment they have suffered, forgetting they were under sentence of death, and undismayed by the dangers they have escaped—immediately rush into the same course of depredation and warfare upon the public." * The system of transportation to New South Wales commenced in 1787.

The efforts of individuals to compensate for the neglect of the government, by associating benevolent persons in attempts to remedy social evils, were at this period very remarkable. The reform effected by Howard was the seed in good ground. But it was not always that energy such as that of Howard could be found in companionship with his practical sense; or, at any rate, that the objects aimed at by philanthropy should be so little liable to misdirection, and so certain in their results, as his purification of the prison system. Thomas Coram, the master of a merchant vessel, had seen in the

Captain Coram. From Hogarth's Picture.

neighbourhood of Rotherhithe infants exposed in the streets—left to perish by their unnatural mothers. He laboured hard to establish a Foundling Hospital; and in 1739 obtained a charter for that institution which now possesses

* Colquhoun—"Police of the Metropolis," p. 470, ed. 1800.

enormous funds from subscriptions and from estates, but which had originally very inadequate means compared with the number of those who rang a bell at the gate of the hospital, left a child with a particular mark upon it, and waited its admission or rejection. In 1756, the governors obtained a parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.*, and during the subsequent fifteen years had received more than half a million of the public money, to distribute in a manner calculated to produce far greater evils than those which they sought to remedy. The wise legislators stipulated, when the grant was first made, that all children above the age of two months should be received. The age was afterwards limited to six months. A basket was hung at the gate, in which the deserted child was deposited. Purveyors of Foundlings started up in the country districts, who carried infants to London in panniers slung across a horse. Many died on their journey. In four years from 1756, children to the number of 14,934 were taken under the management of this institution, of which only 4400 lived to be apprenticed. Parliament then interfered, and declared "that the indiscriminate admission of all children under a certain age into the hospital had been attended with many evil consequences, and that it be discontinued." The charity had offered a large premium for vice, and had been perfectly successful in the encouragement of what we now properly call "the great social evil." Another philanthropist, towards the close of the reign of George II., established two societies, which were incorporated in the subsequent reign. The one was "the Magdalen Asylum,"—the other "the Marine Society." To take distressed boys out of the streets, educate them for the seaman's life, and place them in the merchant service or the Royal Navy, was an object of no doubtful good. Jonas Hanway, whose exertions mainly established these two charities, is stated to have been "the first man who ventured to walk the streets of London with an umbrella over his head."

Jonas Hanway.

Amidst a good deal of selfish indulgence in their own pleasures, about the middle of the eighteenth century, by the noble and the rich, there

is abundant evidence that a feeling had been awakened of consideration for the miseries of the lowly and the indigent. Hospitals for the reception of the sick and the maimed were freely supported by voluntary contributions. The Westminster Hospital was the first of this character, having been instituted in 1719. St. George's Hospital dates from 1733; the London Hospital from 1740, in which year the Middlesex Hospital was also established; and the Small Pox Hospital was opened in 1746. But no benefit to society was greater than that produced by the partial extension of education to the humblest classes of the community. The old foundation-schools had, in too many instances, been wholly diverted from their original purpose of general instruction, to provide sinecures for clergymen, who pretended to instruct the few pupils to whom they could not refuse admission. Their funds were wasted and misappropriated till, in our own day, a man of extraordinary vigour tore down the cobwebbed screen that patronage and venality had raised up, to defraud the children of this land of their inheritance. What were called the Free Schools, or Charity Schools, dispensed reading and writing to select parties of boys and girls, marked out for the ridicule of their companions by a grotesque and antiquated costume. These boys were fortunate if they obtained a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to serve behind a counter without a Ready Reckoner. Fielding has touched upon the state of popular instruction in his day, according to the experience of Joseph Andrews: "Joey told Mr. Adams that he had very early learnt to read and write, by the goodness of his father, who, though he had not interest enough to get him into a charity school, because a cousin of his father's landlord did not vote on the right side for a churchwarden in a borough town, yet had been himself at the expense of sixpence a week for his learning." The extension of instruction to which we have referred was the work of Robert Raikes, the proprietor of the "Gloucester Journal." This excellent man was struck by the degraded state of the children in the suburbs of his city. On a Sunday their numbers were increased; and their filth and disorderly conduct more revolting. He procured a few women to teach some to read on the Sunday; he persuaded them to go to church with clean hands and face and combed hair; he gave them Testaments. Their self-respect was raised; from outcasts they became capable of honest industry. The good example was rapidly followed; and Sunday Schools were established all over the kingdom, after the successful experiment of 1781.

As we approach the period we have assigned as the limit to this general view of Manners, we find that there has been, in some degree, an awakening of society to a more decorous, and, we may therefore presume, to a more virtuous exhibition of character and conduct. Literature has been very materially purified. Scenes and expressions in writers of fiction, which were held to be natural and amusing in the middle of the century, were deemed gross and revolting towards its close. Whether these exceptionable passages were derived from the tone of the age—which is most probable; or were the oozings out of the impure thoughts of the writers, which we are unwilling to believe—it is certain that they have condemned Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne to an oblivion from which their great powers would otherwise have saved them. We see, also, that the miseries of poverty and the degradation of ignorance had stirred up some feeling of what was required for the miti-

gation of evils not absolutely associated with humble station. In high life, the example of the Court was working a gradual reformation. But there were influences more potent in operation to produce a more vital change than Literature or Fashion.

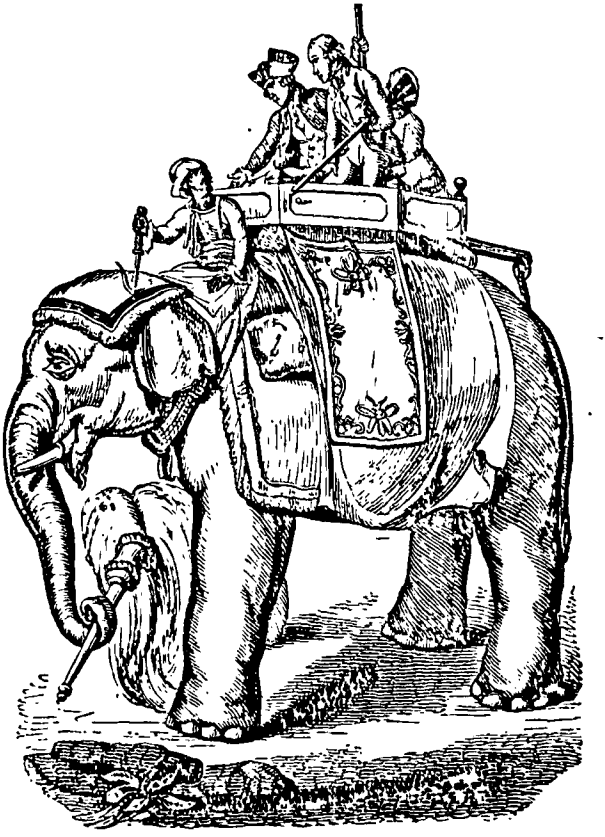
The observant Frenchman to whom we have several times referred, M. Grosley, says, of "the sect of the Methodists,"—"this establishment has borne all the persecutions that it could possibly apprehend in a country as much disposed to persecution as England is the reverse." * The light literature of forty years overflows with ridicule of Methodism. The preachers are pelted by the mob; the converts are held up to execration as fanatics or hypocrites. Yet Methodism held the ground it had gained. It had gone forth to utter the words of truth to men little above the beasts that perish, and it had brought them to regard themselves as akin to humanity. The time would come when its earnestness would awaken the Church itself from its somnolency, and the educated classes would not be ashamed to be religious. There was wild enthusiasm enough in some of the followers of Whitefield and Wesley; much self-seeking; zeal verging upon profaneness; moral conduct strangely opposed to pious profession. But these earnest men left a mark upon their time which can never be effaced. The obscure young students at Oxford, in 1736, who were first called "Sacramentarians," then "Bible Moths," and finally "Methodists," to whom the regular pulpits were closed, and who then went forth to preach in the fields—who separated from the Church more in form than in reality—produced a moral revolution in England which probably saved us from the fate of nations wholly abandoned to their own devices.

The individuality of opinion and conduct which is so characteristic of England—so different to the "all men alike" of France—led the two founders of Methodism into different paths. The principle of individuality originally isolated them from the torpid religion and the lax morality of the college life. It sent them to preach to the neglected poor wherever vice and ignorance most abounded, without much regard to the discipline of the Church of which they were members. But the characters of Whitefield and Wesley were in some respects very different. Whitefield was satisfied with rousing the sinful and the indifferent by his own fervid eloquence, without providing for the systematic continuance of his personal efforts. His preaching created a host of followers, who, branching off in their several localities, were content to be led by men without education. Starting up as teachers from the lowest ranks, such men, although too vain and presumptuous to see their own incompetence, were nevertheless better judges, in many cases, than the educated clergy, of the mode in which rude natures could be most effectually awakened to penitence for sin. Wesley, on the other hand, saw the danger of this indiscriminate admission of every fanatic to be a gospel-preacher; and he instituted and perfected by his incessant labours that remarkable organization known as Wesleyism. The exertions of these two men, each pursuing tracks not essentially diverging however separate, had produced effects in half a century of which their opponents could have formed no adequate estimate. The clergy, who preached and wrote against the excesses

* "Observations on England," vol. i. p. 356.

of coarse enthusiasts—the wits, who exhibited hypocrisy and credulity upon the stage, in the endeavour to laugh down the Methodists—could not wholly shut their eyes to the conviction that there was a real power at work which touched other natures than such as those of the Mawworms and Mrs. Coles. The power could not be despised which made floods of tears roll down the sooty cheeks of the colliers of Kingswood; and which, penetrating to Scotland, had called the lowest of the population of Glasgow to go forth to Cambuslang, and there, "at the foot of the brae near the kirk," hear the Word preached in the open fields, and surrender themselves to an irresistible influence, such as was wielded by the Puritans of old. To assist in "the extraordinary work of Cambuslang" Whitefield came, and saw thirty thousand persons assembled to receive the Sacrament. There was beheld, upon the largest scale, scenes that were familiar in England amongst the earliest converts to Methodism—shrieks, violent agitations of body, shaking and trembling, fainting and convulsions. These manifestations were, by one party in the Church of Scotland, ascribed to the delusions of Satan; by another party, to the influence of the Holy Spirit; and by a third party, to natural causes, produced by sermons addressed "not to the understanding of the hearers, but to their imaginations and passions." * These early effects of the fervid preaching of the new sect passed away. But the gradual influence of a more earnest sense of religion was diffused through the whole community of Britain. The members of the Churches of England and Scotland ceased to ridicule even such extravagances as were seen at "the Cambuslang conversions." The separation between Establishment and Dissent became less marked by bitter hostility. The principle of individuality was not less strong; but it gradually put off the form of intolerance, for that honest rivalry in the attempt to do good which has, more than any other cause, enabled us to look back upon the morals and manners of the last century as a condition of society not likely to return.

* Sinclair—"Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. v.



Warren Hastings' Elephant.

CHAPTER VII.

Retrospect of Indian affairs—Hastings Governor-General—Rohilla war—New Council at Calcutta—Hastings and the Council opposed to each other—Nuncomar—His execution—Dissentions at Madras—Mahratta war—Capture of Gwalior—Hyder Ali—The Carnatic ravaged—Hyder defeated by Coote—Death of Hyder—Succeeded by his son Tippoo Saib—Benares—Oude—The Begums—Committee of the Houses of Parliament on Indian Affairs.

In June 1783, when the news arrived at Calcutta that the preliminaries of peace had been signed between Great Britain and France, the misfortunes that had at one time foreboded the downfall of the British power in India had been mainly overcome. The war with Tippoo Saib and his French auxiliaries was still maintained; although it was evident that the energy of Warren Hastings had succeeded in averting the danger in the East, which, not long before, appeared to threaten as calamitous results as those which had attended our arms in the West. Before we resume our narrative of civil affairs at home, it will be proper that we should take up the history of events

in India, from the period of the appointment of Hastings as the first Governor-General.*

Previous to the nomination of Hastings to this high office by the Act of 1773, he had, in his capacity of Governor of Bengal, struck out a line of policy, in which we alternately admire his sagacity, and blush, as his countrymen, for his unscrupulousness. In 1772, he was labouring, as an honest statesman, to repair as far as possible the miseries produced by the famine of 1770, and by judicious fiscal arrangements to overcome the consequent embarrassments in the collection of the revenue of the depopulated districts. He freed the country from bands of robbers, by appointing local officers to maintain authority. He secured the administration of justice, by instituting local courts of law. If he could have met, by just means, the unceasing demands of the Directors of the East India Company for lacs of rupees, he would not have resorted to those modes of gratifying the cupidity of his masters for which many apologies have been offered, but for which no adequate defence has ever been established. He was a faithful servant to the Company, not waiting for direct orders to commit injustice, but securing his own tenure of power by violating the pecuniary engagements which Clive had made, and by driving excellent bargains, of which the only defect was that they compromised the English honour. When Clive put an end to the war amongst the native princes, giving the greater part of Oude to the Vizier Sujah Dowlah, he reserved the districts of Corah and Allahabad for the Mogul, Shah Alum, and agreed to pay the fallen potentate twenty-six lacs of rupees annually. The successor of the great Mussulman conquerors of India was happy to have a certain revenue for his own luxurious gratifications, and he willingly executed a solemn deed, giving the English Company the sole administration of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. Hastings, in 1773, had a plausible excuse for setting aside those arrangements with Shah Alum which were costly to the Company, or the violation of which would produce immediate advantages. The Mogul had become dependent upon the Mahrattas, and had been compelled to sign an edict to transfer to them Corah and Allahabad. Hastings promptly occupied those districts with English troops; and resolved to pay no more tribute to the shadow of the sovereignty of Hindustan. Shah Alum lost his annual lacs of rupees, which amounted to nearly three hundred thousand pounds; and the districts which were taken from him were sold to Sujah Dowlah, the Vizier of Oude, for half a million sterling. To manage these transactions Hastings paid a visit to the Vizier in his city of Benares; and there the two allies concluded another bargain, which brought more gold into the treasury of Leadenhall-street. It was agreed that an English army should be hired by Sujah Dowlah to effect the subjugation of the Rohillas—a race of Afghans, who were amongst the bravest and the most civilised of the various populations of Hindustan. With troops under the command of colonel Champion, the Rohilla country was invaded by the English in April, 1774, in concert with Sujah Dowlah and his soldiery. The English gained a victory. The forces of Oude looked on; and then applied themselves to devastate the fertile plains of Rohilcund, and to extirpate, as far as possible, the peaceful and

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 336.

industrious inhabitants. It was one of the charges of "high crimes and misdemeanours" against Warren Hastings, that he entered into a private engagement with the Nabob of Oude, "to furnish him, for a stipulated sum of money to be paid to the East India Company, with a body of troops for the declared purpose of thoroughly extirpating the nation of the Rohillas—a nation from whom the Company had never received, or pretended to receive or apprehend, any injury whatever."

Shah Alum.

The Rohilla war was ended. The work of spoliation and massacre was going on under the declaration of the Governor-general that "he had no authority to control the conduct of the Vizier in the treatment of his subjects." The country, once a garden, without a spot of uncultivated ground, was reduced, by the brutal mode of carrying on the war, and by the subsequent misgovernment, to a state of utter decay and depopulation. At this period, October, 1774, three new members of the Council, and the judges of the Supreme Court, appointed under the Regulating Act of 1773, arrived at Calcutta. The principal objects of that Act were the reformation of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, and such a re-modelling of the Court of Directors as should secure an enforcement of their authority upon their servants abroad; the establishment of a Court of Justice capable of protecting the natives from the oppressions of British subjects; the formation of a General Council having authority over all the British settlements, and who would furnish the ministers of the Crown with constant information

concerning the whole of the Company's correspondence with India. The provisions of this Act were directed to the accomplishment of large and benevolent reforms; but they were found wholly inadequate for the protection of the natives, for the improvement of the country, or for the construction of a firm and united government. The three new members of the council, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, appear to have entered upon their duties with a concerted determination to oppose the measures of Hastings and of the other old servant of the Company, Mr. Barwell. The new Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, sir Elijah Impey, was a personal friend of the Governor-General. Hastings naturally looked with great disfavour upon those who were come apparently with the determination to wrest all power from his hands, by constituting a majority of the Council where he had only a casting vote. Without a day's delay they testified their abhorrence of the Rohilla war, by recalling the English troops. Sujah Dowlah having died, and his son having succeeded him as Vizier, they maintained that the treaties with Oude were at an end upon the father's death. They did some rash things which might be intended to remedy past evils, but which had the inevitable tendency of lowering the respect of the natives for that able administrator who had impressed them with a reverential fear. The natives saw, or believed they saw, that the power of Hastings was gone. Charges of corruption were made against him by his enemies, whether natives or Englishmen. An old enemy of Hastings was a Hindoo Brahmin, the Maharajah Nuncomar. He had been disappointed in his aspirations for the great and lucrative office of chief minister of the province of Bengal; for Hastings had abolished the office, and had transferred its powers to the servants of the Company. The crafty Hindoo bided his time for revenge. He soon discovered who would be his natural ally against the Governor-General. He put into the hands of Francis a series of charges against Hastings, in which he was accused of setting offices to sale, and of receiving bribes to permit the escape of offenders. Francis brought the papers before the Council. Hastings contended that they had no right to inquire into charges against the Governor, especially into charges made by one so notoriously perjured and fraudulent as Nuncomar. Hastings and Barwell quitted the council-chamber; and the three remaining members called in Nuncomar, and allowed him to tell his story with new embellishments. Hastings instituted proceedings against the old Hindoo, and against others, upon a charge of conspiracy. But the fate of Nuncomar was decided upon a very different accusation. He was imprisoned at the suit of a native merchant, charged with having forged a bond five years before this period; for which alleged offence he had been brought to trial in the mayor's court at Calcutta, and had been dismissed on the interposition of Hastings. The Supreme Court, that had now entered upon its functions, with sir Elijah Impey as its head, had to take cognizance of such cases of lapsed justice. The apologists of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice maintain that it was in the ordinary course of events that Nuncomar should have been tried, and only a strict measure of justice that Nuncomar should have been hanged, at the precise period when he was truly dangerous to the power and influence of Hastings. Forgery, under the Common Law of England, was punished as a misdemeanour; and under the statute of Elizabeth was not treated as a capital offence. The law was made more severe as the commerce of the country became more

extensive. But in Hindustan the crime, regarded as very venial, had never been dealt with capitally. Nuncomar was tried upon the severer English statute, although one of the judges associated with Impey pressed for his indictment under the earlier and milder enactment. He was tried by a jury of Englishmen, and was found guilty. He was sentenced to be hanged; and the power of reprieve which the Supreme Court possessed was not exercised. The Council had no power to interfere, although the majority remonstrated in the strongest terms against the entire proceedings. The execution of the old man, to whom the agents of the Company had once sued for favour and protection, to whom his countrymen looked up with awe as a Brahmin who was the very head of Brahmins,—was inexorably resolved upon. He was carried in his palanquin to the common gallows, and he died with the most perfect composure. The punishment of Nuncomar put an end to all troubles and accusations against Hastings by native informers. The event, we are assured, was a mere coincidence with the attempts to shake the ascendancy of the Governor-General; and that his friend and schoolfellow, the Chief Justice, was a pure administrator of the law without respect of person.

The public quarrels, and the private immoralities, of Hastings and Francis occupy, for several years, the general narratives of Indian affairs. The adulterous intercourse of Francis with the wife of a Calcutta barrister, and the excessive fine imposed upon him by sir Elijah Impey; the very questionable relations of Hastings with Mrs. Imhoff, who afterwards became his wife, and whose reception at her Court by the rigid queen Charlotte was attributed by satirists to the influence of some of the plundered wealth of India—these are matters which, however entertaining they may be, are now of little historical importance. The Council of Calcutta, and its Supreme Court of Justice, were as discordant an administrative body as ever precipitated an empire into ruin. But Hastings had the sagacity, amidst all the rivalries which would have pulled down a man of less energetic will, to maintain his own power, and at the same time to look steadily at the aggrandizement of the British crown. Circumstances at home were favourable to him, although lord North, strongly disapproving the Rohilla war, was bent upon his recall. But the Governor-General could not be removed during the first five years of his administration, except by an address to the Crown by the Court of East India Proprietors. The most strenuous exertions were made by the supporters of the ministry to obtain a vote against Hastings; but the proposition for the recall was finally negatived. The Governor-General had once authorized his friend colonel Maclean to tender his resignation, if his conduct should not be approved; and though he had retracted that authority, Maclean in 1776 did tender the resignation. About that time Hastings had acquired a temporary supremacy by the death of Monson. His casting vote enabled him to defeat the proposals of Clavering and Francis, and to carry his own views into effect. In June, 1777, a packet-ship arrived with the announcement that the Governor-General had resigned. Hastings denied that he had authorized any such act. Clavering and Francis claimed immediate authority. Hastings and Barwell maintained that the right of the Governor to obedience should be upheld until further information should arrive. An appeal to military force would have unquestionably determined the victory for Governor Hastings, and not for King Francis, as the presumptuous ex-clerk of the Foreign Office was called. The Supreme Court prevented such a conflict, by

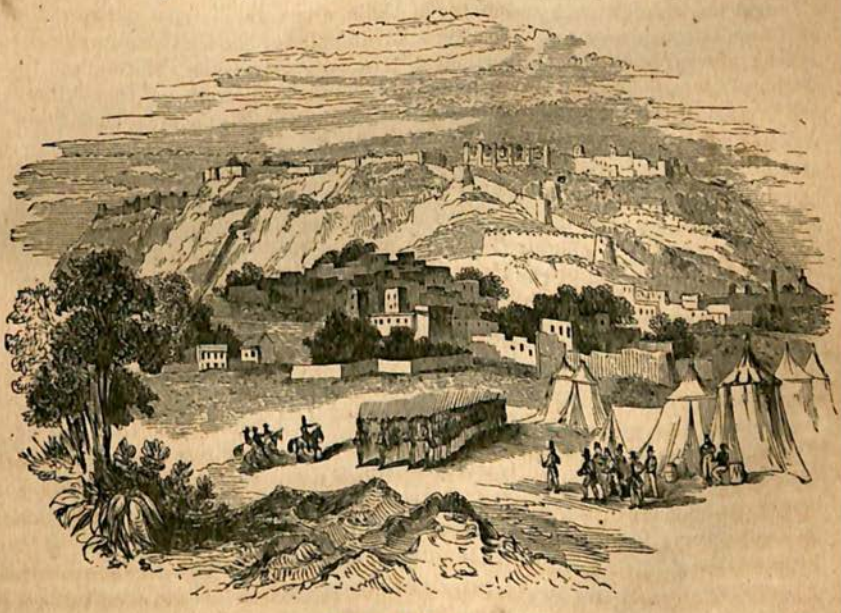
deciding that the resignation of Hastings was invalid, and that Clavering had illegally assumed the power of Governor-General. Hastings then contended that Clavering had forfeited his seat in the Council, by his attempt at usurpation; but the Judges of the Supreme Court decided that the Governor-general had no power to remove any member of the Board. In two months after this contest Clavering died. A new member of the Council, Mr. Wheler, arrived to fill up the vacancy caused by the death of colonel Monson; and now Hastings had a majority to support him. The same course of unworthy and dangerous rivalries prevailed in the subordinate Council of Madras, between lord Pigot and the members of his Board. He maintained that he was not bound by a majority against him; and upon their refusal to yield, ordered them to be suspended from their functions. They took a stronger step, and put the Governor under military arrest; for which violent act they were recalled home by a vote of the House of Commons; were tried in the Court of King's Bench; and were sentenced to pay a moderate fine, which lenient sentence they probably owed to a speech of Erskine, in mitigation of punishment. Lord Pigot was also recalled, but he had died during his period of imprisonment. When the five years had expired during which

Warren Hastings.

Hastings could not be removed by the government without the concurrence of the East India Company, he was re-appointed. Lord North, in 1786, in a debate on the Rohilla war, the charge against Hastings being then under discussion, strongly expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the Governor-General; but said that in 1778, when the French war commenced, he did not think that a fit time to make an alteration in the constitution of our government in India, and considering Mr. Hastings as a man of abilities he continued him in his government.*

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxvi. p. 46.

In the spring of 1778 the French government had openly made a common cause with the North American colonies, and war between England and France was inevitable. In the previous year a French agent had been negotiating with the Peshwa of the Mahrattas, at his seat of vice-royalty at Poonah, and an alliance dangerous to the British interests was likely to be formed. Hastings was for immediate war; and although two of the Council were opposed to him, an army was sent to the Peshwa's country, with instructions to forward the claims of Ragoba, a pretender to the dignity of Peshwa. It was one of the charges against Hastings, that on the 22nd of June, 1778, he made the following declaration in council: "If it be really true that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the Western world, it is more incumbent on those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the East, to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." Hastings alluded to the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. In a few weeks arrived the intelligence of hostilities with France. The French settlement of Chandernagore was immediately captured; Pondicherry was invested, and was surrendered after some resistance; and the Mahratta expedition was persevered in. Its results were very unfortunate. The small army under colonel Egerton that had approached Poonah was surrounded by bodies of hostile cavalry; and the only chance of safety was a convention, by which it was agreed that the Mahrattas should recover what the British had gained from them since 1756. Hastings persevered; and other expeditions were more successful. General Goddard took the fort of Ahmedabad by storm, and the city of Bassein by siege. Captain Popham



Fortress of Gwalior.

reduced the city of Lahar; and took by escalade the hill fortress of Gwalior,

deemed impregnable. The government at home, on the first outbreak of the war with France, had sent sir Eyre Coote to be the commander of the forces in India, with a seat in the Council. There had been a partial reconciliation in that body between the discordant parties of Hastings and Francis. But the animosities were only smothered. A duel was fought between the two rivals, in which Francis was shot; and upon his recovery he resigned his office, and returned to England. There were other fierce contests between the wielders of the political and the judicial power. Hastings and Impey were now bitter opponents. These feuds have ceased to command the interest which was once attached to them. Events of more real importance were now to call forth all the resources of the boldness and foresight of the Governor-General. The abilities of Hastings were exhibited in connection with a policy which did not shrink from employing means to ensure success which no amount of success can justify. However we may admire in him the great qualities which saved the British authority in the East from a danger as formidable as that which overthrew our power in the West, we cannot lament that his triumphs did not prevent him being accused as an offender against the rights of humanity, and that years of bitter anxiety and loss of fortune were the penalties he paid for his oppressions.

Hyder Ali, the sovereign of the great kingdom of the Mysore, had been at peace with the British since he concluded a treaty with the Council of Madras in 1769. This extraordinary ruler was now far advanced in years, but his energy was undiminished. It was one of the Articles of Charge against Hastings that his intrigues against the Peshwa of the Mahrattas had produced, amongst the chief princes and states of India, a general distrust and suspicion of the ambitious designs and treacherous principles of the British government. It was alleged that the two principal Hindoo powers—the Peshwa, and the Rajah of Berar—and the two principal Mohammedan powers—Hyder Ali and the Nizam of the Deccan—renouncing all former enmities against each other, united in a common confederacy against the English. In 1780 Hyder Ali assembled an army computed to consist of ninety thousand men. These forces had been partly disciplined by French officers. He had a more personal quarrel to avenge than his dread of the extension of the English power. The Council of Madras, under sir Thomas Rumbold, had given especial offence to Hyder Ali. His rival in the Carnatic, the nabob of Arcot, was surrounded by English, who were his creditors, and who are accused of having carried on a continued plot in the divan, for the destruction of Hyder Ali.* The revenge of the great chief of Mysore has been described in language which makes the soberer colouring of history look pale and ineffective. "Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and with every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havock, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its

* Burke—"Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts."

contents on the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havock. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives—enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were

Mysorean Cavalry. From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick.

swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine."*

The terrified inhabitants of Madras could trace the progress of the ruthless invader as columns of smoke rose from the burning villages. The danger was approaching to the very walls of the Settlement. A force of three thousand men under colonel Baillie had been cut to pieces by Hyder. Sir Hector Munro, with five thousand men, retreated towards Mount St. Thomas. When the evil tidings reached Hastings he at once adopted his course of action. He abandoned the Mahratta war, and proposed that a treaty of peace and alliance should be concluded. Sir Eyre Coote proceeded with every man that could be shipped from Bengal, to take the command at Madras. Hyder Ali was alarmed when Coote took the field in January, 1781; and he immediately raised the siege of Wondewash, and the siege of Vellore. At length on the 1st of July, the English commander, having only a force of nine thousand men to oppose to Hyder's enormous army, brought him to action at Porto Nono, and obtained a signal victory. Another battle, on the 27th of August, was not so decisive. Peace was not concluded with the Mahrattas till early in 1782; and the continued war with Mysore and with Poonah involved so great a cost, that Hastings had to look to extraordinary resources, to enable him to carry on this struggle against the most dangerous enemy that had yet assailed the British power. He had to repeat the policy of 1773; when he violated a solemn compact with the mogul, and let out his troops to the nabob of Oude for the enslavement of the Rohillas, with the sole object of replenishing his exhausted treasury.

* Burke—"Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts."

The rajah of Benares, Cheyte Sing, had become a tributary to the English, the nabob of Oude having surrendered his rights to them in 1774. Cheyte Sing had regularly transmitted to Calcutta his tribute of a settled sum. Hastings demanded extraordinary aid from this Hindoo prince; and at the beginning of the Mahratta war, in 1778, had compelled him to make a contribution of five lacs of rupees (50,000*l.*) for the maintenance of three battalions of Sepoys. The Governor-General demanded that a similar contribution should be made in 1779; and again in 1780. Cheyte Sing endeavoured to propitiate his taskmaster by a present of two lacs of rupees. Hastings concealed the transaction from the Council at Bengal, and from the Directors. But after some delay, he handed over the money to the Accountant-General, and insisted upon the contribution of five lacs from Cheyte Sing, with a fine of an additional lac for neglect of payment. Hastings had evidently determined by excessive demands to drive the unhappy rajah into resistance, which would have ended in the confiscation of his possessions. To accomplish his purpose, the Governor-General proceeded to Benares;

Benares.

required a contribution of half-a-million sterling; and, although the rajah expressed the most abject devotion, placed him under arrest. But now the despotic Englishman had to encounter a power of which he made little account. The people of Benares had been mildly governed. The rajah was

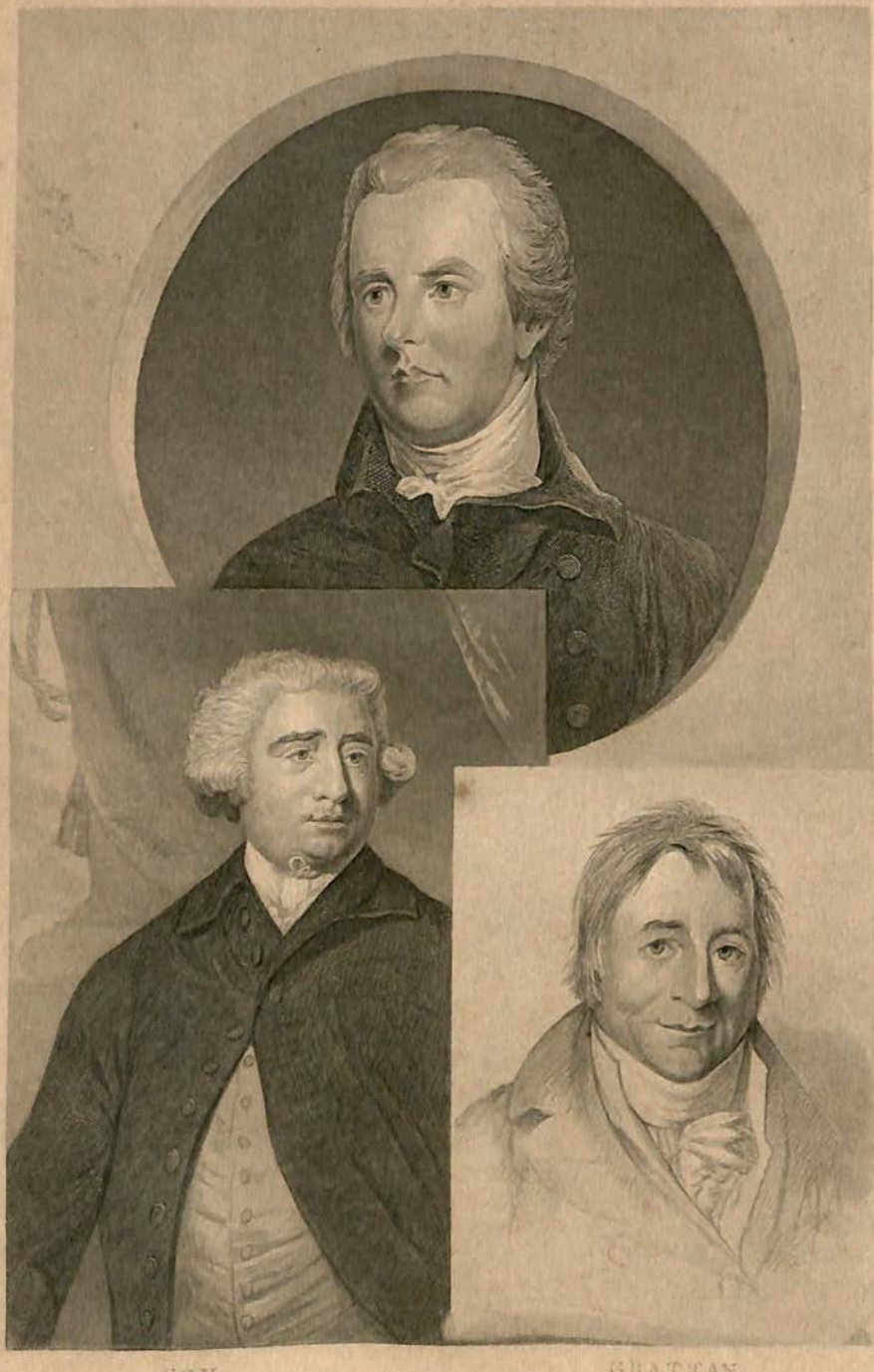
popular. The religious and national feelings of the Hindoo population were roused by this outrage upon their native prince. The streets of the great Brahminical city were filled by an angry multitude. The sepoys who had been appointed to arrest and guard Cheyte Sing were butchered; and the prince escaped from his palace-prison. Hastings had to barricade the house in which he had taken up his residence; and, finally, to leave the city by night, with a small band, amidst the hootings of the populace. The rajah at first made offers of submission, to which Hastings did not vouchsafe a reply; but Cheyte Sing, having been followed by a formidable body of insurgents, was able to make a stand with forty thousand undisciplined men. Popham, the victor of Gwalior, was ready to attack the rajah, who was utterly routed, driven from his states, and finally deposed.

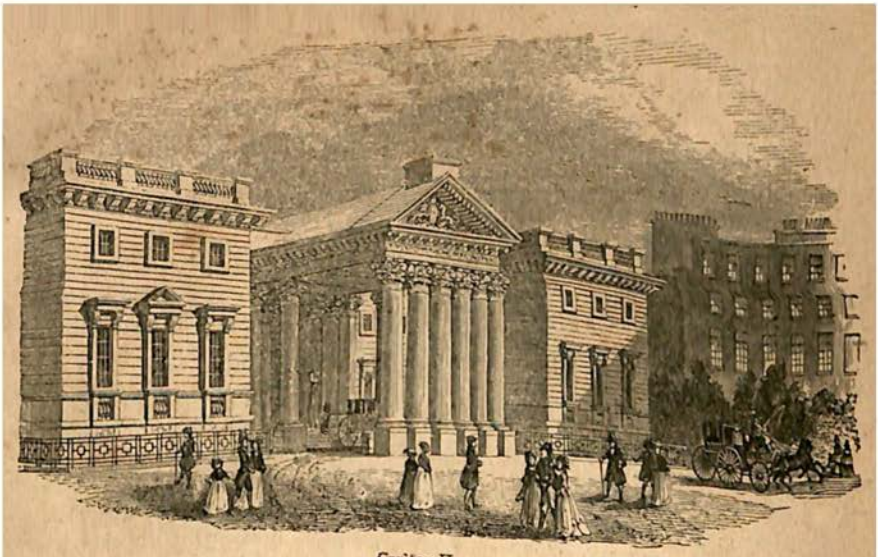
Hastings was disappointed in the amount of treasure which he found, when the fortress of Bidgegur, which held the rajah's wealth, was surrendered to Popham; and the quarter of a million that was taken was divided as prize-money by the army. He had another booty in view. Asaph ul Dowlah, the nabob and vizier of Oude, had obtained from the British government a brigade to defend him against the aggressions of his neighbours. The weak and depraved prince had thus virtually become a vassal of the Company. Hastings required heavy payment for his military aid. The nabob wanted money himself. The grandmother and mother of Asaph ul Dowlah, called the begums of Oude, were reputed to be possessed of enormous treasure, which they kept in their palace of Fyzabad. The nabob and the Governor-General met in the fortress of Chunar; and there it was consented to by Asaph ul Dowlah that the begums should be stripped of the domains which they retained by his father's bequest and his own grants, and that their treasure should go to the English in liquidation of the arrears which Hastings demanded. A solemn treaty was entered into; but when the weak prince was no longer under the immediate dominion of the stern will of the Governor-General, he relented in his meditated spoliation of his parents. Hastings sent the most peremptory orders to the English resident at Lucknow, Mr. Hamilton, to carry out the treaty, even if force were necessary. If the resident hesitated, Hastings would come himself, to take the work out of feebler hands. The gates of the palace of Fyzabad were forced by the Company's troops. The aged princesses were confined to their own apartments, it being alleged that they had been concerned in exciting the insurrection at Benares. Sir Elijah Impey hurried to Lucknow to receive depositions against the begums, and then hurried back to Calcutta. The begums would not part with their treasure, though imprisoned, and dreading personal violence. An atrocity, which requires not the eloquence of Burke or Sheridan to rouse the indignation of every man jealous of his country's honour, was perpetrated upon the two eunuchs who presided over the household of Sujah ul Dowlah's widow. Through their persecution the treasure was to be extorted from the begums. They were put in irons; they were half-starved; they were ordered to be debarred from all food till they yielded. The English resident, Nathaniel Middleton, signed this cruel order. The old men agreed to produce the sum that was then required. But the whole demand was not satisfied. They were removed to Lucknow. The British resident there incurred the disgrace of issuing this order to a British officer.

"Sir, the nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall think proper." The eunuchs were imprisoned till, after months of terror, the begums had surrendered twelve hundred thousand pounds; and Hastings was content.

The case of the rajah of Benares, and the case of the begums, furnished the most exciting materials for that eloquence which determined the impeachment of Hastings; and which, during the first year of that procrastinated trial, attracted eager crowds to Westminster Hall, to listen to the greatest masters of oratory of that age—inferior probably to none of any age. From 1788 to 1795, was this memorable trial carried on. Amidst the storm of invective which denounced him as a monster of cruelty and rapacity, Hastings was sustained by the proud consciousness that he had rendered eminent service to his country. In his Address upon his defence he said, and said truly, "To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of their dominion in India, I dare to reply that they are—and their representatives annually persist in telling them so—the most flourishing of all the States of India. It was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired—I enlarged and gave consistency to—the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it." With the treasures which he extorted from rajahs and begums he carried on the war in the Carnatic till the death of Hyder Ali in 1782; and finally concluded an honourable peace with Hyder's son and successor, Tippoo, in 1783. His administration ceased in the spring of 1785; when a new system for the government of India was established, after a parliamentary contest of unexampled interest and momentous results.

Tippoo Saib. From a Hindoo Portrait.


PITT
FOX
GRATTAN



Carlton House.

CHAPTER VIII.

Coalition of lord North and Mr. Fox—Pitt's second Reform Bill—Affairs of India—Fox brings forward his India Bill—The Bill carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the House of Lords—The Coalition dismissed from office—Pitt the head of the government—His struggle against a majority of the Commons—His final triumph—Parliament dissolved—Results of the elections—The Westminster election—Pitt's financial measures—Commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland—His third Reform Bill—Disputes between Holland and Austria—Pitt's Sinking-Fund—Commercial Treaty with France—Consolidation of Taxes—War with France averted—The prince of Wales' debts—Mrs. Fitzherbert—The king becomes insane—Parliamentary conflict on the Regency Bill—The king's Recovery.

THE Coalition of the party headed by lord North, and of the party headed by Mr. Fox, had succeeded in compelling lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt to resign; but it was not without difficulty that the coalesced chiefs could induce the king to admit them to power. After a considerable delay, the duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox and North were appointed Secretaries of State. The repugnance of the king to this extraordinary union of two political rivals—which, securing a majority in the House of Commons, forced upon him as the real prime minister, a man whom he disliked with an intensity approaching to hatred—was more than tolerated by the majority of the nation. The Coalition was odious to all men not bound by the trammels of party. Fox and North received the seals on the 2nd of April, 1783. The acceptance of place by Fox rendered his re-election for Westminster necessary; and Romilly writes—"It is almost a general wish that some man of character and credit may be opposed to him as a candidate." He was re-elected, because no candidate was found; "but

the populace received him with hisses, hooting, and every other mark of displeasure." *

Pitt was now in opposition. He had in vain declared "a just and lawful impediment" to the "ill-omened and unnatural marriage," forbidding the banns "in the name of the public weal." The ministry were strong in their majorities. Pitt vainly opposed the conditions of the loan which they had raised upon very disadvantageous terms. On the 7th of May he, a second time, brought forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. He proposed that when the gross corruption of the majority of voters in any borough was proved before a Committee of the Commons, the borough should be disfranchised; and that a large addition of knights of the shire, and of members for the metropolis, should be made to the representative body. But Pitt openly declared against the practicability of a perfectly equal representation, and held that those places known by the popular appellation of rotten boroughs, were to be regarded in the light of deformities which in some degree disfigured the fabric of the constitution, but which he feared could not be removed without endangering the whole pile. Fox earnestly defended the proposition; North opposed it. Pitt's resolutions were rejected by a majority of 144. The young reformer was more successful in carrying through the House of Commons a bill for preventing abuses in the public offices, the chief object of which was to abolish an odious system of perquisites and percentages. In the House of Lords the adherents of the ministry threw out the bill. The Session came to a close on the 16th of July.

The condition of India had for some time occupied the serious attention of British statesmen. Burke and Dundas had especially devoted their most earnest labours to unravel the complicated web of Indian policy, and to devise some remedy for the abuses which from time to time were brought to light. At the close of the Session of July, 1782, the king, speaking the words of his minister, lord Shelburne, congratulated Parliament upon the diligence and ardour with which it had entered upon the consideration of the British interests in the East Indies: "To protect the persons and fortunes of millions in those distant regions, and to combine our prosperity with their happiness, are objects which amply repay the utmost labour and exertion." At the opening of the Session in December of the same year, the king said: "The regulation of a vast territory in Asia opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight. I trust that you will be able to frame some fundamental laws which may make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India." This was imperial language, befitting a great nation—language pointing to far higher objects than the gains of a trading company, or the acquisition of extended territory. When the Shelburne ministry came to an end, it was imperative upon the Coalition to carry out those large views in a substantial proposal of their own. To Burke, especially, it was a labour of love to analyze the vast mass of facts that had been gathered from various sources on the affairs of India. In June, 1783, the Ninth Report and the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee were presented to the House of Commons. In those remarkable documents, drawn up by Burke, we have the clearest details of the state of the administration of justice in the provinces

* "Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly"—Letter to Roget.

of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the largest views for the solution of the great problem submitted to the Committee, "how the British possessions in the East Indies may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country; and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted." Such were the preparations for a comprehensive measure for the future government of India.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 11th of November. The prince of Wales, previous to the arrival of the king, had been introduced to the House of Peers, with great ceremony, and was conducted to his chair of state on the right hand of the throne.* Carlton House had been assigned to him as a residence. The question of India was the most important topic of the king's speech: "The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom, to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces." On the 18th of November Mr. Fox brought forward his India Bill. The government had a commanding majority in the House of Commons, and a working majority in the House of Lords. The dislike of the king to his ministers had not abated during their eight months' tenure of office; their unpopularity had not materially diminished. One false move would rouse the prejudices of the king into obstinate hostility, and carry the people with the king in direct opposition to the votes of their representatives. Such a danger was involved in the India Bill. The necessity for a decisive change in the administration of Indian affairs could not be disputed. The mode in which the change was proposed to be effected raised up a storm of indignation against the authors of the measure: its opponents did not stop to consider the real point at issue—the necessity of promoting the welfare of millions committed to our rule,—but saw in the proposed enactments nothing beyond a desire in the ministry to grasp at a vast source of power and patronage, which would equally endanger the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people. In this view there was unquestionably much of exaggerated alarm, produced by the ordinary artifices of political rivalry. Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of the East India Company should be transferred to Commissioners to be named by Parliament, and not removeable at the pleasure of the Crown. "His plan," he said, "was to establish a Board, to consist of seven persons, who should be invested with full power to appoint and displace officers in India, and under whose control the whole government of that country should be placed." There were to be eight assistants to this Board, who should have charge of the commercial concerns of the Company, but subject to the control of the other seven. The Board was to be held in England; it was to be established for three or five years, to try the experiment. If experience proved the utility of the Board, then the king was to have the future nomination of its members.

The principle of Mr. Fox's India Bill was resisted upon its first introduction to parliament. Mr. Pitt declared his opinion that the whole of the

* The costume of the prince on this occasion may provoke a smile: "His Royal Highness was dressed in a black velvet, most richly embroidered with gold and pink spangles, and lined with pink satin. His shoes had pink heels; his hair was dressed much out at the sides, and very full frizzed, with two very small curls at the bottom."

proposed system was nothing more on one side than absolute despotism, and on the other side the most gross corruption. Mr. Jenkinson described the proposed commission as the setting up within the realm of a species of executive government independent of the crown. Upon the first reading of the principal Bill, Mr. John Scott, who, as lord Eldon, filled so important a place in the politics of his time, spoke temperately against a hurried decision upon so important a question. This was his maiden speech; and on that occasion Erskine also spoke for the first time in the House, in advocacy of the measure. Previous to the second reading of the Bill, the corporation of London, in common-council assembled, adopted a petition to the House of Commons that the Bill might not pass into law, setting forth that a measure "which directs a seizure and confiscation of powers, privileges, and property, granted by charter, secured and confirmed by various acts of parliament, hath exceedingly alarmed the petitioners, and raised their fears and apprehensions at so unconstitutional a measure." The example of the city was followed by many other corporations. Against the ministry all the light artillery of squib and caricature was used unsparingly. There was a famous caricature by James Sayer—"Carlo Khan's triumphal entry into Leadenhall Street,"—in which Fox is represented riding on an elephant, whose face is that of lord North, which elephant is led to the door of the India House by Burke, blowing a trumpet.* Fox himself ascribed some loss of popularity to this production, at a time when this species of humour was treated seriously in the conflicts of party. The eloquent minister felt the difficulty of his position; but he expressed himself privately with that manliness which marked his public speeches: "I am not at all ignorant of the political danger which I run by this bold measure. But whether I succeed or no, I shall always be glad that I attempted, because I know that I have done no more than I was bound to do, in risking my power and that of my friends when the happiness of so many millions is at stake." † Fox triumphed in the House of Commons by large majorities. The second reading of his Bills was carried by a majority of 114; and on the 9th of December they were presented by the minister and a numerous body of members at the bar of the House of Lords.

On the day when the Coalition ministry entered office, the king wrote to earl Temple, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to express his hope that many months would not elapse before "the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and other men of character" would relieve him from a thraldom to which he had been compelled to submit.‡ The opportunity which the king so ardently desired did not come till the India Bill had provoked a manifestation of popular opinion which might enable the crown to defy a majority of the House of Commons. It was a dangerous experiment. The nobleman to whom the king had confided his sorrows in April was ready in December not only to whisper to the peers, but confidently to state, that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as his enemy. The effect upon all those who

* A copy of the print is given in Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. ii. p. 83.

† "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 219.

‡ "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. i. p. 219.

desired to live only in the sunshine of royal favour was instantaneous. "The bishops waver, and the thanes fly from us," writes Fitzpatrick. He adds, "the public is full of alarm and astonishment at the treachery as well as the imprudence of this unconstitutional interference. Nobody guesses what will be the consequence of a conduct that is generally compared to that of Charles the First in 1641."* The India Bills were rejected in the Upper House on the 17th of December, by a majority of ninety-five to seventy-six. On the 18th, at midnight, a message was sent by the king to lord North and Mr. Fox, commanding them to give up their seals of office by their under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to his majesty. When the result of what Fox described as treachery on the part of the king, and meanness on the part of his friends, made it clear that his official power was at an end, he wrote, "we are so strong, that nobody can undertake without madness; and if they do, I think we shall destroy them almost as soon as they are formed."† On the 19th Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Earl Temple, who had received the seals of Secretary of State, was for the immediate dissolution of parliament. Pitt was against this, and Temple resigned on the 22nd, leaving the young prime minister to sustain, almost alone, the most severe conflict for power recorded in the annals of parliament.

The anxiety which Mr. Pitt endured at the period of his extraordinary elevation, in his twenty-fifth year, to the great office which few statesmen had reached except through various stages of political experience, has been described by his former tutor, George Pretyman, who had become his private secretary. Lord Temple's resignation, he says, was determined upon on the

Bishop Tomline.

evening of the 21st. "When I went into Mr. Pitt's bedroom the next morning, he told me that he had not had a moment's sleep. He expressed great uneasiness at the state of public affairs; at the same time declaring his fixed resolution not to abandon the situation he had undertaken, but to make

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 220. † *Ibid.*, p. 221.

the best stand in his power, though very doubtful of the result."* In forming his administration Pitt had scarcely a statesman of any reputation to support him, with the exception of Thurlow, as Chancellor, and Dundas, who

Lord Thurlow.

was not of the cabinet. His father's friend, Camden, stood by him in the House of Lords, although not originally forming one of the ministry. Pitt had almost wholly to depend upon his own ability and courage to sustain the attack he had to expect from a large majority of the House of Commons, headed by Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan. His pretensions appeared so absurd to the great party by whom he would be opposed, that when the writ for Appleby was moved for, a burst of derisive laughter issued from the crowded opposition benches. The real parliamentary battle did not begin till after the Christmas holidays. During the recess the great sinecure of the Clerkship of the Pells became at the disposal of the First Lord of the Treasury. Without any compromise of character Pitt might have taken the place himself. He gave this office to colonel Barré, upon the condition that he should resign the pension he had received from the Rockingham administration. The nation knew that Pitt was very poor. They now knew that his ambition was of a nobler kind than was ordinarily shown by those who chose politics as their vocation. His disinterestedness won him the public esteem, even whilst the people looked with little confidence upon his ability to maintain his perilous position. Had he dissolved parliament at the moment of his elevation, men's minds would have been greatly divided as to the fitness of an ambitious young man, however eminent his ability, to take the chief direction of the momentous affairs of a nation that required no common wisdom to repair her exhausted finances, and whose foreign relations might be compromised by the rashness of inexperience. Pitt determined that when he re-entered the House of Commons after the recess, the nation should at least comprehend the courage with which he could resist an adverse majority.

On the 12th of January, 1784, Pitt appeared in the House of Commons as the head of the government. Violent were the debates on points of form and

* Tomline—"Life of Pitt," vol. i. p. 233, 4th edit. (This prelate changed his name to Tomline in 1803.)

questions of principle. The minister was beaten upon two divisions, and five adverse motions were carried against him, that night. The king wrote to him the next day, "I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life." It was well that the king had found a minister whose prudence was equal to his courage. Regardless of his defeat, Pitt, on the 14th of January, brought forward his own plan for the government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. His Bill was read a first time. In a Committee of the whole House on the State of the Nation, it was moved that "the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." The speech of Mr. Dundas opposed this motion by an argument difficult to controvert. He assumed that the Resolution was in the nature and spirit of an Address to the king, to appoint a new set of ministers, and that his majesty would thus reason with himself upon such an Address: "You send me back the ministers I have just chosen; Have I not then the right to choose my ministers? Certainly yes, you say. But what crimes have they committed? What is it they have so soon perpetrated? Certainly, not one act of their administration is yet passed. Are they, therefore, without the confidence of the House of Commons? Are they men so unpopular, so incapable, so insufficient, that you will not bear with them, even for a moment? Is the minister who devotes himself to the House of Commons particularly, so unpopular and so incapable? I had chosen him, I had singled him out, as a man of talents the most astonishing, of integrity the most uncorrupt, of a reputation the most extraordinary. I had fondly imagined him the favourite of the House of Commons. I had been taught to fancy that in celebrating his name all my people joined in one anthem of praise." The Resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-one. An adjournment took place for a few days; but still no resignation. On the 23rd of January, Mr. Pitt's India Bill was thrown out; and Mr. Fox reproduced his own Bill. The minister was then goaded by many speakers to declare whether he contemplated a dissolution of parliament. He resolutely persisted in silence upon that point, though he indignantly repelled some harsh language towards him which had been used by general Conway. Fox at length moved an adjournment to the next day, Saturday, when he hoped members would attend, that proper measures might be taken to vindicate the honour and assert the privileges of the House. It was the general expectation that Parliament would be dissolved. Mr. Powys put a distinct question to the minister "whether that House might expect to be in existence, and to meet again on Monday next?" Pitt, after remaining for some time silent, at length said, that he had no intention by any advice he should give, to prevent the meeting of the House on that day. The contest between the two parties was carried on, in various shapes, till the 8th of March. Attempts were made to form a union between the leading members of the late government and those of the present; but Pitt steadily refused to resign as the preliminary condition of such a negotiation. Fox threatened the most stringent measures to compel obedience to the votes of the House of Commons. In an early stage of the contest, Pitt, at a meeting of his friends, said, "What am I to do if they stop the supplies?" Lord Mahon answered,

"they will not stop them; it is the very thing which they will not venture to do." * The supplies were not stopped. At every successive trial of strength, the numbers of the opposition became reduced. On the 18th of February, Pitt informed the House that his majesty, after a full consideration of the various resolutions that had been passed, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers, nor had the ministers resigned. Fox said that the House of Commons had never before received from a prince of the Brunswick line such a flat and peremptory negative to their sentiments and wishes. Under such circumstances he wished the House to pause, and to waive, for a very short time, the question of supplies, which stood for that day. The question of adjournment was carried by a majority only of twelve. Another motion which contemplated the dismission of ministers was carried by a larger majority. An Address to the king was resolved on by a majority of twenty-one. The king in his answer said that he was desirous that public affairs should be conducted by a firm and extended administration; but that he did not conceive that object would be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in his service. On the 27th of February, a motion of adjournment, with a view to postpone the consideration of the navy estimates, was carried by a majority of seven. On the 28th a deputation of the Corporation of London went in procession to Mr. Pitt's house, to communicate to him the resolution of the Common Council to present him with the freedom of the city. On that day he had been invited to dine with the Grocers' Company; and he proceeded, accompanied by the city deputation, to Grocers' Hall, where Wilkes, the chamberlain of the city, addressed him in a complimentary harangue, which thus concluded: "Your noble father, sir, annihilated party; and I hope you will, in the end, bear down and conquer the hydra of faction, which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his saying, that, for the good of the people, he dared to look the proudest connections of this country in the face. I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and, as he has the same support of the crown and the people, I am firmly persuaded that the same success will follow." At night Fleet Street and the Strand were illuminated, and the populace drew the minister home in his carriage. Another Address to the king, moved by Fox, was carried on the 1st of March, by a majority of twelve. The king's answer was in exactly the same tone as his previous one. At length, on the 8th of March, an elaborate remonstrance, in the form of an Address to his majesty, which was drawn up by Burke, and moved by Fox, was carried by a majority only of one. The battle was over. The victory remained with Pitt. The Mutiny Bill was passed; the supplies were voted; and on the 24th of March, the king went to the House of Lords, to put an end to the Session, and to say, "I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and the country, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament." On the 25th parliament was dissolved.

During this extraordinary contest, from the 12th of January to the 8th of March, there were fourteen motions, upon which the House divided, carried against Mr. Pitt; besides many others, upon which there was no division. The mode in which the Coalition ministry was ejected, through the

* Wilberforce—"Diary," December 23.

royal interference with the vote of the House of Peers upon the India Bill, was mean and unconstitutional. It has been conjectured that Pitt was probably acquainted with the manœuvres of Thurlow and Temple.* But it has been also said that when Temple resigned, he "carried away with him the scandal which the best friends of the new government could not but lament. The fame of the young prime minister preserved its whiteness. He could declare with perfect truth that, if unconstitutional machinations had been employed, he had been no party to them." † Whatever opinion may be formed upon this point, even the political opponents of Pitt agree that in this fiery struggle of two months, he "joined to great boldness, sagacity and discretion. By patience and perseverance he wearied out a foe who was more ardent than measured in his attacks; and while he bore his defeats with calmness, the country, saturate with calumny, began to resent the attempt of the Coalition party as the cabal of a domineering aristocracy." ‡

Never did minister of Great Britain appear in so triumphant a position as William Pitt, when he entered the House of Commons, on the 18th of May, to meet the New Parliament. He had been himself returned at the head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His friend Wilberforce,

Wilberforce. From an early Portrait.

the son of a Hull merchant, had contested the county of York against two Whig candidates of large fortune and high connections. With the almost

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 253.
† Macaulay—"Biography of Pitt."
‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 253.

unanimous support of the manufacturers of Sheffield, and Halifax, and Bradford, and Leeds, he had beaten the great Yorkshire aristocracy, as the representative of the middle classes. The example presented by this stronghold of independent principles was powerful through the country. Pitt looked upon the benches of opposition, that for two months had echoed with the cheers of those who had denounced him with every virulence of invective, now thinned to a very powerless minority. The Coalition had lost a hundred and sixty members. Fox took his seat as a Scotch representative; for although second upon the poll for Westminster, a scrutiny was demanded by his opponent, sir Cecil Wray, and the high bailiff would not make a return. Out of this scrutiny a protracted contest ensued, which was amongst the memorable things of a period of intense political agitation. The election for Westminster occupied forty days, under the old system, in which corrupt influence, bribery, drunkenness, and riot, made a great electioneering contest a scene as disgraceful to morality as unfavourable to freedom. The Court exerted itself in the most undisguised manner to exclude Fox from parliament. The prince of Wales was as openly committed against the interest espoused by his father. The beautiful duchess of Devonshire was often

Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds.

present in Covent Garden, wearing the colours of Fox; and the report that she had won the vote of a hesitating butcher with a kiss, was commemorated in many a gross caricature, and many an indecent libel. The wits and rhymsters on the side of Fox had one invariable theme for their invective against Pitt—the purity of his private life. In the songs of Captain Morris during the election, and in the elaborate squibs of "The Rolliad," which subsequently were produced in a thick octavo volume, this charge is urged with

a combination of the grossness of Swift and the stupidity of D'Urfey, which is revolting to taste as well as offensive to decency. "The virtuous youth," who "was taught by his dad on a stool," was little hurt by these missiles. The mud did not stick. But the virulence of the attacks by which he and his friends were long assailed, as well as his own wonderful success, contributed perhaps to impart to his public demeanour that cold and haughty aspect which was out of harmony with his real nature, which was amiable, affectionate, and even genial. The thinking and staid portion of the nation respected his decorous life; as much as they disliked the licentious habits of his great rival. Although the extraordinary endowments, the generous disposition, and the winning manners of Fox commanded the universal admiration of his friends, the people felt that Pitt was a safer minister. The ardour with which he applied himself to questions of finance and commerce, which Fox did not profess to understand, and probably thought beneath the leader of a powerful party, endeared the minister to the middle classes, and gave him the secure grasp of power and popularity during those nine years of real national prosperity which preceded the wars of the French Revolution.

Mr. Pitt commenced his career as a financial minister with more than common boldness. The permanent taxes produced half-a-million less than the interest of the debt, the civil list, and the charges to which they were appropriated. The annual land-tax and malt-tax fell far short of the naval and military expenditure and that of miscellaneous services. There was a large unfunded debt. The deficit altogether amounted to three millions. The confidence in the national resources was so low that the three per cents were fallen to about 56. Smuggling, especially of tea and spirits, was carried on to an enormous extent. The tea vended in the smuggling trade, conducted in the most systematic manner through consignments from foreign ports, was held considerably to exceed the five million and a half lbs. annually sold by the East India Company. Pitt took the only effectual way to prevent smuggling. He reduced the duty upon tea from 50 per cent. to 12½ per cent.; and he also reduced the duties on foreign spirits. To compensate for the expected deficiency of revenue, he increased the tax upon windows. To meet the large general disproportion between receipt and expenditure, he imposed other taxes, that have been abolished, as injurious to industry, by the sounder economists of recent times. These taxes enabled him to provide for the interest of a new loan, in which a large amount of unfunded debt was absorbed. Taxes upon hats, linens, and calicos, have long been condemned, though the Commons of 1784 willingly granted them. Duties upon horses, excise licences, and game certificates, hold their ground. Taxes upon candles, and upon bricks and tiles, were amongst the devices that have had no permanent existence. The tax upon paper, which Mr. Pitt increased, appears to be the last of those restraints upon industry to which purblind legislators have clung, upon the principle that the consumers do not feel the tax—the principle announced by the minister of 1784, when he proposed his additional duty on candles, namely, that as the poorest cottagers only consumed about 10 lbs. of candles annually, that class would only contribute fivepence a-year to his new impost.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer carried his proposed taxes without any difficulty. He was equally successful with his India Bills. He relieved the

East India Company from its financial embarrassments. He associated with its Directors in the government of India that body of Commissioners, appointed by the Crown, which was long known as the Board of Control. Under this double government, our empire in India, constantly increasing in magnitude by extension of territory, and becoming year by year more complicated and dangerous, at last appeared to be falling to pieces in the great revolt, whose suppression will always be regarded as one of the most memorable examples of British energy. Under the imperial rule, we may hope that the honest aspirations of Burke and Fox for such a government of India as would regard the welfare of the natives as the first object of legislation, will be realized; that the larger experience of three-quarters of a century, and the nobler aims of statesmen who will consider India as a sacred trust, will more and more develope the beneficent powers of civilization amongst the millions over whom Providence has appointed us the guardians.

In the Session of 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward a subject announced in the king's speech, the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. He described the system which had been pursued, from the Revolution to a very recent period, as that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment of her own resources; of rendering that kingdom completely subservient to the interest and opulence of England. That system had been reversed; and Ireland was free to export her produce to all parts of the world, and to import, and re-export, the produce of the British Colonies. But no change had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. There were, he said, but two possible systems for two countries situated as these were in relation to each other. We had tried the system of having the smaller country completely subservient and subordinate to the greater. "The other system was a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burthens; and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries." The propositions of Mr. Pitt, large and liberal as they were, although encumbered with some provisions opposed to a really free commercial policy, were thoroughly distasteful to the manufacturers of England, and equally opposed to the narrowness of what in Ireland was deemed patriotism. The Resolutions of the minister were carried by considerable majorities in the British Parliament, but being passed by a very small majority in the Irish Parliament, the Bill was withdrawn. Whilst this measure was being debated at Westminster, Mr. Pitt a third time brought forward a Bill for Reform in Parliament. His specific plan was to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, giving compensation to those who regarded them as property; to transfer the right of election to counties and to unrepresented large towns; and to extend the franchise in counties to copyholders. The Bill was not introduced as a government measure; and it was rejected by a large majority, as its author probably expected it would be. That Pitt was at this time sincere in his wish for a temperate reform there can be little doubt. George Rose says that he himself dreaded that a breach should be made in the representation which moderate reformers could not prevent being widened: "I determined

against an acquiescence in Mr. Pitt's plan, which he pressed with enthusiasm, not only in the House of Commons, but in private, with such friends as he thought he could influence." Rose offered to retire from his office, but to that the minister would not consent. The Secretary of the Treasury felt, however, what probably many others felt, "that a person in my confidential post, taking a different line from him on a question of such infinite magnitude, might lead to a doubt of his sincerity." *

At the opening of the Session on the 24th of January, 1786, the king informed the parliament that disputes which appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion. The tranquillity of Europe was always liable to be interrupted by the intrigues of the great powers for extended territory and influence. The emperor Joseph had been attempting to coerce the States of Holland, distracted by two contending political parties, into a surrender of the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which had been always garrisoned by the Dutch since the conclusion of the War of the Succession, as a bulwark against the inroads of France. After four years of dispute and threatened war, the court of Versailles concluded a treaty of commercial league, and close alliance, with Holland, by which the emperor was restrained, but which placed the States very much in the power of France. Great Britain abstained from interference. It would have been difficult to interfere, whilst in Holland there was a powerful faction opposed to the House of Orange.

Pitt, at this time, was almost exclusively occupied with a great financial scheme, from which, with more than ordinary complacency, he sanguinely expected the most wonderful results. He wrote to Wilberforce, "The produce of our revenues is glorious; and I am half mad with a project which will give our supplies the effect almost of magic in the reduction of debt."† It was the scheme of the Sinking Fund. The public income now happily exceeded the expenditure, and it was proposed that the notion of an accumulating fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt, which was partially attempted by Sir Robert Walpole, should be engrafted upon the perpetual financial arrangements; that a million should be annually placed in the hands of commissioners, so as to be beyond the power of a minister to withdraw. It was believed that, accumulating at compound interest, with the addition of such terminable annuities as should fall in, it would gradually extinguish the claims of the public creditor. The plan might have worked well, if the minister had been debarred from contracting any new loans. For years the public had as much confidence in this scheme as its author had. It was boasted, that "in eight years, Mr. Pitt's sinking fund, in fact, purchased 13,617,895*l.* of stock at the cost of 10,599,265*l.* of cash;" and it was proclaimed that "this measure, then, is of more importance to Great Britain than the acquisition of the American mines." ‡ There was a superstitious belief, long entertained, that the new sinking fund would, "by some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out

* "Diaries and Correspondence of George Rose," vol. i. p. 85.
† "Correspondence of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 9.
‡ Chalmers' "Comparative Estimate, corrected to 1812," p. 189.

of the pocket of the tax-payer." * The delusion was manifest when it was demonstrated that during the war the debt had been actually augmented, to the extent of eleven millions, by the less advantageous terms upon which money was borrowed by the Exchequer, compared with the purchases made by the commissioners who managed the sinking fund. A great authority in finance has put the whole philosophy of the matter in the form of an axiom: "No sinking fund can be efficient for the purpose of diminishing the debt, if it be not derived from the excess of the public revenue over the public expenditure." †

On the opening of the Session on the 23rd of January, 1787, the king announced that he had concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the king of France. The negotiation was completed at Versailles, on the 26th of September, 1786. The provisions of this treaty were of the most liberal character. There was to be the most perfect freedom of intercourse allowed between the subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns. The duties to be paid on French commodities in England were thus rated: Wines, no higher duties than on those of Portugal; brandy, seven shillings per gallon; vinegar, less than half the previous duty; olive-oil, the lowest duty paid by the most favoured nation. The following duties were to be levied reciprocally on both kingdoms: hardwares and cutlery, cabinet wares, furniture, turnery, not higher than 10 per cent. ad valorem; cotton and woollen manufactures, except mixed with silk, 12 per cent.; gauzes, 10 per cent.; linens, same as linens from Holland; saddlery, 15 per cent.; millinery, 12 per cent.; plate glass and glass ware, porcelain and earthenware, 12 per cent. We have already glanced at the general nature of this treaty in a commercial point of view.‡ Mr. Pitt set forth the political advantages of this measure in an argument worthy of a great statesman asserting principles of lasting importance: "Considering the treaty in its political view, he should not hesitate to contend against the too-frequently advanced doctrine, that France was, and must be, the unalterable enemy of Britain. His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the enemy of another was weak and childish. It had neither its foundation in the experience of nations, nor in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man. But these absurd tenets were taken up and propagated; nay, it was carried farther; it was said, that by this treaty, the British nation was about blindly to throw itself into the arms of its constant and uniform foe. Men reasoned as if this treaty were not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence; as if by the treaty we gave up so much of our army, so much of our marine; as if our commerce was to be abridged, our navigation to be lessened, our colonies to be cut off or to be rendered defenceless, and as if all the functions of the State were to be sunk in apathy. What ground was there for this train of reasoning? Did the treaty suppose that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployed by us as to disable us from

* Macaulay—"Biography of Pitt."
† "Works of David Ricardo," p. 149. ‡ *Ante*, p. 58.

meeting France in the moment of war with our accustomed strength? Did it not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible language—that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come? It did more than this; by promoting habits of friendly intercourse, and of mutual benefit, while it invigorated the resources of Britain, it made it less likely that she should have occasion to call forth those resources. It certainly had at least the happy tendency to make the two nations enter into more intimate communion with one another, to enter into the same views even of taste and manners; and while they were mutually benefited by the connexion, and endeared to one another by the result of the common benefits, it gave a better chance for the preservation of harmony between them, while, so far from weakening, it strengthened their sinews for war. That we should not be taken unprepared for war, was a matter totally distinct from treaty." It is painful to behold Mr. Fox contending "that France was the natural foe of Great Britain, and that she wished by entering into a commercial treaty with us to tie our hands, and prevent our engaging in any alliances with other powers." The argument for perpetual international hostility was carried to the point of absurdity by Mr. Francis, who thus declaimed: "It seems we are arrived at a new enlightened era of affection for our neighbours, and of liberality to our enemies, of which our uninstructed ancestors had no conception. The pomp of modern eloquence is employed to blast even the triumphs of lord Chatham's administration. The polemic laurels of the father must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of the son. Sir, the first and most prominent feature in the political character of lord Chatham was anti-gallican. His glory is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon. The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son."

That the commercial treaty was not a failure as regarded the products of our own country is evident from the fact that the annual average export of British manufactures to France in the six years ending with 1774 was 87,164*l.*; in the six years ending with 1792 it was 717,807*l.* Arthur Young, after the treaty had been in existence less than a year, found the French crying out for a war with England. "It is easy enough to discover that the origin of all this violence is the commercial treaty, which is execrated here as the most fatal stroke to their manufactures they ever experienced." He found this temper prevailing at Lisle.* The next year, at the fair of Guibray, near Caen, he saw many English goods, especially the crockery known as queen's ware. Of this ware there were French imitations, but very inferior. Young asked the dealer if he did not think the treaty of commerce would be very injurious, with such a difference in the goodness of the manufactured articles. The sensible Frenchman replied, "Quite the contrary. However bad is our imitation, it is the best thing we have yet produced in France. We shall produce better next year—we shall improve—we shall go beyond you." I believe, adds Young, he is a very good politician, and that without

* "Travels in France," p. 73.

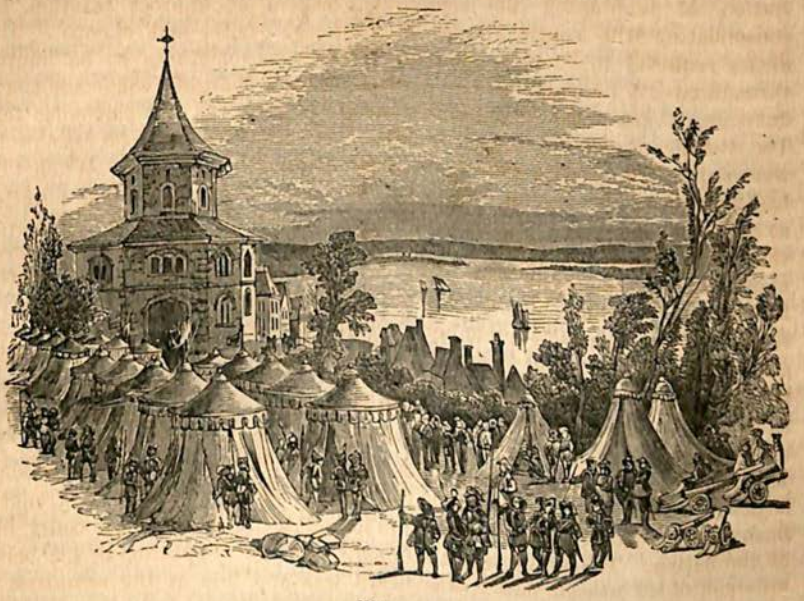
competition it is not possible to improve any fabric.* The treaty was annulled in the frenzy of the Revolution.

To Mr. Pitt belongs the honour, in this, the fourth year of his administration, of simplifying the complicated system of indirect taxation, by consolidating the several duties of customs, excise, and stamps. The duties required to be paid upon one article were sometimes to be hunted through twenty or thirty acts of parliament, each charging some additional duty, or making a special appropriation of the proceeds of a particular tax. The complication may be judged from the fact that three thousand resolutions were required to carry a measure of consolidation into effect. When Pitt had introduced his measure, Burke characterized the speech of the minister as one of extraordinary clearness and perspicuity, and said that it behoved those who felt it their duty frequently to oppose the measures of the government, to rise up manfully, and, doing justice to the right honourable gentleman's merit, to return him thanks on behalf of themselves and the country, for having in so masterly a manner brought forward a plan which gave ease and accommodation to all engaged in commerce, and advantage and increase to the revenue. "Thus," says lord John Russell, "in the course of little more than three years from Mr. Pitt's acceptance of office as First Lord of the Treasury, great financial and commercial reforms had been effected . . . . The nation, overcoming its difficulties, and rising buoyant from its depression, began rapidly to increase its wealth, to revive its spirit, and renew its strength. Such was the work of Mr. Pitt, now no longer the minister of the court, but of the nation. The cry of secret influence, and the imputation of his being an organ of an unseen power, was heard less and less as the resources of his powerful understanding developed their energies and ripened their fruits." †

The amicable relations between the governments of Great Britain and France, which appeared to have been consolidated by the commercial treaty, were interrupted in the autumn of 1787 by the interference of France with the civil dissensions amongst the States of the United Provinces, which had taken a new direction after the disputes with the emperor Joseph had been terminated. To the firmness and moderation of the British government it is owing that a war was averted. The great Frederick of Prussia had died on the 17th of August, 1786. His nephew and successor, Frederick William III., brother-in-law to the prince of Orange, had espoused the cause of his sister's husband against those States who had stripped the Stadtholder of his power and prerogatives. The princess of Orange, a lady possessing great vigour of character, was proceeding to the Hague from Nimeguen, to hold a conference with the leaders of the Orange party, when she was stopped by a troop of armed burghers and placed under arrest. The king of Prussia immediately marched an army into the province of Zealand, and avowed his intention to restore the Stadtholder to his hereditary authority. It is unnecessary for us to trace the course of these events, except as they bear upon the acts of the British government. These are very clearly related in the king's speech on opening the Session on the 27th of November. Whilst Great Britain had endea-

* "Travels in France," p. 79. † "Life of Fox," vol. ii. p. 138.

voured by good offices to restore tranquillity and maintain lawful government, she avowed her intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France in the internal affairs of the Dutch republic. The king of



Nimeguen.

Prussia having determined to obtain satisfaction for the insult offered to the princess of Orange, the party who had usurped the government of Holland applied to the king of France for his assistance, who notified to the king of Great Britain his intention of granting their request. "I did not hesitate," said the king to parliament, "to declare that I could not remain a quiet spectator of the armed interference of France, and I gave immediate orders for augmenting my forces by sea and land." The success of the Prussian troops enabled the Provinces "to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government." An explanation took place between France and Great Britain, and both countries mutually agreed to disarm, and to place their naval establishments upon the same footing as at the beginning of the year.

The career of Mr. Pitt,—the only minister who appears to have received the entire confidence of George the Third without surrendering his own independent convictions on large questions of policy,—was not wholly without difficulty and danger as regarded his relations to the king and the prince of Wales, in the serious differences which had arisen between them. The pecuniary embarrassments of the prince of Wales were of so onerous a nature that his friends thought it necessary to bring them under the consideration of Parliament. When he took up his residence at Carlton House in 1783, 60,000*l.* had been voted by parliament to defray the expense of establishing a separate household. The king allowed his son 50,000*l.* a

year out of the Civil List, and the annual revenue of the duchy of Cornwall amounted to 12,000*l.* At the Midsummer of 1786 the prince owed 160,000*l.* The king refused to give any assistance; and the heir-apparent dismissed the state officers of his household, sold his horses, and stopped the improvements going forward in his residence. But the debts were very slightly diminished. There were serious difficulties in making that application to Parliament, which eager worshippers of the rising sun overlooked, although public rumour spoke with no doubtful voice upon a very delicate question. It was believed that the prince of Wales, contrary to the provisions of the royal marriage act, was married to Mrs. Fitzherbert; and that the lady being a Roman Catholic, such marriage, according to the Act of Settlement, had rendered the prince "for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown of this kingdom." On the 27th of April, 1787, alderman Newnham, one of the members for the City, stated that he should propose an Address to the king, praying him to take into consideration the state of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him relief, which the House would make good. Mr. Rolle without hesitation said that this was "a question which went immediately to affect our Constitution in Church and State," and that he would oppose the motion, whenever it was brought forward, by moving the previous question. Something was necessary to be done. On the 30th, alderman Newnham stated that he had been much pressed, from various quarters, to forego his purpose. He did not wish to bind the House to the form of an Address, but said that the prince did not shrink from any inquiry. Mr. Fox, in the course of a short speech, took notice of the previous allusion to something full of danger to the Church and State. He supposed that allusion must have reference to a low malicious falsehood, propagated to depreciate the character of the prince—a pretended report of a fact impossible to have happened. In answer to a question from Mr. Rolle, Mr. Fox further said, that "he did not deny the calumny in question, merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws; but he denied it *in toto*, in point of fact, as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever." He added, that "he had spoken from direct authority." Bishop Tomline gravely remarks that "this unequivocal and authentic assurance could not but be highly satisfactory both to parliament and the public." And yet many of the parliament and some of the public had no belief in the assurance, although they believed that Mr. Fox was authorized to deny what he termed the malicious falsehood. At the end of December, 1785, Mr. Fox had written to the prince a letter, pointing out the extreme danger of "a desperate step" which he was informed that his royal highness intended to take. The prince replied, on the 11th, that "the world will soon be convinced that there not only is not, but never was, any ground for these reports which of late have been so malevolently circulated." Within ten days of the date of this letter, namely, on the 21st of December, Mrs. Fitzherbert was married by a Protestant clergyman to the prince of Wales, in the presence of six witnesses. "Although the marriage of Mrs. Fitzherbert was void by the English law, it was sanctioned by the law of her own church, and she could without scruple live with the prince of Wales as her husband." * On the

* Lord J. Russell's "Life of Fox," vol. ii. p. 185

day after his declaration in parliament, a gentleman at Brooks's told Mr. Fox that he had been misinformed; "I was present at that marriage." * The prince is recorded on the same day to have said to Mrs. Fitzherbert, "Only conceive, Maria, what Fox did yesterday: he went down to the House and denied that you and I were man and wife." † Mr. Fox, says lord J. Russell, "perceived how completely he had been duped. He immediately renounced the acquaintance of the prince, and did not speak to him for more than a year." The matter was hushed up; the prince's debts were paid by parliament after negotiations and squabbles which are now of little interest. Mr. Fox could not retract his declaration, without exposing the prince to the risk of losing his succession to the Crown, according to lord John Russell. His indignation at having been made the instrument of declaring a falsehood did not prevent him advocating the claims of the prince of Wales to almost uncontrolled power, in the great question of The Regency which arose in 1788.

On the 24th of October, the king, having been out of health, went to the levée, "with a view of putting an end to the stories that were circulated with much industry." ‡ A violent fever ensued; and in a few days the sovereign was decidedly insane. On the 7th Mr. Grenville wrote, "I am afraid that it would be very sanguine indeed to say that there is even any hope that the king will recover both his health and his understanding." § The public were to be kept in ignorance of this alarming event. But the parliament was to meet on the 20th of November. An adjournment of a fortnight was agreed to. Meanwhile the physicians who had attended his majesty were examined on oath before the Privy Council. All agreed that the king could not attend to public affairs; three expressed confidence in his recovery. A Committee of the two Houses had also examined the medical authorities, and had reported their opinions. Mr. Fox had been travelling in Italy, but being summoned home, he appeared in his place in parliament on the 10th of December; and there declared that, "in his firm opinion, his royal highness the prince of Wales had as clear, as express a right to assume the reins of government, and exercise the power of sovereignty, during the continuanco of the illness and incapacity with which it had pleased God to affect his majesty, as in the case of his majesty having undergone a natural and perfect demise." The two Houses, he said, "were alone qualified to pronounce when the prince ought to take possession of, and exercise, his right; but as short a time as possible ought to intervene between the prince of Wales assuming the sovereignty, and the present moment." ‖ Mr. Pitt maintained that, although the claim of the prince was entitled to the most serious consideration, in the case of the interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, without any previous lawful provision for carrying on the government, "it belonged to the other branches of the legislature, on the part of the nation at large, to provide, according to their discretion, for the temporary exercise of the royal authority, in the name, and on the behalf of the sovereign, in such manner as they should think requisite; and that, unless

* Lord John Russell, "Life of Fox," p. 186.
† *Ibid*, quoting "Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert."
‡ W. W. Grenville, "Court of George III.," vol. i. p. 431. § *Ibid*, p. 435.
‖ "Parliamentary History," vol. xxvii., col. 707.

by their decision, the prince of Wales had no more right—speaking of strict right—to assume the government, than any other individual in the country." In this first debate an amount of passion was displayed on the part of Burke, which greatly detracted from his reputation as a sound authority upon constitutional questions. Pitt had said that to assert a right in the prince of Wales, independent of the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, was treason to the constitution. Burke exclaimed, "where was the freedom of debate, where was the privilege of parliament, if the rights of the prince of Wales could not be spoken of in that House, without their being liable to be charged with treason by one of the prince's competitors?" Pitt quietly asked whether, "at that period of our history when the constitution was settled on that foundation on which it now existed, when Mr. Somers and other great men declared that no person had a right to the crown independent of the consent of the two Houses, would it have been thought either fair or decent for any member of either House to have pronounced Mr. Somers a personal competitor of William the Third?"

The question of abstract right became merged in the more practical question of what powers should be confided to the prince of Wales as Regent. The views of Mr. Fox on this point were extreme. On the 15th of December he wrote to a friend in confidence, "I am afraid they will get up some cry against the prince for grasping, as they call it, at too much power; but I am sure I cannot in conscience advise him to give up anything that is really necessary to his government; or, indeed, to claim anything else as Regent but the full power of a king, to which he is certainly entitled."* Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, brought forward propositions to prohibit the Regent from creating peers; from disposing of the king's real or personal property; and from granting offices except during pleasure; and that the queen should have the custody of his majesty's person. There was a doubt whether the Prince would not refuse the Regency, under these restrictions. But that imprudence was not added to the other grave errors of his friends. Burke had shocked the loyalty of all men, by saying that the king had been hurled from the throne by the decree of the Almighty. Sheridan maintained that the prince had shown great moderation in not at once assuming the title and powers of Regent, and thus disgusted those who possessed any knowledge of the principles of the English constitution. There was such an evident avidity to seize upon power in the prince and his friends—there was such a distrust of his character, and such a dread of beholding a court polluted with the abominations of gaming and riot—that the national sympathy was almost wholly with Pitt, who laboured all along in the resolution that if his sovereign should be restored, he should not find everything changed. He knew that his own chances of power under the Regency were forfeited by the course he had adopted. He would "take his blue bag, and return to the bar."† Fox appears to have acted on the conviction that the chance of the king's recovery was very small indeed. The Regency Bill had passed the Commons on the 12th of February. But in the middle of the month it was known that a great amendment had taken place in the king's condition. On the 23rd, Mr.

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 300.
† "Diaries, &c., of George Rose," vol. i., p. 96.

Pitt received a letter, "written in his majesty's own hand, couched in the warmest terms, thanking him for his unshaken attachment to his interests, and desiring to see him the next day." * On the 25th, the issue of bulletins by the royal physicians was discontinued. On the 10th of March, the commissioners who had been appointed by former letters patent to open the parliament, by another commission declared farther causes for holding the same; and proceeded to state to both Houses that his majesty, being by the blessing of Providence recovered from his indisposition, and enabled to attend to public affairs, conveyed through them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of affectionate attachment to his person. The other subjects of a royal speech on opening parliament were then detailed.

Pitt had won his second great victory. In 1784, against odds almost incalculable, he had defeated the Coalition with almost the unanimous support of the people. He had employed his unassailable tenure of power in carrying forward the resources of national prosperity by a series of measures conceived, not in the spirit of party, but with a large comprehension of what was essential to the public good. Another great trial came. He had to conduct another conflict, full of danger and difficulty, in which, fighting for his sovereign, he had in the same manner the support of the nation. Major Cartwright, so well known for his subsequent endeavours to promote a Reform in Parliament, wrote to Wilberforce: "I very much fear that the king's present derangement is likely to produce other derangements not for the public benefit. I hope we are not to be sold to the Coalition faction." † When the battle was over, George the Third wrote to his persevering minister that "his constant attachment to my interest, and that of the public, which are inseparable, must ever place him in the most advantageous light." ‡ On the 23rd of April, a public thanksgiving was appointed for the king's recovery. His majesty went to St. Paul's, accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, to return his own thanksgivings. The day was observed throughout the kingdom. Illuminations were never so general; joy was never so heartfelt. The minister, still only in his twenty-ninth year, had reached the pinnacle of power and popularity.

* Grenville, in "Court of George III.," vol. ii., p. 125.
† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 100.
‡ Rose—"Diaries, &c.," p. 97.

Louis XVI. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

CHAPTER IX.

Symptoms of great changes in France—Constant financial difficulties—General view of the French social system—Expectations of a Revolution—The Parlement of Paris—Meeting of the States-General—The Three Orders—The Tiers État demand that all the Orders shall unite—Excitement in Paris, during this contest—Tiers État assume the title of the National Assembly—Their meeting in a Tennis Court—The Royal Sitting—Open resistance of the Tiers État to the king's orders—The king yields—Dismissal of Necker—Destruction of the Bastille—March to Versailles of a Parisian mob—The Royal Family, and the National Assembly, removed to Paris.

On the 11th of July, 1788, the king, at the close of the Session of Parliament, said: "The general state of Europe, and the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, afford me every reason to expect that my subjects will continue to enjoy the blessings of peace." The differences with France on the subject of the United Provinces had been adjusted. On the 6th of September, Mr. Pitt exultingly wrote to the marquis of Stafford, "The state of France, whatever else it may produce, seems to promise us more than ever a considerable respite from any dangerous projects." * The "state of France" was that of a country in which the disordered condition of its finances appeared to render any new disturbances of Europe, from the ambition of the government and the restlessness of the people, something approaching to an impossibility. The "whatever else it might produce" was a vague and remote danger. Yet in September, 1788, there were symptoms of impending changes, that, with a full knowledge of the causes operating to produce them, might have suggested to the far-seeing eye of that statesmanship that looked beyond the formal relations of established governments, some real cause for disquiet. Since the peace of 1783, there had been constant and increasing deficiency of revenue in France. The area of taxation was limited by the manifold exemptions from bearing a due proportion of the public burthens, which Turgot, in 1776, had vainly endeavoured to

* "Diaries, &c., of George Rose," vol. i. p. 85.

abolish. He was dismissed, as the result of his attempts to impose taxes upon the noblesse and the clergy. Necker is summoned to fill the great post of Controller-general of Finance. He carries France through the American war by various temporary expedients; but there is still a deficit. He proposes some solid measures, and is dismissed in May, 1781. The war comes to an end. Englishmen flock to Paris in 1782, and there, wondrous disclosure! are "struck with surprise at the freedom of conversation on general liberty, even within the walls of the king's palace." * Thus was George Rose impressed. He writes in his Diary—"On a Sunday morning, while we were waiting in an outer room to see the king pass in state to the chapel of Versailles, where several of the great officers were, there was a discussion almost as free as I have heard in the House of Commons, in which Monsieur Chauvelin was the loudest, who was in some employment about the person of the king, for he dropped on his knee, and gave his majesty a cambric handkerchief as he passed through the room." Pitt, accompanied by Wilberforce and another friend, went to France in 1783. He inquired particularly into the political institutions of the French, and in a conversation with Abbé de Lageard, "a man of family and fortune," he said to him, "You have not political liberty, but for civil liberty you have more than you believe you have." † There were things below the surface that Pitt did not see. Wilberforce records of Pitt, that "it was the singular position occupied by La Fayette which most of all attracted his attention: he seemed to be the representative of the democracy in the very presence of the monarch; the tribune intruding with his veto within the chamber of the patrician order." ‡ Theoretical democracy was in fashion amongst the patrician order. They had been talking about abstract rights, and the perfectibility of society, in their Parisian salons, without a thought of the hopeless condition of the miserable peasantry that were ground into the most abject poverty by their seignorial rights. They had no public duties to fulfil; they were utterly isolated from the millions of whom they ought to have been the friends and protectors. The aristocracy received the doctrines of the political philosophers as if they were mere speculative opinions that would have no practical effects, and might be advocated as an indulgence of elegant sentiment which manifested their superiority to selfish prejudices. "The nobles shared as a pleasant pastime in these discussions, and quietly enjoyed their immunities and privileges whilst they serenely discussed the absurdity of all established customs. . . Not the barest notion of a violent revolution ever entered into the minds of the generation which witnessed it." § We need feel no surprise that the sagacious English minister felt no fear of the gathering clouds which foreboded a storm. Other Controllers of Finance succeeded Necker, with indifferent success. In 1783, Calonne took the onerous post. He got on for three years by loan upon loan, the court squandering without stint; the people excited by scandalous stories against the queen, with little foundation; a general ferment in all political circles. Calonne can do no more with the stock-jobbers, and he resolves upon a convocation of Notables, influential men from all districts of France, to devise new

* "Diaries, &c., of George Rose," vol. i. p. 41.
† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 38. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 42.
§ Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," p. 261.

plans of taxation. Such an assembly had not been heard of for a hundred and sixty years. Mr. Jefferson, the American ambassador at Paris, announces this fact to his government. He saw its significance, writing, in a private letter, "this event, which will hardly excite any attention in America, is deemed here the most important one which has taken place in their civil line during the present century." * This body met towards

Calonne. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

the end of February, 1787. Calonne shows his terrible deficit; he proposes a new land-tax, from which no proprietors,—neither noblesse, nor clergy, nor any other privileged class,—shall be exempt. The majority of the Notables was composed of these privileged classes. They would have nothing to do with the scheme of Calonne; and the Controller, who had hoped for more effectual control over an enormous deficit than the worn-out system of borrowing, is dismissed to make way for others who may be able to manage more adroitly.

At this period an Englishman visited France, who could observe more accurately, and reason more acutely, than diplomatists who moved in a narrow circle. Arthur Young travelled over various parts of that kingdom in 1787, 1788, and 1789. M. Tocqueville speaks of Young's "Travels," published in 1792, as "one of the most instructive works which exist on the former state of society in France." † Let us see how this man of large experience, who had uniformly regarded the prosperous condition of the labourers as an essential concomitant of the prosperity of the farmers, describes the French peasantry. He proceeds on his journey south from Paris to Orleans, and having crossed the Loire finds that the cultivators are *metayers*—men who hire the land without ability to stock it, the proprietor finding cattle and seed and the tenant labour, and dividing the scanty produce. As he goes on he becomes excited at the wretched management and the miserable dwellings, in a country highly improveable—"the property, perhaps, of some of those glittering beings who figured in the procession the other day at Versailles. Heaven grant me patience while I see a country

* Tucker—"Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 253.
† "France before the Revolution," p. 179.

thus neglected, and forgive me the oaths I swear at the absence and ignorance of the possessors." * Having passed the Dordogne, he finds all the girls and women without shoes or stockings; and "the ploughmen at their work have neither sabots nor feet to their stockings." Everywhere, however, the roads are magnificent—in Languedoc "stupendous works"—"superb even to a folly"—but roads almost without traffic. There were two modes of executing these noble causeways, carried across valleys, and through levelled hills. They were either constructed by the forced labour of the peasantry, called the *corvée;* or by assessment of the proprietors, under which the lands held by a noble tenure were eased, and those held by a base tenure were proportionably burthened. The king of France, during the administration of Turgot, tried to abolish the system of compulsory labour. The decree of this benevolent sovereign—who truly said, "I and Turgot are the only friends of the people"—contains this avowal: "With the exception of a small number of provinces, almost all the roads throughout the kingdom have been made by the gratuitous labour of the poorest part of our subjects. . . . . By forcing the poor to keep them up unaided, and by compelling them to give their time and labour without remuneration, they are deprived of their sole resource against want and hunger, because they are made to labour for the profit of the rich." In spite of the decree, the system of compulsory labour was re-established in a few months. We have a striking picture of the operation of the *corvée*, in a description by M. Grosley, of a scene at a village near Langres. Sixty or eighty peasants arrive at night at this village, summoned from distant quarters, to begin next day a grand *corvée* upon the road. They could not get their carts and oxen over the mountains; they must pay a fine or go to prison; their feet were cut by the flinty by-ways; they were hungry. The little money they had was nearly exhausted by providing for the inexorable inspector. The traveller, an Englishman, who told Grosley the story, paid for the supper of twenty of these poor people, which procured him a thousand blessings. They were to go to work the next day without their teams. †

And yet, with such oppression, the French peasantry were not serfs, as in most of the German states. Many were even small proprietors of land. That subdivision of landed property, which some imagine to have been caused by the Revolution, existed to a large extent before the Revolution. Young was greatly surprised to find a state of things so different from that generally prevailing in England. He averred that half the soil belonged to these small proprietors. In the country of Bearne, in a ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng, he saw pretty cottages, neat gardens, and every appearance of comfort. The land "is all in the hands of little proprietors, without the farms being so small as to occasion a vicious and miserable population." ‡ But this was an exceptional case. "All these small landowners were, in reality, ill at ease in the cultivation of their property, and had to bear many charges or easements on the land which they could not shake off." § The ancient seignorial rights were the most oppressive; but the seigneur was not the local administrator. Neither did he select the parochial

* "Travels in France," p. 12.
† "Observations on England," vol. ii. p. 16.
‡ "Travels in France," p. 42.
§ Tocqueville, p. 45.

officers who exacted the various payments and services connected with the land. All the local officers were under the government and control of the central power. "The seigneur was in fact no longer anything but an inhabitant of the parish, separated by his own immunities and privileges from all the other inhabitants." The nobility had ceased to have any political power; they had no concern in maintaining public order or administering justice. Many had sold their land in small patches, and lived only on seignorial rights and rent-charges. The greater number did not dwell among the people who were the means of their support. The peasant only knew the nobleman as a living person, or an abstract power, who was exempt from the taxes which the plebeian paid; who had the exclusive right of sporting; who compelled him to grind his corn in the lord's mill, and to crush his grapes in the lord's wine press; who made him pay toll when he crossed a river, and tolled him in selling his corn in the public market; whose perpetual quit-rents, which could not be redeemed, were always an incumbrance on his little property. Arthur Young met with a poor woman who complained of the times, and said that it was a sad country. Her husband had a morsel of land, one cow, and a poor little horse. They had to pay a quantity of wheat to one seigneur, and a larger quantity to another seigneur, "besides very heavy *tailles* and other taxes." The poor woman was only twenty-eight years of age, but she might, "at no great distance, have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent, and her face so furrowed and hardened by labour." She said that she heard that something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know by whom or how—but God send us better, for "*les tailles et les droits nous écrasent.*" * There was no personal sympathy of the higher classes to ameliorate the burthens of their poor dependents. They knew them only as toilers from whom revenue was to be extracted. None of the gentry remained in the rural districts but such as were too poor to leave them. "Being no longer in the position of a chief, they had not the same interest as of old, to attend to, or assist, or direct, the village population; and, on the other hand, not being subject to the same burthens, they could neither feel much sympathy for poverty which they did not share, nor for grievances to which they were not exposed." †

In the rural districts, as well as in the provincial towns, the real administrative functions had gone out of the hands of individuals or bodies having a natural interest in local affairs, and qualified to direct them by local influence and intelligence, to be wielded by a vast army of functionaries all deriving their existence from a central authority in the capital. The King's Council was an administrative and legislative power that decided upon all affairs of a public nature, that prepared laws, that fixed taxes, to which every question was referred, the centre from which was derived the movement that set everything in motion. The individuals composing this Council were obscure; its power appeared to be that of the throne. The Controller-general was the head of this Council. Its instruments were the Intendants of provinces; who had under them each a sub-delegate. These men were the real governors of France. The taxes, whether the ancient tax of the *taille*, or taxes of more recent date, were wholly under their regulation. The quota of men to serve in the

* "Travels in France," p. 134.

† Tocqueville, p. 223.

militia for each parish was prescribed by the Intendant. All the public works, all the roads, highways and by-ways, kept up out of the public revenue, were under the care of the Council, the Intendant, and the Sub-delegate. The *maréchaussée*, or mounted police, distributed throughout the whole kingdom, were under the management of the Intendants. There was no provision for the Poor in the rural districts. Under circumstances of great pressure, the Intendant distributed corn or rice, and sometimes bestowed alms in the form of work at low wages. In the towns "a few families managed all the public business for their own private purposes, removed from the eye of the public, and with no public responsibility." But the Council came in, and the government, through the Intendant with his subordinate officers, "had a finger in all the concerns of every town, the least as well as the greatest." There were semblances of local freedom in the system of parochial government; but, "compared with the total impotence which was connected with them, they afford an example, in miniature, of the combination of the most absolute government with some of the forms of extreme democracy." The precise details of the complicated system of Centralization presented by M. Tocqueville, are thus summed up: "Under the social condition of France anterior to the Revolution of 1789, as well as at the present day, there was no city, town, borough, village, or hamlet, in the kingdom—there was neither hospital, church fabric, religious house, nor college—which could have an independent will in the management of its private affairs, or which could administer its own property according to its own choice." * The system of Centralization had so completely pervaded France that "no one imagined that any important affair could be properly carried out without the intervention of the state." The people had lost all power of managing their own affairs. "The French government," says M. Tocqueville, "having thus assumed the place of Providence, it was natural that every one should invoke its aid in his individual necessities." May we not add that it was equally natural that when no help came from government at a season of calamity, the people should blaspheme the Providence to which they cried in vain, and in their rage break their false idols in pieces?

The pride of birth which made the aristocracy of France a caste, separating them wholly from the middle classes, was carried forward into a more hateful separation of the middle classes of the towns from those termed the common people. The great passion of the burgher was to become a public functionary. He could buy a place connected with some real or pretended duty arising out of the administrative system of Centralization. Every man wanted to be something "by command of the king." But the honour was not altogether barren. The holders of place were exempted, wholly or in part, from public burthens. They quarrelled amongst themselves; but they were agreed in one principle—to grind the people below them. "Most of the local burthens which they imposed were so contrived as to press most heavily on the lower classes." † The isolation of classes had gradually proceeded to this height under that principle of the French monarchy which sought to govern its subjects by dividing them. The separate parts of the social fabric had no coherence. The whole fell to pieces when it was attempted to repair the rotten edifice. "The

* See the details of Book II., chapters 2 and 3.

† Tocqueville, p. 170.

nation," said Turgot, in a Report to the king, "is a community consisting of different orders ill-compacted together, and of a people whose members have very few ties between themselves, so that every man is exclusively engrossed by his personal interest. Nowhere is any common interest discernible. The villages, the towns, have not any stronger mutual relations than the districts to which they belong." To complete this remarkable isolation, Paris preponderated over the whole kingdom. It was the seat of all mental activity; it was the centre of all political action. "Circulation is stagnant in France," says Young in 1787. In 1789, whilst the mightiest events were passing in Paris, he found the people of Strasbourg, and other towns, perfectly ignorant of circumstances that most intimately concerned them. "That universal circulation of intelligence, which in England transmits the least vibration of feeling or alarm, with electric sensibility, from one end of the kingdom to another, and which unites in bonds of connection men of similar interests and situations, has no existence in France." *

Arthur Young appears to have been almost the only observer amongst Englishmen who, after the dismissal of Calonne in 1787, thought that a Revolution was approaching. Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, had become Controller-general. Young dined with a party whose conversation was entirely political. "One opinion pervaded the whole company, that they are on the eve of some great revolution in the government; that everything points to it"—financial confusion; no minister to propose anything but palliatives; a prince on the throne with excellent dispositions, but wanting in mental resources; a court buried in pleasure and dissipation, and adding to the public distress; a great ferment amongst all ranks of men, "who are eager for some change, without knowing what to look to, or to hope for; and a strong leaven of liberty, increasing every hour since the American revolution." He adds, "all agree that the States of the kingdom cannot assemble without more liberty being the consequence; but I meet with so few men that have any just ideas of freedom, that I question much the species of this new liberty that is to arise." †

Loménie de Brienne has dismissed the Notables, who were beginning to be troublesome, some uttering strange words about liberty, a national assembly, and other unwonted sounds. They had recommended some practical reforms, such as the formation of Provincial Assemblies; the suppression of *Corvées;* a modification of the *Gabelle.* These measures were announced in edicts. But the deficit presses. New taxes must be imposed by edicts. These, however, must be registered by the *Parlement* of Paris. Very different from a British Parliament was this ancient institution. It was originally only a court of justice; and some of the provinces had similar courts, with local jurisdiction. The members of these Parlements were formerly appointed by the king, and were removeable at his will. The appointments were afterwards sold, and those who bought the places were considered to hold them for life. The Parlements thus gradually acquired a semblance of independence, and did not always register the royal edicts without inquiry. Towards the close of the reign of Louis XV. the Parlement of Paris, refusing to register some royal edicts, was suppressed, as well

* "Travels," p. 147. † *Ibid.*, p. 66.

as some of the provincial Parlements. They were restored to their functions, by Louis XVI., in 1774. In 1785 the Parlement of Paris refused to register an edict for a large loan; but the peremptory command of the king overpowered them. Calonne had then recourse to an Assembly of Notables, which was dissolved in 1787, as we have seen. One of the new taxes proposed by Loménie was a project of raising money by stamps. The Parlement of Paris refused to register the edict, unless the financial accounts were submitted to their examination. At the beginning of August, they came to a resolution that a perpetual tax, such as that required to be registered, could only be imposed by the States-General. Then commenced a collision between the Crown and the only body that stood between the Crown and its absolute power. According to the old forms of the monarchy, a Bed of Justice was to be held—a ceremony in which the Parlement should meet the king face to face, and hear his positive commands to register his decrees. On the 6th of August this command is given at Versailles. The Parlement returns to Paris, and refuses to obey the solemn mandate, even though it issued from a Bed of Justice. The refractory Parlement must be put down. The members are banished to Troyes. Paris is in a state of furious excitement. Large bodies of troops are marched into the city to suppress the growing disposition towards violence. At length a compromise is effected. The obnoxious edicts for taxation are withdrawn; and another is proposed and accepted, which recognized equality of taxation without exemptions. The Parlement is now recalled from its exile. On the 19th of November, the king held a royal sitting (*séance royal*), when he carried to the Parlement an edict for a succession of loans for five years, amounting to nineteen millions sterling. He also submitted to them an edict for the relief of the Protestants. He called upon them to confine their functions to their ancient powers, and to show an example of loyalty and obedience. Violent discussions ensued, in which the duke of Orleans, the relative of the king, took part against the Court. The king departed, after a contest of nine hours, and the Parlement declared the edicts null and void. The next day the duke was banished to one of his country seats; and two of the most refractory members of the Parlement were arrested by *lettres de cachet*. Temporary expedients for raising money must be resorted to, till something could be done with this rebellious Parlement. Loménie had his scheme ready. It was to establish a grand Council of State, to be called "La Cour Plenière," which should dispense with the Parlements, and yet give a sanction to taxation that might be more satisfactory than the mere exercise of the royal authority. The plan was concocted in secret; but it became known, and produced the greatest agitation in the Parlement of Paris. Two of its most violent opponents, M. d'Espremenil and M. de Montsabert, were ordered to be arrested. They were taken into custody during a sitting of the Parlement, in which, after the example of the Commons of England, when Charles the First went to arrest the five members, not one of the Parlement would point out the persons demanded by a military force. D'Espremenil and Montsabert surrendered, and were taken to prison. The provincial Parlements were now in a state of revolt. The people were furious with excitement. The day after the arrest of the members, the king held another Bed of Justice at Versailles, in which he proposed a number of salutary reforms in six edicts,

which provided for the more rapid administration of justice; which regulated the proceedings of the Parlement of Paris; which put all criminal procedure upon a footing which swept away many odious and cruel abuses; which established "La Cour Plenière"; which provided for local courts; and which suspended the proceedings of all other courts. These reforms, admirable as some were, were rejected. The edicts became waste paper, through the short-sightedness of the Parlement and the violence of the people. A visitation of Providence then became the cause of general distress. A tremendous hailstorm, on the 13th of July, 1788, destroyed, in many districts, the crops of corn and the vineyards. The ruin was almost total for sixty leagues round Paris. An edict was issued on the 8th of August, that the States-General should be assembled in May of the following year. The royal Treasury was becoming empty, and no means of warding off the pressure of the demands of the public creditors but by a measure declaratory of insolvency. The Treasury payments shall, according to a proclamation of the 16th of August, henceforth be three-fifths in money and two-fifths in paper. The alarm was universal. The Court was terrified. There was no hope but in the recall of Necker, to become Controller of the Finances. Loménie was dismissed, with the solace of more ecclesiastical preferments. Paris was in a state of riot, which was suppressed with some bloodshed. But hope returned with the presence of Necker. He found himself a financial minster without finances. Offers of loans poured in upon him. The funds rose thirty per cent. The popular cause had triumphed, and Necker was the minister of the people. Nothing remained to do, but to provide for the meeting of the States-General. An Assembly of Notables was again convened. They recommended that each of the three Estates, the Clergy, the Noblesse, and the *Tiers État*, should send three hundred members.

Necker. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

By the advice of Necker, the king issued an edict that the Clergy and the Noblesse should each elect three hundred members, and the *Tiers État* six hundred. The States-General were to assemble on the 4th of May, 1789. The elections began in January,

On the morning of Monday, the 4th of May, the streets of Versailles were filled with thousands of people, to gaze upon the procession of the Court and

the States-General from the church of St. Louis, where all had assembled, to the church of Notre Dame, where a sermon was to be preached. Two hundred and seventy-five years had passed since a king of France had met the States-General. As if to mark the long interval, the costume of the States-General of 1614 was prescribed. The clergy went first—the bishops in velvet robes and rochets, the curés in their plainer dress. The Noblesse came next, in embroidered velvet mantles and gold vests, laced cravats, white plumes in their hats, such as Henri Quatre wore. The *Tiers État* came last, in plain black mantles, white cravats, and unfeathered hats. Lastly, came the king beneath a sumptuous canopy, with the queen, the princesses and

Marie-Antoinette. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

high-born dames, and the king's brothers. The duke of Orleans had contrived to walk in the last rank of the Nobles, that he might appear to mingle with the first of the Commons. The marquis de Ferrières has painted the scene with the most gorgeous tints—the respectful silence of the immense crowd, the windows filled with elegantly dressed ladies, the joy speaking from their brilliant eyes, the clapping of hands, the sound of trumpets, the chant of the priests,—ravishing picture: "I called to mind the words of the prophet, Daughters of Jerusalem, your king advances; take your nuptial robes and run before him: tears of joy flowed from my eyes." * The daughter of Necker was at one of the windows. "I was abandoning myself," she says, "to the most lively hopes at seeing, for the first time in France, representatives of the nation. Madame de Montmorin said to me, 'You are wrong in rejoicing; out of this there will come great disasters for France and for us.'" †

The next day the States-General was opened. A large hall in the avenue of the palace had been provided for the assembly. This *Salle des Menus*, as it was called, was of sufficient size to contain the twelve hundred members,

* "Mémoires de Ferrières."

† Madame de Staël—"Considérations sur la Révolution."

with galleries for spectators. There was a platform for the king and his Court. Louis—with Marie-Antoinette by his side, looking pale and ill at ease—read an address, of which the principal subject was that of the finances. When the reading was finished, the king put on his hat, as he took his seat on the throne. The clergy and the nobility also put on their hats. Some of the *Tiers État* also took this mode of asserting their position, and there was great confusion, which the king stopped by taking off his own hat. The costume of the Third Estate was the same as in 1614, but the sentiment which then required them to kneel in the presence of the sovereign was gone. The keeper of the seals made a speech; and so did Necker, the Controller-General of the Finances—a speech which Arthur Young said was such "as you would expect from a banking clerk of some ability." The difficult question, whether the three estates should deliberate and vote in one body, or in separate chambers, was not touched upon. It seemed to have been arranged that, contrary to the strong opinion that had been expressed by some of the constituencies, the discussions and the votes should not take place in one common assembly. It had been intended that four chambers should be provided; one for the solemn meetings of the three orders together; and for each distinct order a separate chamber. By some difference between the Court functionaries, who were of more importance than the sovereign or his ministers, the building set apart for the Commons was refused to be given up by the administration of the stables. The *Salle des Menus* was therefore occupied by the Third Estate. The Clergy and the Nobles met in their appropriated chambers, and proceeded to the verification of their powers, having decided to do so by the votes of a majority in each of the two orders. The Commons refused to proceed to a separate verification; and for five weeks this contest went on, but without any decisive results, of speeches and resolutions.

Milton has eloquently described the intellectual fervour of London in the early days of the Long Parliament. "The shop of war hath not more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice, in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation."* But in Paris, in 1789, the literary activity was of a very different character from that of London in 1644. There was the same disputing and discoursing upon "things not before discoursed or written of;" but in London "the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed" had regard to the differences of doctrine rather than the destruction of religion; and contemplated resistance to arbitrary power rather than the overthrow of all lawful authority. During the first month of the meeting of the States-General, Arthur Young was in Paris, and "was much in company." He found "a general ignorance of the principles of government; a strange and unaccountable appeal, on one side, to ideal and visionary rights of nature; and, on the other, no settled plan that shall give security to the people for being in future in a much better situation than hitherto."† He saw the booksellers' shops filled with eager crowds, squeezing from the door to the counter to buy the pamphlet of the last hour. He

* "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing."

† "Travels in France," p. 105.

saw the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal not only crowded within, but other crowds without, listening to orators who, from chairs or tables, harangued each his audience. The pamphlets and the orators were admired, exactly in the proportion in which they attacked Christianity with a sort of rage, without any attempt to substitute any other belief; and proposed to the French people, not that their affairs should be better conducted, but that they should take the conduct of them into their own hands—they "a people so ill-prepared to act for themselves, that they could not undertake a universal and simultaneous reform without a universal destruction." *

On the 14th of June, Arthur Young repaired to the *Salle des Menus* to behold what was to him, as it was to most Englishmen, a scene eminently interesting—"the spectacle of the representatives of twenty-five millions of people, just emerging from the evils of two hundred years of arbitrary power, and rising to the blessings of a freer constitution, assembled with open doors under the eye of the public." † His feelings were roused; but he saw how the irregularities of the proceedings showed the representatives of the people to be without that self-control, in the absence of which a deliberative assembly is only an organized mob. The spectators in the gallery were allowed to applaud; a hundred members were on their legs at one time; the president, Bailly, absolutely without the means of keeping order. Specific motions,

Bailly. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

founded on distinct propositions, were drowned in abstract declarations, producing interminable harangues. Thus had the *Tiers État* been debating for five weeks. But with all their mistakes of procedure they clung firmly to their principle, that they would have no verification of their powers, except in common with the other Orders. The stronger this inertia in the halls of the States-General, the more active was the public feeling without doors. Tumults were expected. Clubs, that afterwards became memorable, stimulated the popular agitation. The excessive price of bread had already produced riots in the provinces. The Court is alarmed. At length something more definite than the orations in the Palais Royal produces a terror that may end in some conflict between the Orders amongst themselves, or of the

* Tocqueville, p. 305. † "Travels," p. 110.

Crown with the States-General. On the 17th of June it was resolved, on the motion of the Abbé Sièyes, that the *Tiers État* should assume the title of "The National Assembly." The members all took an oath to discharge with

Abbé Sièyes. From an Anonymous English Portrait.

zeal and fidelity the duties entrusted to their care. They passed several resolutions on the subject of the taxes and the dearness of provisions. These were not of a violent character; but they were proofs that the Commons were resolved to try their own strength. The Clergy, on the 19th, determined, by a majority, that the definitive verification of powers should be made in the General Assembly. The Nobility voted an Address to the king, in which they protested against the assumption of power by the *Tiers État*. On the 20th of June it was proclaimed in the streets of Versailles, that a royal sitting of the States-General would be held on the 22nd; and that in the meantime the meetings of the three Orders were suspended. At eight o'clock in the morning, Bailly, the president, and the two secretaries, were at the door of their hall. It was closed against them by military. The deputies began to collect in great numbers in the avenue of Versailles—all angry, some desperate. But they soon learn that their president, having been permitted to take away his papers from the *Salle des Menus*, has taken refuge in a large building, the *Jeu de Paume* (Tennis Court), in the Rue St. François. Upon the proposition of Mounier, each took an oath never to separate from that National Assembly, until the constitution of the kingdom was established. On the 22nd it was proclaimed that the royal sitting was adjourned till the following day. The National Assembly could not meet on the 22nd, for the *Jeu de Paume* was occupied by the princes for their tennis-play. On the 23rd the king came to the *Salle des Menus*; and one of the secretaries of state read a declaration to the effect that the distinction of the Three Orders should be maintained in its integrity; but that they might meet to deliberate together with the consent of the king. The resolutions of the *Tiers État*, on the 17th of June, were cancelled. Thirty-five articles were read, detailing the intentions of the king. Some pointed to useful reforms; others contemplated a strict adherence to established things, even to abuses. The king closed the sitting in a speech, wherein he rashly declared, that if the Three Orders could not agree to effect what he

proposed—"I alone will accomplish the good of my people." The king leaves the hall, followed by most of the clergy, and all the nobles, having given his command that each order should meet in its distinct place on the following morning, but that they were now to separate. The Commons stir not. They look at each other in gloomy silence. De Brézé, the chief usher of the court, enters and says, "Gentlemen, you have heard the king's orders." Baily said to the members around him, "I think that the assembled nation cannot receive any order." Then rose Mirabeau, the man of the most commanding power in that assembly, and thus addressed the awe-struck usher: "Yes, sir; we have heard what the king was advised to say; and you, who cannot be the organ of the king to the States-General—you, who have neither place nor right of speech here—you are not the person to remind us of what he has said. If you are commissioned to make us leave this place, you must ask for orders to use force; for we will only quit by the power of the bayonet."*

Mirabeau. From a Portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux.

Many speeches were made. The assembly affirmed that they persevered in their former resolutions; and upon the proposition of Mirabeau it was declared that the persons of the deputies were inviolable—that it should be a capital crime to arrest or detain any member, on whose part soever the same be commanded. On the 24th, the majority of the clergy joined the *Tiers Etat* for the verification of their powers in common. On the 25th between forty and fifty of the noblesse united in the same way. On the 27th the king, by letter, invited the whole body of the nobility, and the clergy, to do what he had protested against on the 23rd. On the 30th, the formal union is completed. The States-General have lost their ancient name. They are three orders no longer—they are the National Assembly.

The extraordinary change in the resistance of the Court to the union of the three orders was, in all probability, produced by the apprehension that the French guards could not be relied upon in any contest with the National Assembly, if the military power and an insurgent populace should be brought into conflict. There were regiments of foreign troops in the king's service,

* "Histoire Parlementaire."

and these might be gradually concentrated in the neighbourhood of Paris, where bread-riots were becoming very fearful. On the 18th of July, Mirabeau stated in the National Assembly that there were twenty-five thousand troops between Paris and Versailles, and that twenty thousand more were expected. He moved an Address to the king that he would cause the troops to be removed. The king replied that the troops were there to maintain order, and secure the freedom of their deliberations. Necker, who had become powerless to advise or to control, begged for permission to resign. On the 11th of July he was dismissed; and was requested to depart secretly from Versailles. On the 12th it became known that the ministry of Necker, from which so much had been expected by the people, was at an end; that other men hostile to the popular cause were in the royal confidence. Marshal de Broglie, who was minister of war, with the command of the troops, was reported to have written to the prince de Condé, that with fifty thousand men he would disperse these wolves, the national deputies, and the fools who applauded them. Foulon was named intendant of marine—Foulon, who had said that if the people were hungry they might eat grass. The 12th of July was a Sunday. There were movements of troops from the suburbs to the city. Placards were issued in the name of the king inviting the inhabitants to keep their houses. The popular curiosity became more intense. At noon the Palais Royal was filled with eager crowds. A young man, who was hereafter to take a leading position, Camille Desmoulins, came out from the Café Foy with sword and pistol in hand, and mounting a table, cried "To Arms."

Camille Desmoulins.

A multitude rush forth, with green cockades, or green boughs in their hats. They seize from an image-shop a bust of Necker, and a bust of the duke of Orleans, and, draping them in crape, bear them about in procession. Prince Lambesc, at the head of the Royal German regiment, encounters the procession, and disperses the people with musket and sabre. There are other fights between the Parisians and the foreign soldiery, the French guards taking part with the populace. The cry "To Arms" goes through all the city. The night falls upon a population maddened with rage or fear. In the morning, the cry is again "To Arms." Thousands of fierce men are in the streets,

searching for guns and ammunition in every public place. A municipal authority is hastily formed at the Hôtel de Ville. Public criers proclaim that all men should resort to their districts to be enrolled. In a few hours the National Guard of Paris is constituted, each man wearing a red and blue cockade. But how to arm them? Smiths are making pikes; gunpowder has been obtained; but muskets are wanting. The great day of the 14th dawns; and the tidings go forth that at the Hôtel des Invalides there are ample stores of guns. By nine o'clock on that morning the Hôtel has been ransacked; and twenty-eight thousand firelocks are in the hands of these furious volunteers. "To the Bastille" is now the cry that gives a precise direction to the popular violence.

France had many Bastilles, where, without legal trial or sentence, men suspected of designs against the government, or who had given offence to a courtier or a royal mistress, might be shut up even to the end of their days, under the authority of a *lettre de cachet*, through whose mysterious agency they vanished out of society, and were as if dead. The great Bastille of Paris was a fortress built in the fourteenth century—a massive stone structure of nine towers, surrounded by a deep ditch. Other ditches, with drawbridges, and strong barriers, were between the fortress and the street St. Antoine. The Bastille had become celebrated throughout Europe, by the remarkable narrative of the escape of two men, De Latude, and D'Alegre, in 1756. Their adventures made the construction of this horrible prison familiar to Englishmen. The labour they went through for eighteen months —in plaiting ropes out of the threads of their linen, to form a ladder for their descent of eighty feet from the platform to the ditch; and in removing the iron bars from the chimney by which they were to gain the platform—this labour was almost incredible. But the perseverance of these two fellow-prisoners indicated how strong was the desire of escape from a den where men went mad, under the sense of injustice and the pressure of despair. In England, the Bastille was the great symbol of the tyranny of the French government. Cowper described it in 1785 as "the house of bondage worse than that of old which God avenged on Pharaoh;" and he thus looks forward, almost with a prophetic eye, to the catastrophe of the 14th of July, 1789:

> "Ye horrid towers, the abode of broken hearts,
> Ye dungeons and ye cages of despair,
> That monarchs have supplied from age to age
> With music such as suits their sovereign ears,
> The sighs and groans of miserable men!
> There's not an English heart that would not leap
> To hear that ye were fallen at last." *

The attack on the Bastille had been expected by the governor, De Launay. He had placed artillery on the tops of the towers. He had a hundred and fourteen men in the fortress, with arms and ammunition, but with scanty store of provisions. The Committee at the Hôtel de Ville sent a deputation to the governor, to beg him to remove from the towers the cannon which commanded the quartier St. Antoine. The cannon were drawn back from the embrasures. But St. Antoine was not so easily quieted. That quarter

* "The Task," book v.

was the residence of a great artisan population. Paris had been growing during the century into a very considerable manufacturing town; and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, especially, the working people were collected together in large numbers, in consequence of an edict of Louis XVI., intended "to relieve them from the restrictions which are injurious to their interests as well as to their freedom of trade." They had privileges then granted which relieved them from the tyranny of the guilds.* But the agglomeration of a vast working population, at a time of public excitement and of private distress, was a serious danger; and thus in every stage of the French Revolution the Faubourg St. Antoine was a terrible power in the hands of those who worked upon the popular passions. About noon of the 14th of July, Thuriot de la Rosière, an advocate, has demanded to see the governor of the Bastille, to warn him of the cry which has gone forth in the more polite quarters of Paris, and to exhort him to surrender. De Launay and Thuriot went upon the battlements; and there they saw a vast multitude swarming towards the grim towers, along every street and every alley of the Faubourg. Thuriot shows himself from the battlements; descends; and addresses the crowd from a window in the governor's house, with some words intended to calm their fury. He receives only their curses; and an attack commences in

Attack on the Bastille. From a Medallion by Andreiu.

downright earnest. This roaring multitude have resolute men amongst them. Four with axes make their way from the roof of a neighbouring house to the outer wall of the Bastille, jump down into the court, and begin hewing at the chains of the drawbridge. The drawbridge at length falls; and the crowd pours into the exterior court. Another drawbridge impedes their progress. They rush at it; and are received with a fire of musketry. Dead

* Tocqueville, p. 139.

and wounded men are carried forth, and the sight rouses the gathering multitude to additional fury. Large numbers of the French guards come to assist in the attack. De Launay fires upon the crowd from the battlements; the populace fire upon the Swiss and the Invalides who defend the fortress. There have been five hours of this contest without a reasonable expectation of the stronghold being taken. The garrison has only lost one man. Nearly two hundred of the assailants have been killed or wounded. But the Invalides wished to surrender—the Swiss expressed their desire to resist. De Launay in his despair of being able finally to repel a mob of thousands, animated by one spirit, attempted to apply a match to the powder magazine, but he was stopped by one of his officers. Moved by that almost instinctive fear of a raging multitude which the bravest may feel, he was now inclined to capitulate but not to surrender. He wrote a note to the besiegers, to the effect that he had twenty thousand pounds of powder within the magazine, and would blow up the Bastille, and thus destroy its neighbourhood, himself and his besiegers, if they did not accept a capitulation which would leave him and his garrison to go free. The note was given to Elie, an officer of the French guards; and he gave his assurance, in which his men joined, that if the drawbridge were lowered, the garrison should receive no harm. It was lowered. The furious crowd rushed in, passing the Invalides and the Swiss who were ranged in the inner court. The French guards could not wholly protect those to whom safety had been assured. It was determined to take De Launay to the Hôtel de Ville. As he moves along the yells of the multitude grow louder; the efforts to protect the unfortunate man are less and less availing. Hullin, one of the besiegers, even fights against the mob to defend his prisoner. Hullin is struck down, and De Launay is murdered. Major De Losme, one of the officers of the Bastille, was surrounded. He

Rejoicing in the Faubourg St. Antoine on the Destruction of the Bastille. Designed from a French Medal.

had always shown kindness to the prisoners, and one of the crowd, who had been under his charge, now seized a musket to defend him. De Losme was

killed. Two of the Invalides were hanged by the mob. Many of the besiegers have been exploring the dungeons of the Bastille, where they find only seven prisoners. Others linger around the hated place, shouting and singing in frantic joy. A vast number have marched off to the Hôtel de Ville, conducting their prisoners to receive judgment for the guilt of having been faithful to their duty. The officers of the French guard demand that the Invalides and the Swiss shall go free, as the reward of themselves and their men for their aid in this day's work. Another murder, that of Flesselles, a magistrate, was perpetrated that evening. Through the night Paris watched as if a foreign enemy were approaching to sack the city. The windows were lighted; patrols were in all the streets; orators were still haranguing the populace, amongst whom Marat was conspicuous. St. Antoine gave itself up to a frenzy of delight, and the pains of hunger were less keenly felt in the time of triumph and of revenge. The occurrences at Paris were imperfectly known at Versailles; but at midnight the duke de Liancourt entered the king's bed-chamber, and told him how the Bastille had fallen. "It is a riot" (*émeute*) said the king. "No, Sire, it is a revolution," replied the duke. The danger which now threatened the throne, and all who surrounded the throne, was manifest. The power was passing away from the National Assembly into the hands of an armed populace.

On the morning of the 15th of July the king suddenly appeared in the midst of the National Assembly, to announce that he had given orders to the troops to withdraw from Paris and Versailles, and that he relied upon the Assembly to restore order and tranquillity. The deputies loudly applauded; as the king returned to the palace the people vociferously shouted. A deputation of the Assembly proceeded to Paris to proclaim at the Hôtel de Ville the glad words that Louis had that day spoken. The king, it was held, had authorized the establishment of the National Guard. A commander must be found. In the hall was a bust of La Fayette; and a deputy pointing to it, the friend of Washington was elected commander by acclamation. In the same way Bailly was constituted Mayor of Paris, in the place of Flesselles, the Provost of the Merchants, who had been shot the night before. The Parisians had now confidence in the king, and the king had confidence in the Parisians. He announced to the Assembly that he would visit his good city. He would dismiss his ministers; he would recall Necker. But some who surrounded the king had not his trust in the disposition of the people. On the morning of the 17th the king is on his way to Paris, attended by a large number of the deputies. The count d'Artois (the king's brother), the prince de Condé, and others of royal blood—marshal de Broglie, the Polignacs, and several of the recent ministry, are on their way to the frontiers. The queen vainly attempted to prevent the king going amongst a dangerous populace. "The king was of a weak character, but he was not timid,"* and he kept to his determination. His reception was such as to fill him with hope for the future. Loyalty and patriotism joined in the universal cry—"*Vive le Roi—Vive la Nation.*"

The obnoxious ministers have fled from Versailles. One, the most obnoxious, Foulon, is reported to have died; for a sumptuous funeral has

* Dumont—"Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 81.

proceeded from his house. On the morning of the 22nd of July some peasants of Vitry, near Fontainebleau, are leading into Paris an old man bound with ropes to the tail of a cart. On his back is fastened a bundle of grass, and a collar of nettles is round his neck. It is Foulon, who has been denounced as a speculator in famine—one who said the poor should eat grass if they could not get bread. He is dragged to the Hôtel de Ville to be judged. La Fayette arrived. Anxious to save the trembling man of seventy-four from the popular fury, he proposed to consign him to the prison of the Abbaye, that he might be tried according to the laws. "What is the use of trying a man," cried a voice, "who has been judged these thirty years?" The crowd rushed upon their victim; dragged him out of the hall; and in a few minutes he was hanging to a lantern at the corner of the street. His head was cut off; a bundle of hay was stuffed into the mouth; and this trophy of mob vengeance was carried through the city. The same night Berthier, the son-in-law of Foulon,—Intendant of Paris, and hated as a tax-levier,—is brought in a carriage to the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by National Guards, sent by the municipals to protect him. The protection avails him not. The superseders of law have him in their clutches. He fights against them with dogged resolution. But the lantern has its prey; and another ghastly head, and a bleeding heart, are carried in horrible procession. The municipal authorities of Paris have been trampled down by murderers. Bailly and La Fayette indignantly resigned their offices; but they were won back again, when the municipality was re-organized, under the name of La Commune.

The doings of Paris were not without successful imitations in the provinces. On the 20th of July, Arthur Young was at Strasbourg, where he first heard the news of the overthrow of the Bastille. He writes, "The spirit of revolt is gone forth into various parts of the kingdom. The price of bread has prepared the populace everywhere for all sorts of violence." He soon saw the course which the violence was taking in the rural districts. He was at Besançon on the 27th. There he heard of châteaux burnt or plundered, the seigneurs hunted down like wild beasts, their wives and daughters outraged; "and these abominations, not inflicted on marked persons, who were odious for their former conduct or principles." * In his inn at Dole there were "a gentleman, unfortunately a seigneur, his wife, family, three servants, an infant but a few months old, who escaped from their flaming château half naked in the night; all their property lost except the land itself; and this family valued and esteemed by the neighbours, with many virtues to command the love of the poor, and no oppressions to provoke their enmity." † The inquiries of Arthur Young led him to believe that the burnings and plunderings had not been committed by troops of *brigands*, but by the peasants only. The notion of brigands going through the country in troops eight hundred strong, and even to the number of sixteen hundred, was the prevalent belief in the towns. People came around Young to ask for news. "They were much surprised to find that I gave no credit to the existence of brigands, as I was well persuaded that all the outrages that had been committed were the work of the peasants only." ‡

* "Travels in France," p. 146. † *Ibid.*, p. 149. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

The National Assembly, all things being tolerably quiet in Paris, proceeds with its self-appointed work of sweeping away all ancient things, for the purpose of building up a wholly new system for the government of twenty-five millions of people. The Assembly had been long occupied in drawing up a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Some who were concerned in the preparation of this document, amongst whom was Dumont, considered it a puerile fiction. It declared that "men are born free and equal." It is not true, writes the fellow-worker of Mirabeau. Are men born free? They are born in a state of weakness and necessary dependence. Are they equal? By equality do we understand equality of fortune, of talent, of virtue, of industry, of condition?* The metaphysical difficulties of the National Assembly were quickly absorbed in one vast measure of sweeping change. At a nocturnal sitting of the 4th of August, after a Report of a Committee on the troubled state of the kingdom had been read, it was proposed by two noblemen that all taxes should be proportionably paid by all, according to their income, as well as all other public burthens; that all feudal rights should be made redeemable by a money value; that *corvées* and all personal service should be abolished. A Breton deputy, in the dress of a farmer, rose and exclaimed, "Let the title-deeds, the terrible instruments which for ages have tormented the people, be brought here, and burnt—those parchments by which men are required to be yoked to a wagon like beasts—which compel men to pass the night in beating the ponds, to prevent the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their luxurious lords. Declare the compulsory redemption of these services, and thus stop the burning of the châteaux." Dumont saw the extraordinary scene of the 4th of August, when a work "which would have demanded a year of care and deliberation, was proposed, voted, resolved, by general acclamation. I know not how many laws were decreed: the abolition of feudal rights, the abolition of tithes, and the abolition of the privileges of provinces—three articles which in themselves embrace a whole system of jurisprudence and of policy, were decided, with ten or a dozen others, in less time than a parliament of England would have taken for the first reading of a Bill of some importance."† Mirabeau was not present at that sitting. The next day he said to Dumont: "Behold our French; they take an entire month to dispute about syllables, and in one night they overturn all the ancient order of the monarchy."

On the 12th of August, Arthur Young, being at Clermont, hears of the famous decrees of the 4th. "The great news just arrived from Paris, of the utter abolition of tithes, feudal rights, game, warrens, pigeons,‡ &c., has been received with the greatest joy by the mass of the people." Sensible men, however, complained of the injustice of declaring what will be done, without regulations of what was to be done at the moment of declaring. About a fortnight later he was "pestered with all the mob of the country shooting." The declaration of the National Assembly, "without any statute or provision to secure the right of the game to the possessor of the soil, according to the tenour of the vote, has, as I am everywhere informed, filled

* "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 98. † *Ibid.*, p. 100.

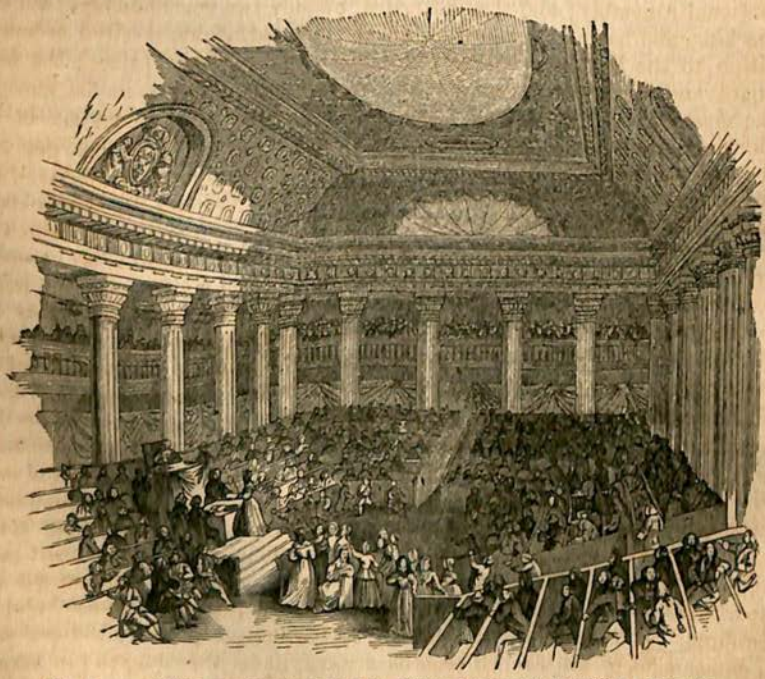
‡ One of the exclusive privileges of the seigneurs was to have dove-houses for flocks of birds to feed upon the grain of lands of which these lords neither owned nor cultivated any part.

all the fields of France with sportsmen, to an utter nuisance. The same effects have flowed from declarations of right relative to tithes, taxes, feudal rights, &c. In the declarations, conditions and compensations are talked of; but an unruly, ungovernable multitude seize the benefit of the abolition, and laugh at the obligations or recompense." The barriers that stood between a people long misgoverned and oppressed, and all the ancient restraints of their servitude, being suddenly broken down, their excesses could scarcely be matter of wonder. There is very little exaggeration in what Mr. Eden wrote to Mr. Pitt from Paris, on the 27th of August, 1789: "It would lead me too far to enter into the strange and unhappy particulars of the present situation of this country. The anarchy is most complete; the people have renounced every idea and principle of subordination; the magistracy (so far as there remain any traces of magistracy) is panic-struck; the army is utterly undone; and the soldiers are so freed from military discipline, that on every discontent, and in the face of day, they take their arms and knapsacks, and leave their regiments; the church, which formerly had so much influence, is now in general treated by the people with derision; the revenue is greatly and rapidly decreasing amidst the disorders of the time; even the industry of the labouring class is interrupted and suspended. In short, the prospect, in every point of view, is most alarming: and it is sufficient to walk into the streets, and to look at the faces of those who pass, to see that there is a general impression of calamity and terror."*

The scarcity consequent upon a bad harvest was growing more fearful, especially in Paris. The furious multitude, filled with vague suspicions by incendiary journalists and orators, ascribed the enormous price of bread to other than natural causes. "The people," says Dumont, "attributed the scarcity to the aristocracy. The aristocrats had caused the corn to be cut down whilst in the blade; the aristocrats had paid the bakers not to make bread; the aristocrats had thrown the grain into the rivers. There was no lie, no absurdity, that did not appear probable."† A foolish display of loyalty at Versailles turned the follies of the people into a new channel of rage against the Court. A regiment of Flanders had come to Versailles; and the officers of the king's body-guard gave an entertainment on the 1st of October to the officers of this regiment. The king and queen entered during the banquet. The orchestra played "*O Richard, O mon Roi*," and shouts of "*Vive le Roi*" awoke the sentiment of loyalty even amongst officers of the National Guard who had been invited. Some of them turned their national cockade, showing only the white beneath. Even black cockades were to be seen. There was an evident re-action against the popular cause. The Parisians heard of these demonstrations; and an insurrectionary feeling was fast spreading amongst the half-starved populace, who had broken open bakers' shops, and attempted to hang a baker, who was saved by the National Guard. At daybreak on the morning of the 5th of October, a woman went into a guard-room, and took a drum, which she beat as she marched along. Crowds of market-women came forth, for this day, being Monday, was an idle day for them. They began to cry "Bread." There was no bread in the

* Tomline's "Life of Pitt," vol. ii. p. 74.
† "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 122.

bakers' shops, and they would go to Versailles, to fetch the baker and his wife. The crowd of women increased to hundreds; and they soon filled the Hôtel de Ville. In four or five hours they were joined by a body of men, who obtained muskets and two pieces of cannon from the municipal stores. The excesses of the women, who wanted to burn the building, were stopped by Maillard, an usher of the court, who told them that he was one of the conquerors of the Bastille. By the consent of a superior officer he proposed to lead the women away on the road to Versailles, where they wanted to go, that the authorities might have time to collect their forces, and stop the tumult. On the troop of Amazons went, with this tall man in black as their general. As the day advanced the affair became more serious. La Fayette and the Committees of Districts were at the Hôtel de Ville. The National Guard, the French Guards (now called Grenadiers), the rough men from the Faubourg St. Antoine—all gathered round La Fayette, demanding to go to Versailles. The Commune deliberated till four o'clock, and then ordered La Fayette to march. Meanwhile, Maillard, with his female host, had reached Versailles about three o'clock. The women demanded to enter the National Assembly. Fifteen were admitted, with a soldier, who had belonged to the



The Women of Paris entering the Hall of the National Assembly, Versailles. From the "*Tableaux Historiques.*"

French Guards. The soldier said Paris was starving; they came for bread; and for the punishment of the king's body-guard, who had insulted the national cockade. Mounier, the president, could only get rid of the troublesome visitors, upon the condition that he should accompany the deputation to

see the king. They were admitted to the presence of Louis, who spoke to them affectionately; and they quitted the kind-hearted king crying "*Vive le Roi.*" The women outside, growing more violent, said that they had been betrayed by their deputation; but they were pacified for a time, by a written paper, signed by the king, declaring that every care should be taken for the provisioning of Paris. A conflict then appeared imminent between the men of St. Antoine and the king's body-guard. The cannon which had been brought from Paris was pointed against the guard; but the powder was wet, and the men sullkily said, "It is not time yet." In this night of peril, Mounier pressed upon the king the acceptance of the articles of the constitution, which assent he had not previously given. The king yielded. When Mounier returned to the hall of the Assembly, it was filled with women, who interrupted the proceedings. There was a discussion upon the criminal laws. A fishwoman called out—"Stop that babbler; that is not the question; the question is about bread." At midnight, La Fayette, with fifteen thousand of the National Guard, arrived. He had made the men under his command swear fidelity to the law and the king. He entered the Salle des Menus; told the president that the men had promised to obey the king and the National Assembly; and then, attended by only two commissioners, went to the king, and having explained to him the state of affairs, received orders to assign to the National Guards the external posts of the palace; the body guard and the Swiss remaining in the interior. At three in the morning the Assembly separated, and La Fayette went to rest. About six in the morning a mob of the Parisians, mingled with some of Versailles, got over the iron railing of the palace, and forced their way into the interior. The subsequent occurrences of that terrible 6th of October are differently stated by various authorities. There is one description by the side of which all other descriptions look pale; and yet the facts which "History will record" are more definite than the general truth as coloured by the glowing imagination of Burke.* The mob of assassins and plunderers, when they had penetrated into the interior of the palace, directed their furious steps towards the queen's apartments. They were probably guided by some spy about the royal family. Madame Campan looked out of the ante-chamber, and saw a faithful guard, covered with wounds, who kept the passage from the hall against many men, and who cried out, "Save the queen; they come to assassinate her." She bolted the door; the queen jumped from her bed, and made her way to the king's apartments. The assassins did not reach the queen's chamber, says Madame Campan. The body-guard had taken refuge there, and there also the king had arrived. To the famous apartment called the Œil-de-Bœuf the guards had been sent by the king; and in his own apartment, to which he had returned, he was joined by the queen and her children. The mob were thundering at the door of the Œil-de-Bœuf when a detachment of the French Guards arrived, under the command of serjeant Hoche, a man famous in after days. They came to save their brother soldiers; and they soon cleared the palace of those who thirsted after blood. Two of the guards had been killed on the staircase; and a ruffian cut off their heads, which were carried about on pikes. La Fayette arrived. The mob outside

* See "Reflections on the Revolution in France."

cried that the king must go to Paris. Louis showed himself on a balcony; and so did the queen with her children. La Fayette took the queen's hand, and raised it respectfully to his lips, and then the mob shouted "*Vive la Reine.*" It was agreed that the king and the royal family should go to Paris; and the Assembly voting that they were inseparable from the king, a hundred deputies were selected to accompany him. At one o'clock, a most unregal procession was in motion—National Guards mingled with shouting and singing men of St. Antoine; cannon, with pikemen astride them; waggon-loads of corn, lent from the stores of Versailles; hackney-coaches; the royal carriage; carriages with deputies; La Fayette on horseback; and, swarming round the king and his family, vociferous women, crying "We shall no more want bread; we are coming with the baker, the bakeress, and the baker's boy." As the darkness deepens, the multitudinous array reaches the barrier. Mayor Bailly harangues the king; and then, at the Hôtel de Ville, there are more harangues. The king says he comes with pleasure and with confidence among his people. The mayor attempts to repeat the speech, but omits the word "confidence." "Say with confidence," interposes the queen. Before wearied royalty can sleep, with hasty accommodation in the palace of the Tuileries, long since disused, the king has to be shown to the people from a balcony by torchlight, wearing the tricolor cockade. In a few days the Tuileries looks something like a palace. There was an interval of tranquillity. The harassed king, the slave of circumstances, soon manifested an outward show of that confidence which he had professed to feel. An Englishman in Paris writes, on the 18th of October, "This morning I saw his majesty walking in the Champs Elysées, without guards. He seemed easy and cheerful." *

The King's Arrival at Paris from Versailles. From a Medal by Andreiu.

* Trail to Romilly, in "Romilly's Memoirs."

Palais Royal. View by Lespinasse.

CHAPTER X.

Connexion of the French Revolution with English history—The public opinion of England on the Revolution—Views of eminent men—The king of France visits the National Assembly—Session of the British Parliament—Divisions in the Whig Party—The Test Act—Nootka Sound—War with Spain averted—Fête of the Federation in Paris—Burke publishes his "Reflections on the French Revolution"—Russia and Turkey—Siege of Ismaïl—Mirabeau President of the National Assembly—His negotiations with the Court—His death—Parliament—Breach of the friendship between Burke and Fox—Clamour against the Dissenters—The Birmingham Riots.

THE history of the French Revolution is essentially connected with the history of England, almost from the first day of the meeting of the States-General. The governments of the two countries were not, for several years, brought into collision, or into an exchange of remonstrance and explanation, on the subject of the momentous events in France. But these events, in all their shifting aspects, so materially affected the state of public opinion amongst the British people, that they gradually exercised a greater influence upon our external policy and our internal condition, than any overthrow of dynasties, any wars, any disturbances of the balance of power, any one of "the incidents common in the life of a nation,"—to use the words of Tocqueville,—even a far greater influence than the American Revolution, which was the precursor of that of France. For this cause, we feel it ne-

cessary to relate the leading events of this signal uprooting of ancient institutions and established ideas, more fully than would at first sight appear proportionate in a general history of our own land. Nevertheless, we shall aim at the utmost brevity consistent with an intelligible narrative. At every act of this great drama, we shall endeavour to show the effect of its memorable scenes upon the thoughts and feelings of those amongst us who guided the national sentiment as statesmen and writers. "Between the spring of 1789 and the close of 1792, the public mind of England underwent a great change." * To trace the formation of that aggregate public opinion,—to which the most powerful statesman of the time was compelled to yield a reluctant obedience, and against which the most eloquent advocate of popular rights could only feebly protest,—is a task of which the execution must be necessarily inadequate, but which, however imperfect, must have some illustrative historical value.

The "change in the public mind" with which the fluctuating opinions of many eminent men were identified,—changes in most of those men very unjustly denounced as apostacy,—proceeded from the original inability of the most sagacious to see the probable career, and to estimate the real strength, of the new-born liberty of France. "The English," says Tocqueville, "taught by their own history, and enlightened by the long practice of political freedom, perceived dimly, as through a thick veil, the approaching spectre of a great revolution. But they were unable to distinguish its real shape; and the influence it was so soon to exercise upon the destinies of the world, and upon their own, was unforeseen." † Much of the early feeling associated with the French Revolution depended upon youth and temperament. To young and ardent minds, 1789 was a season of hope and promise.

> "Bliss was it in the dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven! Oh! times,
> In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
> Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
> The attraction of a country in romance."

Coleridge, who first gave to the world these verses of Wordsworth in his poem "On the French Revolution," as it appeared to enthusiasts at its commencement," says in prose, almost as eloquent as his friend's poetry, "Many there were, young men of loftiest minds, yea, the prime stuff out of which manly wisdom and practical greatness are formed, who had appropriated their hopes and the ardour of their souls to mankind at large, to the wide expanse of national interests, which then seemed fermenting in the French republic as in the main outlet and chief crater of the revolutionary torrents; and who confidently believed that these torrents, like the lavas of Vesuvius, were to subside into a soil of inexhaustible fertility in the circumjacent lands, the old divisions and mouldering edifices of which they had covered or swept away." ‡ "I was a sharer in the general vortex," adds Coleridge. Such a young man, one of loftiest mind, William Huskisson, was in his twentieth year residing with his uncle in Paris. That young man, destined

* Macaulay—"Life of Pitt."
† "France before the Revolution," p. 8.
‡ "The Friend," Essay ii.

to form one of the most important members of a Tory government advancing towards liberal opinions, was present at the taking of the Bastille, and was a member of one of the Clubs of Paris. In 1823, when he was a candidate for Liverpool, he was accused of having been a member of the Jacobin Club. He denied the charge, but he frankly said, "In the earlier period of my life, when I was about nineteen, I was in France; and if I should then have been misled by a mistaken admiration of what I now think the errors of that revolution, I trust that the ardour of youth would be no discreditable excuse. . . . . I am not ashamed to avow that I was anxious to see a rational system of liberty established in that fine country. . . . . That guilt I share in common with many great and good men."* The predilections of Mr. Huskisson did not prevent him receiving the appointment of private secretary to lord Gower, then the British minister at Paris. The destruction of the Bastille was the type of the fall of tyranny to English men and also to English women. Hannah More writes to Horace Walpole, "Poor France! though I am sorry that the lawless rabble are so triumphant, I cannot help hoping that some good will arise from the sum of human misery having been so considerably lessened at one blow, by the destruction of the Bastille." † Dumont says that in England, the most free and the most noble of the nations, the destruction of the Bastille had caused a general joy. ‡ He adds, however, what is correct, that the English government had not permitted this event to be celebrated in the theatres. An opera, founded upon the story of the Iron Mask, in which that mystery was blended with a scenic representation of the destruction of the Bastille, was "maimed and mutilated by the licenser. §" As might be expected, Fox was in raptures at the great event of the 14th of July. He writes to Fitzpatrick, on the 30th of that month, "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world, and how much the best." ‖ Even Burke expresses himself soberly, within three weeks after that "greatest event." He writes to lord Charlemont, on the 9th of August, "Our thoughts of everything at home are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England, gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame or to applaud. . . . . The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner." ¶ There was another remarkable Englishman, of French extraction, who had seen much of France, was intimate with Mirabeau, and who attempted, though French vanity rendered the attempt useless, to imbue the National Assembly, through Dumont, with some respect for salutary forms, established by the experience of the English Parliament. Samuel Romilly, then in his thirty-second year, wrote thus to Dumont, on the 28th of July, 1789:—"I am sure I need not tell you how much I have rejoiced at the revolution which has taken place. I think of nothing else, and please myself with

* Appendix to Huskisson's Speeches, vol. iii. p. 647.
† "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 170.
‡ "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 95.
§ Wright, vol ii. p. 177.
‖ "Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 361.
¶ Prior—"Life of Burke," vol. ii. p. 41.

endeavouring to guess at some of the important consequences which must follow throughout all Europe. I think myself happy that it has happened when I am of an age at which I may reasonably hope to live to see some of those consequences produced. It will perhaps surprise you, but it is certainly true, that the Revolution has produced a very sincere and very general joy here. It is the subject of all conversations; and even all the newspapers, without one exception, though they are not conducted by the most liberal or the most philosophical of men, join in sounding forth the praises of the Parisians, and in rejoicing at an event so important for mankind." * The news of the murder of Foulon and his son-in-law somewhat abates his enthusiasm. When the events of the 6th of October were known in England, he dreads the removal of the National Assembly to Paris: "I fear for the freedom of debate in the midst of a people so turbulent, so quick to take alarm, and so much disposed to consider the most trifling circumstances as proofs of a conspiracy formed against them." He had seen France during a rapid visit in September, and had ventured an opinion that "the horizon was overcast." In October he writes, to express what is a presentiment of a coming change in English feeling:—"I find the favour with which the popular cause in France is considered here, much less than it was when I quitted England. We begin to judge you with too much severity; but the truth is, that you taught us to expect too much, and that we are disappointed and chagrined at not seeing those expectations fulfilled." †

The interest excited by the Revolution was not confined to the higher circles, metropolitan or provincial. Arthur Young, complaining in August of the apparent indifference to political affairs, as exhibited in their conversation, of the French in towns through which he passed, says, "The ignorance or the stupidity of these people must be absolutely incredible. Not a week passes without their country abounding with events that are analyzed and debated by the carpenters and blacksmiths of England." This was the result of what he frequently laments, the want of that rapid and easy communication which almost every part of our island enjoyed. The carpenters and blacksmiths of England had some prejudices corrected by the early struggles of the French to be better governed. Their old notion of the subjects of the Grand Monarque was, that they ate frogs and wore wooden shoes; that they were a starved people, who had not spirit to resist their oppressors. Hogarth appealed to the popular notions when he published his prints of "The Invasion" in 1756, and wrote under them certain patriotic lines about "lanthorn-jaw and croaking gut," and "the hungry slaves have smelt our food." There is a remarkable testimony to a change in the popular feeling, supplied by an intelligent foreigner in 1790:—"The French used to be the great object of English national dislike and jealousy; but this seems now to be greatly abated, especially since the late revolution in France has given the English rather a more respectful opinion of the French nation." ‡

The beginning of the year 1790 presents a singular contrast between the aspect of the Parliament of England and of the National Assembly of France. On the 21st of January, George III. opened the Session with a

* "Memoirs," p. 272. † *Ibid.*, p. 282.
‡ Wendeborn—"View of England," vol. i. p. 375.

royal speech which notices "the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries;" and expresses his majesty's deep and grateful sense of the favour of Providence, in continuing to his subjects "the inestimable advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of the invaluable blessings which they have so long derived from our excellent constitution." On the 4th of February, Louis XVI. went to the National Assembly, which held its sitting in the Salle du Manège, near the Tuileries, and addressed the deputies in very remarkable words, indicative not only of his acquiescence in the great changes which the Assembly had decreed, but of his earnest desire to unite with them in building up a solid and enduring fabric of public liberty. The Assembly, during the four months in which it had sat at Paris, had passed some sweeping measures of reform. The most important was that of a new territorial division of the kingdom. The old boundaries of provinces, with their various and conflicting systems of administration, were swept away; and France was distributed into eighty-three departments, with each its subdivision of districts and cantons. Throughout France one system of administration, under municipal functionaries to be chosen by the people, was established. The king declared to the Assembly that ten years previous he had desired to substitute some general system of administration for one founded upon ancient customs; but to the Assembly was due the grand idea, the salutary change, of the new departmental division, which he would second by all the means in his power. The privileges of the nobility had been destroyed—feudal rights had been abolished—during the sittings of Versailles. A change of equal importance had since taken place. The question of church property, which in France was of enormous amount, had been warmly debated in the early sittings of the Assembly. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, contended that the nation had the right of making a new disposition of that property; the Abbé Maury maintained that the proprietary rights of the clergy should be preserved inviolate. On the 2nd of November, it was carried by a large majority that all ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation, but charged with a suitable provision for the expenses of religious worship, for the support of the ministers of religion, and for the relief of the poor. A better income than previously existed was to be provided for the inferior clergy. The religious houses were also suppressed, but provision was to be made for their inmates, whose vows were declared no longer binding. The king, on the 4th of February, expressed in words of no common force, his adoption of these changes, which were essentially a Revolution. "In concert with the queen, who partakes all my sentiments, I will at the proper time prepare the mind and the heart of my son for the new order of things that circumstances have brought about." * The address of the king worked up the excitable Parisians to a fever-fit of constitutional loyalty, manifested in universal oath-taking and illuminations, each district having its own swearing and its candles in the windows. Nevertheless, Journalism, and Clubs, and secret advisers in the Tuileries, soon clouded this "day-star of liberty;" and Englishmen generally felt that they were safer from storms under that tutelary genius which George III. invoked on all occasions, "our excellent Constitution." The time was approaching when those amongst us who looked with apprehension upon

* The speech is given in Thiers' "Révolution Française," note 15.

the French Revolution, should be violently opposed to those who as violently became its partisans. The progress of this conflict of opinions was very gradual; but the tendencies towards a rupture of the old ties of one great political party were soon manifest. The distinctions of Whig and Tory would speedily be obliterated. Those who clung to the most liberal interpretation of the principles upon which our Revolution of 1688 was founded, would be pointed at as Jacobins—the title which became identified with all that was most revolting in the French Revolution. The Tory became the Anti-Jacobin. Thus, through ten years of social bitterness, execration and persecution made England and Scotland very unpleasant dwelling-places for men who dared to think and speak openly. Democratic opinions, even in their mildest form, were proscribed, not by a political party only, but by the majority of the people. Liberty and Jacobinism were held to be synonymous.

Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, from the commencement of the administration of Pitt, had been closely united as the chief leaders of the Whigs. They had been brought intimately together as managers of the impeachment of Hastings, whose trial at the commencement of the Session of 1790 had been proceeding for two years. Fox and Burke had cordially joined with Wilberforce, who was supported by Pitt, in taking a prominent part in advocating the total abolition of the Slave Trade, in 1789. On the 5th of February, 1790, when the army estimates were moved, Mr. Pitt held that it was necessary, on account of the turbulent situation of the greater part of the continent, that we should be prepared for war, though he trusted the system uniformly pursued by ministers would lead to a long continuance of peace. Mr. Fox opposed the estimates on the ground of economy alone. He had no dread of the increase of the army in a constitutional point of view. "The example of a neighbouring nation had proved that former imputations on armies were unfounded calumnies; and it was now universally known throughout all Europe that a man by becoming a soldier did not cease to be a citizen." On the 9th of February, when the Report on the Army Estimates was brought up, Mr. Burke proclaimed, in the most emphatic terms, his views on the affairs of France. He opposed an increase of our military force. He held that France, in a political light, was to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. "Since the House had been prorogued in the summer much work was done in France. The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. In that very short space of time they had completely pulled down to the ground, their monarchy; their church; their nobility; their law; their revenue; their army; their navy; their commerce; their arts; and their manufactures. They had done their business for us, as rivals, in a way in which twenty Ramilies and Blenheims could never have done." Burke held that, in this fallen condition, it was not easy to determine whether France could ever appear again as a leading power. Six years afterwards he described the views he formerly entertained as those of "common speculators." He says, "deprived of the old government, deprived in a manner of all government, France, fallen as a monarchy, to common speculators might have appeared more likely to be an object of pity or insult, according to the disposition of the circumjacent powers, than to be the scourge and terror of them all." * Burke's alarm, in 1790, was not an appre-

* "Letters on a Regicide Peace," Letter i. 1796.

hension of France as a military power. In the age of Louis XIV. we were in danger of being entangled by the example of France in the net of a relentless despotism. "Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from anarchy; a danger of being led, through an admiration of successful fraud and violence, to an imitation of the excesses of an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy." He went on to say, that, "in his opinion, the very worst part of the example set is in the late assumption of citizenship by the army." With the highest compliments to the masterly understanding and benevolent disposition of his friend, he regretted that Mr. Fox had dropped a word expressive of exultation at the conduct of the French army. He had no difference about the abstract principle whether the soldiers were to forget they were citizens. In France, where the abstract principle was clothed with its circumstances, he thought what was done there furnished no matter for exultation, either in the act or the example. Mr. Fox, in reply, avowed his deep obligations for the improvement he had derived from his friend's instruction and conversation. From him he had learnt more than from all the men with whom he had ever conversed. His friend might be assured that they could never differ in principles, however they might differ in their application. He maintained his opinion of the conduct of the French soldiers as men who, "feelingly alive to a sense of the oppressions under which their countrymen had groaned, disobeyed the despotic commands of their leaders, and gallantly espoused the cause of their fellow-citizens." It was manifest that the difference between the two great orators was something more than the application of principles. The respect which each felt for the understanding of the other prevented, at that time, a stronger expression of the thoughts that were tearing them asunder. A smaller man interfered in the friendly contention; and then the Whig ranks were first broken by Burke's war-cry. Sheridan elaborately defended the proceedings of the National Assembly, apologized for the excesses of the French populace, and charged Burke with being the advocate of despotism. Burke rose, and declared, as an inevitable necessity, that henceforth his honourable friend and he were separated in politics.

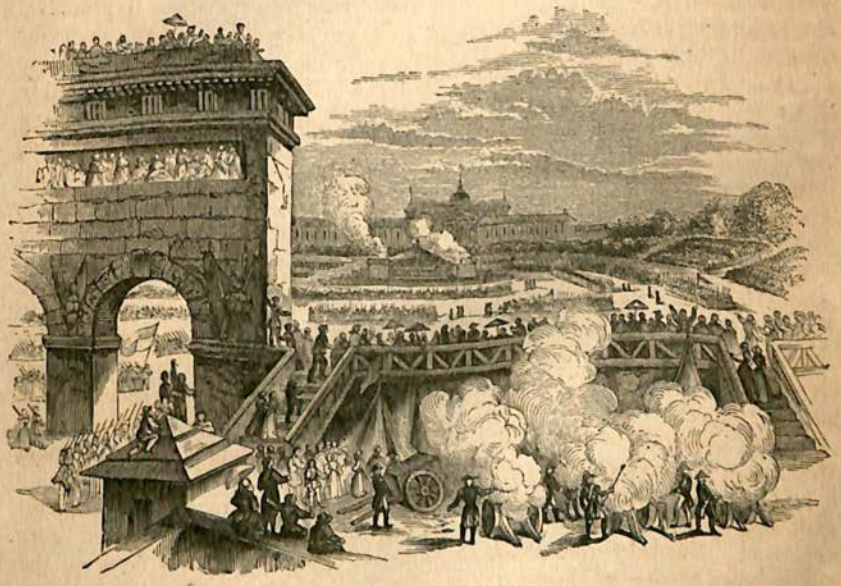
The influence of the French Revolution upon great questions of our domestic policy was very soon manifested in the proceedings of Parliament. In 1789, a bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters was rejected by a very small majority. During the prorogation, the Dissenters had agitated for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, with unwonted earnestness and considerable indiscretion. Some of the Establishment were equally zealous in the encouragement of a resistance to the claims of the Dissenters. Mr. Fox, on the 2nd of March, proposed the abolition of these religious tests. Mr. Pitt opposed the motion. Mr. Burke declared that had the repeal been moved for ten years before, he should probably have joined Mr. Fox in supporting it. But he had the strongest reasons to believe that many of the persons now calling themselves Dissenters, and who stood the most forward in the present application for relief, were men of factious and dangerous principles, actuated by no motives of religion or conscience, to which tolerance could in any rational sense be applied. The motion was rejected by a very large majority. Two days after, a proposition made by Mr. Flood, to amend

the representation of the people in Parliament, was withdrawn; the minister, who had three times advocated Reform, now holding that if a more favourable time should arise, he might himself bring forward a specific proposition; but he felt that the cause of reform might now lose ground from being agitated at an improper moment.

There was a warlike episode in May of this year, which indicated, perhaps advantageously to European powers, that Great Britain was not prepared to endure insults to her flag. In the previous year two English vessels had been, seized by a Spanish frigate in Nootka Sound, a harbour of Vancouver Island and the buildings for a settlement on that coast by English traders had been pulled down, by direction of the Spanish government, which claimed all the lands from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of latitude. His Catholic Majesty long refused to make reparation. War was the tone of a royal message to Parliament. A million was voted. But Spain yielded; and at a great crisis of European affairs we were saved from one of those petty quarrels which had so often been the beginning of lavish bloodshed for the attainment of small commercial advantages. Fox supported the minister in the spirited conduct which averted this conflict; and Pitt had the merit of obtaining, by resolute negotiation, concessions which rendered a future dispute improbable. The possibility of a war between Great Britain and Spain raised an important question in the French Assembly. The governments of Spain and France were bound by treaty to mutual support. The question arose in the Assembly as to the power of making peace or war. Mirabeau, with surpassing eloquence, prevented the legislative body from assuming that power to itself; and it was resolved that war can only be decided on by a decree of the legislative body, passed on the formal proposal of the king, and sanctioned by him. A resolution was carried by acclamation that the French nation renounced for ever all ideas of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war.

France during this summer presented the semblance of a happy people celebrating the triumphs of liberty and equality by a pompous spectacle in Paris; and the reality of disturbances in the army on the eastern frontier, with much bloodshed at Nanci, and a general resistance amongst the higher clergy to the adhesion required of them to the new order of ecclesiastical affairs. It was resolved that the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille should be honoured by a magnificent festival in the Champ de Mars—a grand Federation to which deputies should come from every one of the eighty-three departments of France. To prepare an immense amphitheatre for this gathering from the most remote parts, twelve thousand workmen were employed. But they worked too slowly. All Paris then went forth to dig and to move earth—all classes, men and women, coming in the early morning from their sections, and returning home by torchlight. Vast troops of federates had arrived in Paris, and were hospitably lodged. At six o'clock of the morning of the 14th of July, three hundred thousand persons, of both sexes, dwelling in Paris and the neighbourhood, had taken their seats on the grass of the amphitheatre, amidst a pouring rain. The federates marched into the area, each troop with the banner of its department. Fifty thousand armed men were in the space surrounded by the spectators on their grassy elevation. The king and the royal family, the president of the National Assembly, and the deputies, were on a raised seat, beneath an awning ornamented with *fleurs*

de lis. Mass was celebrated by the bishop of Autun, attended by three hundred priests, at an altar placed in the centre of the amphitheatre. La Fayette then ascended to the altar, and swore, in the name of the troops and the federates, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. The president of the National Assembly, and each of the deputies, took the same oath. Then Louis, standing in front of his throne, said: "I, king of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me, and to cause the laws to be executed." The queen took the Dauphin in her arms, and presented him to the multitude. The sun shone out; the cannon boomed; one universal shout went up as if to proclaim that France had attained the consummation of its felicity. But again a deluge of rain came down, whilst Talleyrand was blessing the banners of the eighty-three departments. Again sunshine; and illuminations; and dancing in the Champs Elysées; and merriment for a week before the federates went home—perhaps to think whether it were possible that the loving oaths of the 14th of July would ever be broken.



Fête of the Federation. From a View by Duplessis-Bertaux.

The Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, having nearly completed its full term of seven years, was dissolved soon after the prorogation in June, 1790. The new parliament assembled on the 25th of November, when Mr. Addington was chosen Speaker. There was no allusion to the affairs of France in the king's Speech. That the great events which had taken place in that country were occupying the thoughts of public men, there could be small doubt. Whilst the royal Speech, and the echoing Addresses, dwelt upon a pacification between Austria and the Porte, upon dissensions in the Nether-

lands, upon peace between Russia and Sweden, and upon war between Russia and the Porte, the national mind was absorbed almost exclusively by conflicting sentiments about the Revolution in France. A few weeks before the meeting of Parliament, Burke had published his famous "Reflections on the Revolution."* Probably no literary production ever produced such an exciting effect upon public opinion at the time of its appearance, or maintained so permanent an influence amongst the generation to whose fears it appealed. The reputation of the author as the greatest political philosopher of his age; his predilections for freedom, displayed through the whole course of the American Revolution; his hatred of despotic power, as manifested in his unceasing denunciations of atrocities in India; his consistent adherence to Whig principles as established by the Bill of Rights—this acquaintance with the character and sentiments of Burke first raised an unbounded curiosity to trace the arguments against the struggle for liberty in another country, coming from a man who had so long contended for what was deemed the popular cause at home. The perusal of this remarkable book converted the inquirer into an enthusiast. In proportion as the liberal institutions of our own country were held up to admiration, so were the attempts of France to build up a new system of government upon the ruins of the old system, described as the acts of men devoted to "every description of tyranny and cruelty employed to bring about and to uphold this revolution." To the argumentative power was added an impassioned eloquence, which roused the feelings into hatred of the anarchists who led the royal family captives into Paris on the 6th of October, and directed every sympathy towards a humiliated king, a proscribed nobility, and a plundered church. Burke was accused of an abandonment of his old principles, as he grew more and more strongly opposed to the French Revolution, even before the period of its greatest excesses. He who produced the most elegant and temperate answer to the "Reflections," most truly said: "The late opinions of Mr. Burke furnished more matter of astonishment to those who had distantly observed, than to those who had correctly examined, the system of his former political life. An abhorrence for abstract politics, a predilection for aristocracy, and a dread of innovation, have ever been among the most sacred articles of his public creed." † Coleridge, at a period when his Gallican enthusiasm had entirely sobered down, complains of "the errors of the aristocratic party," in lamenting with tragic outcries the injured monarch and the exiled noble, and displaying a disgusting insensibility to the sufferings and oppressions of the great mass of the population; and he adds, in a note, "The extravagantly false and flattering picture which Burke gave of the French nobility and hierarchy, has always appeared to me the greatest defect of his, in so many respects, invaluable work." ‡ Another eminent thinker of our own day has thus given his opinion of the causes of Burke's indifference to the condition of the governed, and his sympathies with the governing: "It is the natural tendency of men connected with the upper ranks of society, and separated

* The title of the book indicates that its chief purpose was to spread alarm as to the prevalence of revolutionary opinions in England: "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the proceedings in certain Societies in London relative to that event."

† Mackintosh—"Vindiciæ Gallicæ," Introduction.

‡ "The Friend," Essay I.

from the mass of the community, to undervalue things which only affect the rights or the interests of the people. Against this leaning, to which he had yielded, it becomes them to struggle." *

Mackintosh, writing in 1791, says: "No series of events in history have probably been more widely, malignantly, and systematically exaggerated than the French commotions." He adds, with reference to the furious indignation with which Burke had spoken of some popular atrocities: "The massacres of war, and the murders committed by the sword of justice, are disguised by the solemnities which invest them." † "The massacres of war" were never more fearfully exhibited than at the season when the revolutionists of France were held up to execration, and the savage murders perpetrated by the ministers of vengeance let loose by Catherine of Russia provoked no parliamentary denunciation, and excited little public feeling. On the anniversary of our Saviour's nativity, in 1790, Suwarrow, the Russian general, wrote to his court: "Glory to God and to the Empress, Ismaïl is ours." It is not necessary to read the two cantos of "Don Juan," which Byron devoted to the siege of Ismaïl, to shudder at the atrocities which have been perpetrated by established authorities. This fortress, the key of the Lower Danube, was stormed; the Turks obstinately resisted till midnight, and then the conquering Russians entered the body of the place. The rising sun exhibited such a spectacle in Ismaïl as had not for several ages shocked the feelings of mankind. In the morning, when the Russian generals put an end to the carnage, thirty thousand of the Turkish population, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, had perished.‡

Mirabeau, in January, 1791, was named President of the National Assembly. During the previous year he had pursued a systematic course of opposition to the measures of the extreme democratic party. He supported, as we have seen, the king's prerogative as to the right of peace and war. He opposed the violent measures that were contemplated with regard to emigrants. He maintained a complete independence of clubs and mobs. He saw that the Revolution was passing out of the hands of the few who were qualified to guide it to a moderate course, into the management of factions, who were ready to stifle the comparatively sober voice of the legislative body. He dreaded the turbulence of those who were becoming a real and a terrible power, as the Club of the Friends of the Constitution (who, from their place of meeting, the Hall of the Jacobins' Convent, came to be known as Jacobins); and of another body, still more violent, the Club of the Cordeliers. There were in Paris, too, somewhat more than a hundred Journals. Mirabeau was himself a journalist, and counselled in this character adherence to constitutional moderation. Marat, the representative of the fury of the Revolution, was for erecting eight hundred gibbets, and for hanging Mirabeau the first, as the chief of the advocates of order. Nevertheless, the wonderful energy, the indomitable courage, the overwhelming eloquence of Mirabeau not only made him supreme in the National Assembly, but gave him the hearty allegiance of the people, in their universal recognition of his intellectual supremacy.

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen of the time of George III."—Art. "Burke."
† "Vindiciæ Gal."—Mackintosh, Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii. p. 32.
‡ There is a very graphic account of this event in the "Annual Register," 1791.

The very post-boys called the best horse of a team—the horse that did the most work—their Mirabeau. The king and queen of France began to feel that their safety might depend upon the efforts of this man, who had done so much to destroy the ancient order of things, but in whom the will, and probably the power, abided, of saving the monarchy. Mirabeau secretly met Marie Antoinette at St. Cloud, to which palace the royal family had removed

Les Hauteurs—St. Cloud.

in the summer of 1790, and there enjoyed some little freedom. He came away with the conviction that she was the only man of the family. He was poor; and he doubtless accepted great presents from some source, for his style of living suddenly became extravagantly luxurious. Louis wrote to Bouillé that he had paid the services of Mirabeau at an enormous price. Dumont believes that Mirabeau thought himself, on receiving payment, as an agent who could accomplish salutary ends with adequate means. He also says, that Mirabeau's only object was to have the ministerial power in his hands; that he had no notion of a counter-revolution; that his desire was to re-establish the royal authority, with a national representation; that he even would have endeavoured to revoke the decree of the National Assembly which had abolished the nobility; and that he was dissatisfied with the part he had himself taken as to the question of the clergy. When Mirabeau entered upon his functions as President of the National Assembly, the versatility of his talent was signally displayed. He was no longer the impassioned tribune of the people. He was the moderator of a tumultuous body—the impartial supporter of orderly proceedings—the dignified assertor of the respect due to the legislature. But the physical health of this extraordinary man was gone. Dumont parted with Mirabeau, on quitting Paris after the nomination of his friend to the presidency of the Assembly. "If I

believed in slow poisons," said Mirabeau, "I should think I was poisoned. I am perishing. I am consuming with a slow fire." His mode of life, Dumont pointed out to him, would have long before killed any man not so robust as he was:—unremitting work; imprudent regimen. Intellectual and sensual excess, Dumont might have added—those destructive agencies that, combined, always destroy the victims who unite the loftiest ambition to the grossest indulgence. "You should have been a salamander," said Dumont, "to live in a devouring flame without being consumed." The image was founded upon a popular error applied to a great truth. When Dumont quitted Mirabeau, the dying man, to whom an intense egotism was pardonable, said, "We shall never meet again. When I am gone, they will know how to value me. The misfortunes which I have arrested will rush in from all parts over France. The criminal faction which trembled before me will no longer have any bridle. The Commons won a victory in declaring themselves a National Assembly, of which they have never ceased to shew themselves unworthy. They have desired to govern the king, instead of governing by him; but very soon neither he nor they will govern. A vile faction will dominate over all, and fill France with horrors." * Mirabeau survived only three months after he had uttered this prophetic speech to Dumont. He repeated the same sentiments to Talleyrand. He died on the 2nd of April. The pomp of his funeral; the procession of nearly all Paris to the church of St. Geneviève; the mournful music; the intermittent cannon; the thousand torches; the deep and solemn silence of the countless multitude; have often been described, as the tribute of a great nation to the greatest of its citizens. By a decree of the Assembly, the church of St. Geneviève was to be called the Pantheon—was to bear the inscription, *Aux Grands Hommes la Patrie reconnaissante.* Mirabeau was the first occupant of the temple set apart by a grateful country as the tomb of its great men. In November, 1793, by a decree of the Convention, his body was disinterred as that of an unworthy aristocrat.

Six months elapsed between the publication of Burke's "Reflections" and his final separation from his party, involving an irrevocable breach of friendship with Fox. The night of the 6th of May exhibited a scene in the House of Commons of no ordinary interest. From that time this country became divided into two hostile bands, each upholding opinions that were calculated to make men irrational partisans rather than calm reasoners; that opposed exaggerated alarm to mistaken enthusiasm; that rendered the majority persecutors and the minority agitators. The passions then spread through the country inspired a panic about property, and a dread of revolution, when, as has been truly said, "the people were more heart-whole than they had been for a hundred years previously;" † and these passions drove a minister, really a friend to civil and religious liberty, into acts of tyranny, whose influence long survived the immediate occasion of their exercise, and produced fears and hatreds which arrested the march of social improvement for a quarter of a century. On the 15th of April, Mr. Fox had incidentally spoken in somewhat extravagant terms about "the new Constitution of France." He admired it, "considered altogether, as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty

* "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 186. † Coleridge—"Table Talk," vol. ii. p. 192.

which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." There had been animated debates on a proposition of Mr. Pitt for the government of Canada, which contemplated the establishment of two Houses of Assembly, one for the Upper and one for the Lower Province. In the discussion of this question, general principles of representative government were naturally brought under view. On the 6th of May, upon the question in Committee that the Quebec Bill should be read paragraph by paragraph, Mr. Burke took occasion to raise his voice against the possibility of sending to our colonies "a cargo of the Rights of Man;" and then entered upon some recent circumstances in Paris—the interference of the people to prevent the king going to St. Cloud, as he proposed to do. The orator was proceeding in this strain, when he was called to order. Five times he attempted to proceed in explanation of his views on the French Revolution, and five times was he interrupted by members of the Whig party—his old associates. Burke pertinaciously held his ground. The irony of Fox, and the remonstrance of Grey, moved him less than the incessant calls to order of smaller men. At last he exclaimed:

> "The little dogs and all,
> Tray, Blanch, and Sweetheart, see, they bark at me."

Lord John Russell, quoting this anecdote from the "Life of Lord Sidmouth," says that Burke made his exclamation "with the grief, and somewhat, perhaps, of the insanity of Lear." The notion of attributing to insanity the extreme opinions of the most powerful mind of that age, has been maintained with much earnestness, and some attempts at proof.* To a certain extent it is true that Burke's mind, "once so steady, so little swayed by prejudice and passion, reeled under the pressure of events which turned the brain of thousands." But it may also be said, that the aspirations for a new æra of happiness for mankind also turned the brains of sober men, to regard only what was full of hope and promise in that Revolution, and to divert their eyes from its crimes and follies. The extreme views which produced enthusiasts on either side are very justly pointed out by a French lady, in her correspondence with Romilly: "We have had Mr. Paine's work in answer to Mr. Burke: it is the opposite extreme of madness."† On the night of the 6th of May, Burke, after his burst of indignation at "the little dogs," in answer to the taunt of Fox, that "minute discussions on great events, without information, did no honour to the pen that wrote, or the tongue that spoke, the words," addressed him no longer as "his honourable friend." He complained of the asperity with which he had been treated that night. He had differed from Mr. Fox on former occasions; but no difference of opinion had ever before interrupted their friendship. There was no loss of friendship, Fox whispered; Burke instantly exclaimed that he had done his duty at the price of his friend; "their friendship was at an end." This was too much for the kind nature of Fox. He wept, and was for some minutes unable to speak. Then there was mutual explanation; and mutual recrimination. Mr. Curwen, the member for Carlisle, relates

* See Buckle—"Civilization in England," pp. 424 to 431.
† "Mr. Paine's work" was "The Rights of Man," Part I.

a circumstance which shows how intense was the hostility of Burke to any who exhibited even a slight indication of admiring or tolerating the principles of the French Revolution: "The most powerful feelings were manifested on the adjournment of the House. While I was waiting for my carriage, Mr. Burke came to me and requested, as the night was wet, I would set him down. As soon as the carriage-door was shut, he complimented me on my being no friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French; on which he spoke with great warmth for a few minutes, when he paused to afford me an opportunity of approving the view he had taken of those measures in the House. At the moment I could not help feeling disinclined to disguise my sentiments: Mr. Burke, catching hold of the check-string, furiously exclaimed, 'You are one of these people! Set me down.' With some difficulty I restrained him;—we had then reached Charing-cross: a silence ensued, which was preserved till we reached his house in Gerard-street, when he hurried out of the carriage without speaking."

In the debate on the proposed Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, on the 2nd of March, 1790, Mr. Burke read extracts from a sermon of Dr. Price, and from the writings of Dr. Priestley and other Non-conformists; inferring from certain passages that the leading preachers among the Dissenters were avowed enemies to the Church of England, and that thence our establishment appeared to be in much more serious danger than the Church of France was in a year or two ago.* The "Reflections on the Revolution" diffused this alarm more extensively through the country. Burke, in reprobating the harangue at the chapel in the Old Jewry of Dr. Price, said that "politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement;" that "no sound ought to be heard in the Church but the healing voice of Christian charity;" that political divines, "wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, have nothing of politics but the passions they excite." But he addressed these just remarks to "political theologians," such as Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley, who preached from heterodox pulpits; not to those who from the pulpits of the establishment made the French Revolution the constant theme of their invective; and whose churches "resounded with language at which Laud would have shuddered, and Sacheverel would have blushed." † The clamour was at last got up, that the Church was in danger. There were results of this spirit, which were perhaps more disgraceful to the English character than the violence of the Parisian populace in the attack upon the Bastille or the march from Versailles. It was a lower and a more contemptible fanaticism than had been evoked by the first call in France to fight for freedom, that produced the Riots at Birmingham which broke out on the 14th of July, 1791.

Dr. Joseph Priestley, in 1780, became the minister of the principal Unitarian congregation in Birmingham. He was ardent in his political views, having written an answer to Burke's "Reflections," and he did not hesitate to avow his opposition to the Church, in his zeal to obtain what he deemed the rights of Dissenters. But in his private life he was worthy of all respect, and in

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxviii. col. 439.
† Mackintosh, vol. iii. p. 165.

his scientific pursuits had attained the most honourable distinction. But even as a politician he avowed himself a warm admirer of the English Constitution, as the best system of policy the sagacity of man had been able to contrive, though its vigour had been impaired by certain corruptions. He published, in 1791, "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham"—a work in which, according to Robert Hall, "the seeds of that implacable dislike were scattered" which produced the outrages that we shall briefly relate.

On the 11th of July, according to a royal proclamation of the 27th of that month, "a certain scandalous and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham," for the discovery of the author of which a reward of one hundred pounds was offered. This handbill called upon the people to celebrate on the 14th the destruction of that high altar and castle of despotism, the Bastille; but not to forget that their own parliament was venal; the ministers hypocritical; the clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown too weighty for the head that wears it. This paper, says the proclamation, was printed and published in the town of Birmingham.* William Hutton, a cautious man, says that it was fabricated in London, brought to Birmingham, and a few copies privately scattered under a table at an inn. On that 14th of July, about eighty persons assembled at a tavern, known as Dadley's, to commemorate this anniversary; and at the Swan Inn, some maisgtrates, and persons opposed to the celebrationists, met to drink "Church and King." There was a small mob about Dadley's tavern, who hissed and hooted; and there was another mob around the Swan. The dinner went off quietly amongst the friends of French liberty, the King and Constitution being duly toasted, and afterwards the National Assembly of France. After the company had separated, a rabble broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who had not dined there, crying out that "they wanted to knock the powder out of Priestley's wig." The loyal company at the adjacent Swan huzzaed; and it is affirmed that a gentleman said, "Go to the Meetings." In another hour Priestley's chapel, in New Street, called the New Meeting-House, was on fire. This work accomplished, the Old Meeting-House was also quickly in a blaze. Dr. Priestley lived at Fair Hill, about a mile and a-half from the town. He and his family had fled from mob vengeance; but his house was destroyed, and his books burnt, with his manuscripts and his philosophical instruments. The disgraceful scene has been related by some with more or less of apology for a fury which it is held that Priestley had provoked; and by others with more or less of indignation against a brutal intolerance which it is alleged was encouraged by loyal churchmen. There was a young man then dwelling at Birmingham, who was a member of the congregation then under the care of Dr. Priestley, and to some extent was his pupil; for the younger members of Priestley's flock received instruction from him on moral and religious subjects. In after life he would relate to his children the scene which he witnessed on that night of July, 1791. One of the family, since so honourably distinguished, has given this interesting notice of a memorable incident in his father's life: "My father formed a strong attachment to Priestley, and when the famous,

* See "Annual Register," 1791.

or rather infamous, riots of 1791 broke out, he, with a small body of his fellow-pupils, repaired to Dr. Priestley's house, which they offered to defend against the mob. To their sore disappointment their services were declined. The doctor had scruples as to the lawfulness of withstanding a religious persecution by force—the why and wherefore of this distinction between repelling civil injuries and religious, which indeed are only civil injuries on religious grounds, my father never comprehended. His companions went away, perhaps to escort their good pastor and his family, whose lives would not have been secure against the ruffians coming to demolish their home and property. My father barred the doors, closed the shutters, made fast the house as securely as he could against the expected rioters, and then awaited their arrival. He has often described to me how he walked to and fro in the darkened rooms, chafing under the restriction which had been put on him and his friends. He was present when the mob broke in, and witnessed the plunder and destruction, and the incendiary fire by which the outrage was consummated. Lingering near the house, he saw a working-man fill his apron with shoes, with which he made off. My father followed him, and as soon as the thief was alone, collared him, and dragged him to the gaol, where he had the mortification to witness the man quietly relieved of his booty, and then suffered to depart, the keeper informing my father that he had had orders to take in no prisoner that night." * The burnings and plunderings, invariably of the houses of Dissenters, continued till the night of Sunday, the 17th, in Birmingham and the neighbourhood. On the 15th, the house of Mr. Ryland, at Easy Hill, was burnt down; six or seven of the rioters, who had drunk themselves insensible with the booty of the wine-cellar, perishing in the flames. Mr. Ryland was a friend of Priestley—a man devoted to the public interests of Birmingham, and emphatically described as "a friend to the whole human race." On that day, Bordesley Hall, the residence of Mr. Taylor, another dissenter, was burnt. The warehouse of William Hutton was then plundered; and on the next morning his country-house, at Bennett's Hill, was set on fire and consumed. Five other houses of Dissenters, whether Presbyterians, Baptists, or Unitarians, were that day burnt or sacked. Justices of the peace sat in conclave; squires made speeches to the mobs, telling them they had done enough. The Birmingham magistrates issued a placard, addressed to "Friends and Brother Churchmen," entreating them to desist; for that the damage, which already amounted to £100,000, would have to be paid by the parishes. On the Sunday there were burnings of chapels and private houses in the neighbourhood of Birmingham; and then three troops of Light Dragoons rode into the town, having come in one day from Nottingham, and this disgraceful exhibition was at an end. Five of the rioters were tried at the assizes at Worcester, for offences committed near Birmingham, but only one was convicted. A larger number were tried at the Warwick Assizes, and four were sentenced to death. Three of the whole number were executed. Every attempt was made to impede the conviction of the rioters. The prosecutions were confined to the ignorant mob, whose passions were undoubtedly inflamed by their superiors in station.

* Autobiography of Thomas Wright Hill—with "Continuation of Mr. Hill's Life, by his son, Matthew Davenport Hill."—Privately printed, 1859.

There was no zealot prosecuted of the many whose offences were undoubtedly as great as that of the madman, lord George Gordon, in 1780. There was in Birmingham a hateful spirit of slavishness and ferocity, in the guise of loyalty and religion, which unhappily, to some extent, pervaded the whole kingdom. The atrocities were almost justified from the pulpit as "a judgment." One of the most eloquent of Dissenters—one strongly opposed to Priestley's theological opinions—published in 1791 a tract, in which he says, that to the unenlightened eyes of posterity "it will appear a reproach, that in the eighteenth century—an age that boasts its science and improvement—the first philosopher in Europe, of a character unblemished, and of manners the most mild and gentle, should be torn from his family, and obliged to flee, an outcast and a fugitive, from the murderous hands of a frantic rabble; but when they learn that there were not wanting teachers of religion who secretly triumphed in these barbarities, they will pause for a moment, and imagine they are reading the history of Goths or of Vandals." *

* Robert Hall—"Christianity consistent with a love of freedom, being an answer to a Sermon by the Rev. John Clayton," 1791.

Detention of the King at Varennes. From Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française.

CHAPTER XI.

Flight from Paris of the king and his family—The National Assembly after the discovery of the flight—Hatred of Royalty—Thomas Paine—National, or Constituent, Assembly at an end—Meeting of the Legislative Assembly—The Declaration of Pilnitz—French princes and emigrants at Coblentz—Opening of Parliament—Pacific Speech—Pitt's display of British prosperity—The Slave Trade—Pitt's eloquence—The Libel Law—Attempts to form a Coalition—Proclamation against Seditions—Chauvelin and lord Grenville—Partition of Poland.

Whilst from the night of the 14th July to the night of the 17th, the rabble of Birmingham were shouting "Church and King," and plundering and burning chapels and houses, the rabble of Paris, many thousands in number, were assembled on Sunday, the 17th, in the Champ de Mars, clamouring for the deposition of the king, and manifesting their patriotism by hanging two men denounced as spies. The magistrates of Birmingham looked smilingly on the loyal and orthodox havoc; but the authorities of Paris, with their mayor, Bailly, at their head, resolved to put down this mob-dictation, and, hoisting the red flag of martial law, to disperse the multitudes with volleys of musketry. What has produced this demand for the deposition of the king? He has attempted to fly from his good people of Paris.

He broke out of his prison-house, and he has been brought back again. He had been suspected of a plan to escape, when he desired to keep Easter at St. Cloud; and a fierce mob, when he was seated with the queen in his carriage, then prevented their departure from the Tuileries, although La Fayette was desirous to make way for them by force. It was known that an Austrian army was gathering on the frontiers; that the royal princes, d'Artois and Condé, were surrounded by emigrants, ready to return in arms. "Citizens," wrote Marat, the most influential of the journalists because the most ferocious, "watch closely around the palace. . . . . The genius of Austria is there, hidden in committees over which Antoinette presides. They correspond with foreigners, and furnish the armed tyrants who are assembling on your frontier with gold and materials of war." The writings of Marat echoed the denunciations of the Clubs. The National Assembly, and the National Guard, were growing less and less popular with the anarchists. "What is La Fayette doing?" asked Marat, "is he a dupe or an accomplice? Why does he leave the avenues of the palace free?" The suspicions thus excited in the populace naturally produced a greater vigilance in La Fayette. For some time the whole of the interior of the Tuileries was under the watchfulness of the National Guard; and La Fayette and his officers were constantly about the palace, often till a late hour. The royal family, too, were surrounded by unfaithful menials. A waiting-woman had for several months been watching the queen; had seen her jewel-boxes empty, and had conjectured that the royal diamonds had left France. She reported her suspicions to an aide-de-camp of La Fayette; and for several nights a stricter watch had been kept within and around the palace. A secret correspondence had been maintained between the king and the marquis de Bouillé, the commander of the royalist army in the frontier provinces of Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace; but the loyalty of a few regiments only could be relied upon. It was arranged between Louis and his faithful general that the king should leave Paris on the night of the 19th of June; and De Bouillé took his measures of placing relays of horses on the road, and detachments to guard the royal family at certain stations through which they were to pass on their way to Montmédy, at which fortress the general had formed a camp where the fugitives would be safe. The arrangements were disturbed by the delay of one day in setting forth; and, as in many of the minor occurrences of life, the misadventures of an hour or two were fatal to success. The count de Fersen, a Swiss, was admitted into the confidence of the king; and he accomplished the business of obtaining a passport for a Russian baroness, travelling home, with a waiting-woman, a valet, and two children; and he has had a new coach built; and has engaged horses. All at last is ready for a start. The Russian baroness is Madame De Tourzel, the gouvernante of the two royal children; her waiting-woman is the queen; the valet is the king. The king's sister, Elizabeth, is of the party as travelling companion. Three of the devoted soldiers of the king, who had belonged to the disbanded body-guard, were admitted into the confidence of count Fersen, and it was arranged that they were to mount behind the carriage, as some sort of protection.

The king and queen received at their usual hour, on the evening of the 20th of June, those who were accustomed to wait on them before they

retired to rest. They dressed themselves in the clothes prepared for their disguise; and when a midnight stillness reigned around left the Tuileries, but not all at once. A lady in a hood had come out from a small door, leading two children—a visitor of some one of the household, no doubt. These pass into the open space before the Tuileries, called the Carrousel, and thence into a street where a glass-coach is waiting. Another lady comes out, also hooded, and enters the same coach. A stout man now reaches the capacious carriage. One of the party is still wanting—the waiting-maid. She, in a gipsy-hat, attended by a servant, is about to join them, when the carriage of La Fayette, with torch-bearers, appears. He has been hastily sent for, upon some report from his aide-de-camp. The waiting-maid stands up under the arch, and sees the well-known face. She is herself unobserved; but is somewhat flurried. The fair one and her attendant take the wrong road, and cross the Pont Royal to the other side of the Seine. They wander about the long Rue du Bac in great perplexity, but at last make their way over the river again, and find the coach waiting upon the quai. Count Fersen is the royal hackney coachman. He drives furiously off, but they have to go to a distant part to find the travelling carriage. At last they have passed the dark and narrow streets of the city, have reached the Boulevard, and at the Porte St. Martin the travelling carriage is waiting. Fersen is again upon the box, with a German coachman, who will be trusty; and after some time he receives the grateful adieux of those for whom he has risked so much, and leaves them to make his own way to Brussels. Another carriage is at Bondy, with boxes and waiting-women. Through the summer-night, the heavy coach, with six horses, is lumbering on towards Chalons, where it arrives, having found proper relays, about five in the afternoon of the 21st.

At six o'clock in the morning following that midnight when La Fayette has looked round the Tuileries, and can discover nothing wrong, he is roused with the news that the king and royal family are gone. Paris is alarmed, and is quickly in motion; but there is no riot or outrage. The Assembly meets, and declares its sitting permanent. A letter has been found addressed by the king to the National Assembly, in which he goes through the chief events of the Revolution; describes the personal indignities he had undergone, and says that, finding it impossible for him to effect any good, or to prevent any evil, he has sought to recover his liberty, and to reach a place of safety for himself and his family. The Assembly confirmed an order which had been previously issued by La Fayette, which enjoined all functionaries to arrest the fugitives; and at once assumed the powers of an executive government. The news of the flight of the king reached London on the 25th, when George Rose thus wrote to Wilberforce:—"The National Assembly has acted in a collected manner, and with prudence in their situation. They have given assurances to the foreign ministers of firmness, continuance of friendship, &c., and have ordered the great seal (we shall be told like our phantom during the regency) to be put to all instruments which require the royal authority."*

The king's route may be easily traced. The heavy carriage, called a "Berline," is somewhat remarkable. Escorts of dragoons have been hanging

* "Wilberforce Correspondence," vol. i. p. 80.

about on the road from early morning; and no one knows what they are waiting for. Suspicion is roused. As the evening draws on, a courier rides through the village of Sainte-Ménehould; and then the lumbering vehicle with its six post-horses rolls in, and stops at the post-house. The master of the post has been to Paris. He looks hard into the carriage. He fancies he has seen the lady in the gipsy-hat in some public place. Another face is familiar to him, from the engraved head on the new assignat. He is sure the stout man is the king. The carriage moves on; and this vigilant post-master, by name Drouet, and a trusty companion, hurry after it upon fleet hackneys. The escort that followed the royal fugitives from Sainte-Ménehould is impeded by the people at Clermont, who have been roused by Drouet. But the village of Varennes is reached by Louis and his family, about four-and-twenty hours after they had been wandering out of the Tuileries through dark ways into a dark future. The small town of Varennes is divided by the river Aire. Relays of horses prepared for the travellers are in the upper town. The couriers can find no horses in the lower town, where the carriage is waiting. For half-an-hour the wearied and anxious sitters in the "Berline" listen with impatience for the sound of horses' feet. Two horsemen have dashed past them over the bridge. Drouet is an old dragoon, and knows something of barricades. He rides into the town, obtains help, and the bridge over the Aire is soon rendered impassable by an overturned cart. At length the carriage drives up, the post-boys having been induced to proceed with their jaded hacks. Passports are demanded by half-a-dozen National Guards, led by the inexorable Drouet. Resistance is vain; and Louis, his queen, his sister, his children, and the gouvernante are handed into the house of the Procureur of the town, named Sausse, a grocer. Refreshments are asked for by the king; and he relishes bread and cheese, and a bottle of Burgundy. The alarm-bell is rung; the people hurry out of their beds; the house is surrounded. Louis feels confident that a large force will arrive from M. de Bouillé for his deliverance. A squadron of hussars is at hand; but they have received no orders. The night is passed in terrible uncertainty. In the morning, National Guards are assembled in great numbers; and La Fayette's aide-de-camp gallops into Varennes. It is all over. Even Bouillé flies across the frontier. The Berline is turned round; and is soon on the road to Paris, with the unfortunate family within, and the couriers bound with ropes upon the box. Three or four thousand men, armed with pikes and muskets, surround the carriage. As the cavalcade slowly went on, the people in the villages uttered reproaches and threats to the king and queen. They bore the insults with that calmness which marked their demeanour through all their subsequent heavy troubles. Two Commissioners from the National Assembly, Petion and Barnave, met them on the road; and their interference probably saved the lives of the unhappy family from the rage of barbarous crowds. At seven o'clock in the evening of Saturday, the captives re-entered the Tuileries. There was something more terrible than even the clamour of a mob, in the mode of their reception, as they passed through the streets of Paris. An Englishman has described the scene: "Profound silence was recommended to the people on the entrance of the royal family; and it was in general observed. I stood in the Champs Elysées, on the edge of the road, from three till near eight, and I never saw more tranquillity, or even

indifference, on any occasion. An officer passed us about half-an-hour before the king's arrival, and called out as he passed, 'Chapeau sur tête!' This order was punctually obeyed. In all the conversation I heard, not a symptom of pity or sympathy appeared, nor much resentment." * A placard had been everywhere affixed, which, in a few words, prescribed the popular demeanour required by those who in this week of alarm had preserved Paris from anarchy: "Whoever shall applaud the king shall be flogged; whoever shall insult him shall be hanged." † The semblances of a monarchical government were to be maintained a little longer.

The flight of the king was the occasion of an unmistakeable demonstration of the contentions that were likely to arise between those who desired to maintain the constitution to which the king had sworn, and the party—a minority in the Assembly, but overpowering in the clubs—who sought the abolition of the monarchy, or the deposition of the existing monarch. In the popular temper the hatred of royalty was displayed during the five days of the king's absence from Paris, by pulling down the signs over the shops that indicated the patronage of the Court. "*Roi*" was no longer a name to attract customers. There was in Paris an Englishman who had become hateful at home as the expounder of "The Rights of Man." Thomas Paine—a

Thomas Paine.

staymaker of Thetford in Norfolk, afterwards an exciseman; then a settler in America, who stimulated the revolt of the colonies by his writings; an agent of the Congress, employed in France towards the close of the war; a man of various talents, a powerful but coarse writer, an ingenious mechanic—was, in June, 1791, the guest of Condorcet, the philosophical patrician, who had become an ardent republican. After the peace Paine had been received with some respect in England, and even Burke admitted him to a sort of intimacy. But he hated his native country, and its institutions. Intensely vain, he believed that his writings had produced the American Republic; and he fancied that his mission was to establish a republic in France. He asserted that, if he had the power, he would destroy all the books in existence, which

* Trail to Romilly, June 27.
† Thiers—"Histoire de la Révolution," livre iv.

only propagated error, and would re-construct a new system of ideas and principles, with his own "Rights of Man" as its foundation.* In the week of the flight of Louis, Paine wrote in English a proclamation to the French nation, which, being translated, was affixed to all the walls of Paris. It was an invitation to the people to profit by existing circumstances, and establish a Republic. Dumont perhaps ascribes too much to the influence of such a production, when he says that the audacious hand of Paine sowed the seed which germinated in many heads.† Many persons of condition, Condorcet amongst the number, were of opinion that the moment when the king had forfeited the confidence of the nation was favourable to the establishment of a republic. A majority of the Assembly were resolved that the disloyalty which had been increased so fearfully by the king's attempt to leave Paris, if not France, should not interfere with the establishment of the Constitution.

Condorcet.

This had now, after a long process, been elaborated into a complete digest of all the principles which were held to be necessary for the happy existence of a form of government so just and so harmonious, that it would command the obedience and admiration of all who were to administer it and of all who were to live under it. Dumont has described this constitution as in truth a monster:—"It had too much of a republic for a monarchy, and too much of a monarchy for a republic. The king was a *hors d'œuvre*"—a somewhat superfluous dish, such as the anchovy served between the soup and the meat. The populace did not comprehend these refinements; and so, as we have mentioned, on the 17th of July, the mobs of St. Antoine filled the Champ de Mars, signing petitions for the deposition of the king; and the once popular mayor hoisted the red flag, and dispersed them by sword and bullet. Bailly, La Fayette, and a majority of the Assembly, began to fear the Jacobins more than they feared the royalists. They began to see that, by the popular outrages, and the restraints which had been imposed upon the king, he had been driven to despair. They wished to retrace their steps; to make the sovereign a real power in the state, instead of a puppet. They found that it was easier

* Dumont—"Souvenirs, p. 231. † *Ibid.*, p. 226.

to destroy than to re-establish. The popularity which they had acquired as destructives was lost when they began to be conservatives. The forms were, however, to be gone through to establish the anomalous Constitution. On the 5th of August, the multifarious document was presented to the Assembly by a Committee, who had been for many months engaged in classifying and revising the various decrees which had been promulgated. On the 3rd of September it was presented to the king by sixty members of the Assembly; and on the 14th, Louis declared his solemn acceptance of what he considered, and not unjustly, his humiliation. "*Vive le Roi*" was again heard in the streets. The Assembly is to be dissolved on the 30th of September, and a new body of representatives, whose elections have been going on throughout all France, is to meet on the 1st of October, and to be called the Legislative Assembly. Seven hundred and forty-five members are to be chosen by primary assemblies, themselves chosen by every man of twenty-five years of age in every canton, who had paid direct taxes equal to three days' labour. The electors of the deputies were to be the possessors of a certain income, or the renters of a house of a certain value. No member of the first Assembly was eligible to be elected for the second. No member of the Legislative Assembly was allowed to be a functionary of the Executive Government. The sittings of the Assembly were to be permanent, leaving no power to the king to convoke the body, or to prorogue it. And so some of the best and most moderate men who formed the first States-General, are to be replaced by men of provincial reputation, chiefly of the legal profession; and the violent men of the old Assembly are to find fit exercise for their powers in the Jacobin clubs.

The Legislative Assembly quickly arranged into two defined parties—the right side (*côté droit*) and the left side (*côté gauche*), with a fluctuating body known as the centre. The *côté droit* comprised the supporters of the Constitution, whose opinions were generally those of the middle classes, and were represented in the Club of the Feuillans. The Girondins, or deputies from the department of Gironde, of whom Vergniaud was the most eloquent, with Brissot and Condorcet, two of the Paris deputies, were the types of the more moderate of the *côté gauche*. The extreme men of this left side were in intimate connection with the Jacobin Club, and the Club of the Cordeliers; and the mobs of Paris were consequently at their command. Robespierre was the presiding spirit of the Jacobins, as Danton was of the Cordeliers. The extreme men of the Assembly were called the Mountain, from their seats on the topmost benches of the *côté gauche*. There is a Municipality, too, in Paris, which has more active power, for good or evil, than the Assembly. At the elections of November, Pétion has been chosen mayor of Paris, in preference to La Fayette; and in that common council, where there is much haranguing, Danton is a leading speaker. But the Mother-Society of Friends of the People, sitting in the old Hall of the Jacobins, with all the appliances of a parliament—president, secretaries, a tribune for fiery speakers, and large galleries for excited men and women—this terrible Society, with its branch Societies in every town and village of France, "forms," to use those words of La Fayette which he spoke too late, "a distinct corporation in the middle of the French people, whose power it usurps in subjugating its representatives." Robespierre moved and carried the self-denying ordinance of the first Assembly, which prevented its members

being re-elected, that he might dominate in another place over thousands of fanatical worshippers of first principles of liberty and equality, who would risk any perils of anarchy and bloodshed for an idea, as he was ready to do out of the purest and most disinterested benevolence.

Convent of the Jacobins. From an Original Drawing.

When the Legislative Assembly met on the 1st of October, a puerile contest, but not without its significance, ensued between the Constitutionalists and the Republicans. The king should not be addressed as "Sire," or as "Majesty," contended one party; he should not sit in a gilded chair; the members should not be uncovered in his presence. Louis felt that it was intended to affront him, and he determined that the Assembly should be opened by his ministers. The republican spirit became moderated, and the constitutionalists became more assured, for the National Guard intimated their resolve that the revolution should go no further. On the 7th of October the king proceeded to the Assembly, and delivered a speech which seemed to give him back the loyalty which he had lost. There must be harmony, he said, between the king and the legislative body; that thus the property and the creed of every man would be protected, and no one would have a pretence for staying away from a country in which the laws should be faithfully executed and the rights of all respected. Confidence returned to the king and queen; and they thought their calamities were over when they went that night to the Opera, and were received with unwonted shouts, and even with the tears of those who were melted at seeing a mother, so long wretched, apparently at ease and happy as her little boy sate on her lap, and looked upon the people without fear.

In this autumn of 1791, whatever might be the apprehensions amongst

a portion of the British nation of the progress of French doctrines, the prime-minister preserved an imperturbable serenity, which he appears to have communicated to the inferior members of the government. The editor of the "Diaries and Letters" of the Secretary of the Treasury, says, "It is a remarkable feature of this correspondence, that while the revolutionary mania in Paris was disclosing its horrors and crimes more and more, we look in vain to these letters [those of Rose and Pitt] for any intimation of what was going on. There is not a symptom of alarm or indignation, or even astonishment; both writers seem to be wholly intent upon the interior administration of the country, in a calm and undisturbed atmosphere."* Lord Sidmouth, in his old age, was fond of relating an anecdote of the period when, as Mr. Addington, he was Speaker of the House of Commons. In September, 1791, Pitt, for the first time, invited Burke to dine with him; Lord Grenville and Addington were the only other guests in Downing Street. "After dinner, Burke was earnestly representing the danger which threatened the country from the contagion of French principles, when Pitt said, 'Never fear, Mr. Burke; depend on it we shall go on as we are till the day of judgment:'—'Very likely, sir,' replied Burke, 'it is the day of no judgment that I am afraid of.'"† The internal condition of Great Britain was so essentially prosperous, and the abuses which required a reform were so limited, in comparison of the evils that in France demanded a revolution, that Mr. Pitt might well have looked without serious alarm upon the clubs that sympathised with the French Assembly, and upon writers that attempted to spread the doctrines of the Jacobins. Neither would a peace-loving minister, who was at heart a friend to liberty, take any part with the despotic sovereigns of the continent, or with the emigrant princes who were dreaming of conquering and avenging the Revolution. On the 24th of August, the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia had met at the Château de Pilnitz, the summer residence of the elector of Saxony, who was their host. The count d'Artois arrived, to urge the intervention of these sovereigns to rescue his brother, the king of France, out of the hands of rebellious subjects; and especially sought to move the emperor in the cause of that emperor's sister, the humiliated queen. Out of these interviews came the famous Declaration of Pilnitz, which appealed to the other European powers to make common cause with the emperor and the king of Prussia, and to employ, conjointly with them, "the most efficacious means, proportioned to their forces, for enabling the king of France to strengthen, with the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, equally conformable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation." The German courts were not agreed upon that policy of armed intervention which was thus timidly threatened. Prussia was reluctant to adopt the warlike views of Austria. Catherine of Russia and Gustavus of Sweden agreed to raise an army, which Spain was to subsidize; and they sent plenipotentiaries to the emigrant princes at Coblenz. Mr. Pitt wisely kept aloof from counsels in which the timid and the rash appeared equally likely to precipitate a war of opinions. He maintained the truly elevated position of the minister of a

* "Diaries, &c., of the Right Hon. George Rose," vol. i. p. 109.
† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 72.

country enjoying its own constitutional liberty, which could neither sympathize with the regal despotism that would crush all freedom, nor with the popular violence that would overthrow all order.

There can be no doubt that, about the close of 1790, the king of France was in correspondence with foreign courts, either directly or through the emigrant princes and nobles. But in 1791, after his solemn acceptance of the Constitution, brought about by his conviction that his escape from the nets in which he was bound was impossible, he, apparently with sincerity, earnestly desired the emigrants to disarm. His injunctions were treated with contempt, as coming from a prince under durance. The Declaration of Pilnitz had raised a violent spirit of indignation amongst nearly every class and every party of Frenchmen, against the threat of any interference with their domestic concerns. For a short time the Constitution and the Monarchy seemed capable of being worked together; but the delusion soon came to an end. The king has an absolute veto according to the Constitution. The orators of the Palais Royal and the mobs of the street knew very early in the revolution what Veto meant. Mirabeau advocated the Veto. His carriage stopped at a bookseller's door, and a crowd surrounded it, crying out to the great orator, "You are the father of the people—you might save us—if the king has the Veto we have no need of the National Assembly—we are slaves." * On the 9th of November the Legislative Assembly decrees that all emigrants shall be "suspect of conspiracy," that is, that they shall be outlawed unless they return before the following new year's day; that the revenues of the absent French princes should be sequestered; that priests who would not take the oaths should forfeit their pensions, and sustain other penalties. The king to these decrees ought to apply his Veto, say the friends of the monarchy. The king's ministers and the Assembly argue these matters with fluent pertinacity. The time will come when this question will be settled by a force stronger than words. The king now feels strong enough to refuse his consent to these decrees in their entirety.

Whilst some of the leading emigrants of rank were gathered round the French princes at Coblentz, a large number of the nobility, and of the higher orders of clergy, were living in obscurity in England, many in very painful poverty. The grave-stones in some of the suburban churchyards of London used to present the memorials of many a great family who found obscure resting-places in the foreign land which had afforded them the means of a humble existence. In 1791, even after the unsuccessful flight to Varennes, many of these emigrants had still hope and confidence. Charles Butler, in August of that year, having called on Burke, saw him surrounded, as he usually was at that time, by many of the French nobility, and discoursing eloquently on the horrors of the Revolution. One of his hearers interrupted him with the ill-timed question, "But when shall we return to France?" "Never," was the reply; "False hopes," continued the orator, "are not the money that I keep in my drawer." "*Coquins!*" exclaimed one. "Yes," said Burke, "they are *coquins*, but they are the most terrible *coquins* that the world has known." †

* Dumont—"Souvenirs," p. 108.

† Butler's "Reminiscences"—*Coquin* has a comprehensive application to roguery and beggary.

In the winter of 1791-2, M. de Talleyrand visited London, to make his observations upon the temper of British statesmen, and to dispose the ministry to regard the French Constitution without alarm. According to the self-denying decree of the National Assembly, he was restrained from holding office. But he was no less the agent of the French government. The British cabinet had appeared decided not to depart from its neutrality in the event of war, but it manifested no sympathy with the new order of things. Talleyrand, according to Dumont, who was in his confidence during this visit to England, had a long conference with Lord Grenville; but the Secretary of State was dry and laconic. Talleyrand had known Mr. Pitt, who, when he was in France in 1783, was a guest at the house of Talleyrand's uncle, the archbishop of Rheims; but Mr. Pitt made no allusion to his former acquaintance. Talleyrand went to Court. The king paid him little attention, and the queen turned her back upon him. Talleyrand, in spite of the charms of his

Talleyrand.

conversation, did not find a ready admission to the highest society of London; although he had special introductions to lord Lansdown and other leading Whigs. Amidst the reserve of the ministry and the neglect of the court, Talleyrand could expect little success from his irregular mission. He returned to Paris at the beginning of March.

At this period of Talleyrand's return from London, the Girondin party, as we shall have to relate in the next chapter, had acceded to power, with Dumouriez as minister for foreign affairs. It was then determined to send an embassy to London. The difficulty with regard to Talleyrand was still an obstacle to his appointment as plenipotentiary. The title was given to M. Chauvelin, a young negotiator; the power was with Talleyrand, who formed part of a numerous suite that accompanied the ambassador. The party left Paris in two carriages in a fine spring season; several, such as Talleyrand and Dumont, familiar with England; the greater number eager to gratify their curiosity in an unknown country. Garat, a man of letters, who afterwards acquired a hateful distinction as minister of justice, was one of the most agreeable of this large company. The impressions of England

made upon this man, who desired the reputation of a philanthropist, and became the apologist of massacre, are pleasantly described. When they arrived at Dover, Garat mounted the imperial of the carriage, with Dumont at his side. He adjusted his eye-glass, and exhibited as much excited curiosity as if they had arrived in the moon. He made the most amusing exclamations, upon the small cottages, the small gardens, the neatness that reigned throughout, the beauty of the children, the modest air of the female peasantry, the decent dress of the country people;—in a word, this scene of ease and prosperity, which contrasted so strongly with the misery and the rags which they had just seen in the people of Picardy, struck Garat in a singular manner: "Ah, what a pity, what a pity," he exclaimed, "if they set about to revolutionize this fine country! When will France be as happy as England?" * The man of letters, who was preparing to write the history of the French Revolution, might have considered that the comparative happiness of the English peasantry would render such attempt at revolutionizing altogether vain. One of the great causes of the Revolution did not here exist—the feudal privileges which had long made the people slaves, and in revenge of which they became savages—the crushing despotism of a government of centralization, which stood in the way of all social improvement. The embassy of Chauvelin and Talleyrand was established in London; but it was coldly received by the court, and almost injuriously by the public. Its members were attacked by the ministerial newspapers, and they committed the imprudence of assiduously cultivating the society of the Opposition. The official communications of the embassy and the Secretary of State were not of a very agreeable character. Their public reception was anything but flattering. Talleyrand and Chauvelin went to Ranelagh, Dumont being of the party, with five or six others of the ambassador's suite. They saw that they attracted the attention of the gay crowd; but that regard was not complimentary; for as they moved round the ring a free passage was made for them, right and left, as if the people feared to breathe an atmosphere of contagion. They also saw the duke of Orleans walking alone, shunned even in a more especial manner. Nevertheless, at this period the British government was anxious to preserve its neutrality in the affairs of France: it was cold, but it was not hostile.

The Parliament of Great Britain was opened on the 31st of January, 1792. The king's speech was not a speech of alarm, but of unbounded confidence. It declared that the general state of affairs in Europe appeared to promise to his majesty's subjects a continuance of their present tranquillity. "Under these circumstances," said the king, "I am induced to think that some immediate reduction may safely be made in our naval and military establishments." The speech also announced "a continual and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country." The private correspondence of members of the government clearly shows that the expectation of continued peace, and the boast of internal prosperity, were not used as devices to keep up the spirits of the nation. "Everything looks like peace, on the side of France," writes Lord Grenville in January. "There certainly are some in France who wish the

* "Souvenirs," p. 298.

war, but very many more who fear it; and the ruin of the finances is approaching with very rapid strides indeed. What a contrast we shall make with them, when I come to state to you the particulars."* The finances of England and France were scarcely capable of being compared. The disturbance of the ordinary laws of exchange produced by the issue of Assignats in 1790—which paper-money was based on the security of the Church Lands remaining unsold—had rendered the financial condition of France very difficult of contrast with a country whose paper-money was convertible into specie. The financial ruin of France, in the ordinary sense of ruin, was approaching very surely though gradually at the beginning of 1792; but towards the end of the year the excessive issue of Assignats, based upon the forfeited property of emigrants, produced a terrible amount of private ruin and misery. Yet the amount of private calamity did not in the least prevent the French revolutionary government from carrying on hostilities with an energy that astonished the statesmen of other countries, who provided the means of war by the ordinary routine of loans and taxes. The mistake which the British government constantly made with regard to France, long after 1792, was to believe that the ruin of her finances necessarily involved the submission of her rulers—"as if credit was necessary to a government of which the principle was rapine; as if Alboin could not turn Italy into a desert till he had negociated a loan at five per cent.; as if the exchequer bills of Attila had been at par."†

On the 17th of February, in a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Pitt brought under consideration a general view of the Public Income and Expenditure. No prospect could be more gratifying than the eloquent minister's survey of the resources of the country; no declaration of policy more statesmanlike. He looked forward to the operation of the Sinking Fund during a period of tranquillity that was likely to endure for some years; he calculated what that fund would amount to in 1808. "There never was a time in the history of the country," he said, "when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than we may at the present moment."‡ He displayed the great increase of revenue. He enlarged upon the causes of that increase, derived from the natural industry and energy of the country; the improvement of every branch of manufacture; the invention of machinery for the abridgement of labour; that continual tendency of capital to increase, whenever it is not obstructed by some public calamity, or by some mistaken and mischievous policy. Such circumstances were naturally connected with the duration of peace; they were connected still more with our internal tranquillity, and with the natural effects of a free but well-regulated government. "It is this union of liberty with law, which, by raising a barrier equally firm against the encroachments of power, and the violence of popular commotion, affords to property its just security, produces the exertion of genius and labour, the extent and solidity of credit, the circulation and increase of capital; which forms and upholds the national character, and sets in motion all the springs which actuate the

* "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 201.
† Macaulay—"Biography of Pitt."
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. xxix. col. 826.

great mass of the community through all its various descriptions." Fox complimented his rival upon his eloquence; upon his philosophical view of the principles of government; upon his true and splendid enumeration of the causes of national prosperity. What, indeed, we may now say, could a free nation desire more than such an expositor of its principles, and such a leader in a continued course of greatness and honour? Throughout that Session we see William Pitt truly the foremost man of all the world—calm, amidst the storms which were raging around; in his majestic oratory asserting the grandeur of his country, and vindicating the soundest doctrines of public economy, and the most noble principles of justice for the oppressed. On the 2nd of April, Wilberforce moved for a Committee of the whole House to consider the African Slave Trade, with a view to a resolution for its immediate abolition. Pitt on this occasion supported his friend in one of the most eloquent speeches on record. "Windham, who has no love for Pitt," writes Wilberforce, "tells me that Fox and Grey, with whom he walked home after the debate, agreed with him in thinking Pitt's speech one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard. For the last twenty minutes he really seemed to be inspired. He was dilating upon the future prospects of civilizing Africa, a topic which I had suggested to him in the morning." This almost inspired passage of Pitt's oration may scarcely bear the sober examination of those who contend for the difference of races; but there are certainly few things in the whole compass of oratory more magnificent than his retrospect of the early condition of the Britons, as slaves exported to the Roman market, and his reproof of those who contended that Africa was incapable of civilization: "Why might not some Roman senator, reasoning on the principles of some honourable gentlemen, and pointing to British barbarians, have predicted with equal boldness, 'There is a people that will never rise to civilization; there is a people destined never to be free; a people without the understanding necessary for the attainment of useful arts; depressed by the hand of nature below the level of the human species; and created to form a supply of slaves for the rest of the world.' Might not this have been said, in all respects as fairly and as truly of Britain herself, at that period of her history, as it can now be said by us of the inhabitants of Africa?" * It was decided that night, by a large majority, that the Slave Trade should be gradually abolished. Pitt and Fox contended for the immediate abolition.

In this session was carried that great improvement of the law known as Mr. Fox's Libel Bill, by which was established the right of juries to give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter put in issue upon the indictment. This Bill was carried in the House of Commons in the Session of 1791, Pitt supporting Fox and Erskine in the necessity of taking some step, at least to regulate the practice of the Courts on the trial of libels, and render it conformable to the free spirit of the constitution. In the House of Lords, the Chancellor, lord Thurlow, moved the postponement of the Bill; and it was lost for that Session. In the Commons, in 1792, it was again passed; and sent to the Lords. It was again opposed by the Chancellor, who was supported by the whole body of the Judges—"sad to relate,"

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxix. col. 1155.

says lord Campbell. But the principle was advocated in every stage by lord Camden, and by lord Loughborough, and the measure was finally carried on the 11th of June. Lord Thurlow had become troublesome in the ministry of Mr. Pitt, occasionally setting up an independent authority, in which pretension he appears to have reckoned upon the support of the king. On the 14th of May he made an unexpected opposition to a ministerial measure in parliament, and had nearly obtained a majority. Grenville wrote to his brother, "I think the consequences must be decisive in his situation or ours. But it requires some reflection, and some management in the quarter you know."* In that "quarter," there was no hesitation. The king sent a message to the chancellor requiring him to give up the office; but leaving the time to his choice. The great seal was then put in commission. Lord Loughborough, who belonged to the Whig party, was ardently desirous for the seat on the woolsack. He attempted for some time to bring about a Coalition between Pitt and Fox, to which Pitt appears to have opposed no insuperable obstacle, though Fox declared that the minister was not sincere. The Whigs were divided between the opinions of Burke and those of Fox on the question of the French Revolution; though many were not indisposed to join Pitt to form "a strong government." Burke thought that "Mr. Fox's coach stops the way," but that there was no doing without him or with him.† The attempts to bring about a Coalition failed, as might naturally have been expected—not so much from any insuperable difference of principles between the two great parliamentary leaders at that time, as from the difficulties that were sure to arise out of the conduct and opinions of the extreme men of either party. If Pitt, united with Fox, had adhered to his principle of neutrality in the impending struggle between France and the German powers, Fox might have moderated many of those opinions which appeared to make him the advocate of the excesses of the French Revolution. But the great question of peace or war with the French republic really depended upon the feelings of the majority in parliament; and before the close of the Session of 1792, it became pretty evident that the strongest ministry would have real difficulty in preserving England from an interference in this question, which so stirred the passions of the community.

On the 30th of April, Mr. Charles Grey gave notice of a motion for Reform in the representation of the people—he who, as earl Grey and Prime Minister forty-years afterwards, carried the Reform Bill. On the 26th of April, 1792, at a general meeting of the Society of "The Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform," a Declaration was agreed to be signed by many members of parliament and other gentlemen; and it was resolved that Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine be requested to make a motion on the subject in the next Session. Mr. Grey accordingly gave notice of his intention in a brief speech. Mr. Pitt at once came forward to declare his opinions on the subject. He had supported reform in former times, when he thought that "if some mode could be adopted, by which the people could have any additional security for a continuance of the blessings which they now enjoy, it would be an improvement

* "Court of George III." vol. ii. p. 207.

† See "Malmesbury's Diary," pp. 418 to 413.

in the constitution of the country. . . . . He would ask all moderate men what were their feelings on this subject at this moment? He believed he could anticipate the answer—'This is not a time to make hazardous experiments.' Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years?" Mr. Pitt made some pointed allusions to the Declaration of "The Friends of the People," and a heated debate followed, in which Mr. Fox supported Mr. Grey, but intimated his opinion of the impolicy of joining an Association for Reform. On the 21st of May, a Royal Proclamation was issued, against the publication and dispersion of seditious writings. On the 25th, an Address to the king was proposed, expressing the determination of the Commons to support his majesty in the resolution which he had adopted. Mr. Grey moved an amendment, in which he brought forward Mr. Pitt's former opinions on the subject of Reform; described his conduct as that of an apostate; and treated the Proclamation and the proposed Address as calculated to throw odium upon a Society that had been formed with the purest intentions. The Proclamation, he said, was intended to separate the Whig party. There were, indeed, many signs that a separation of old political friends was inevitable. In the House of Lords, the prince of Wales, always hitherto associated in politics with Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and

The Prince of Wales. From a Painting by Sir William Beechey.

the Opposition, spoke, for the first time, on this subject of the king's Proclamation. The matter in question was, he said, whether the constitution was or was not to be maintained; whether the wild ideas of theory were to conquer the wholesome maxims of established practice; and whether those laws under which we had flourished for such a series of years were to be subverted by a reform unsanctioned by the people. "I exist," exclaimed his royal highness, "by the love, the friendship, and the benevolence of the people, and their cause I will never forsake as long as I live."*

The Proclamation against Seditious Writings stated that "we have reason to believe that correspondences have been entered into with sundry persons

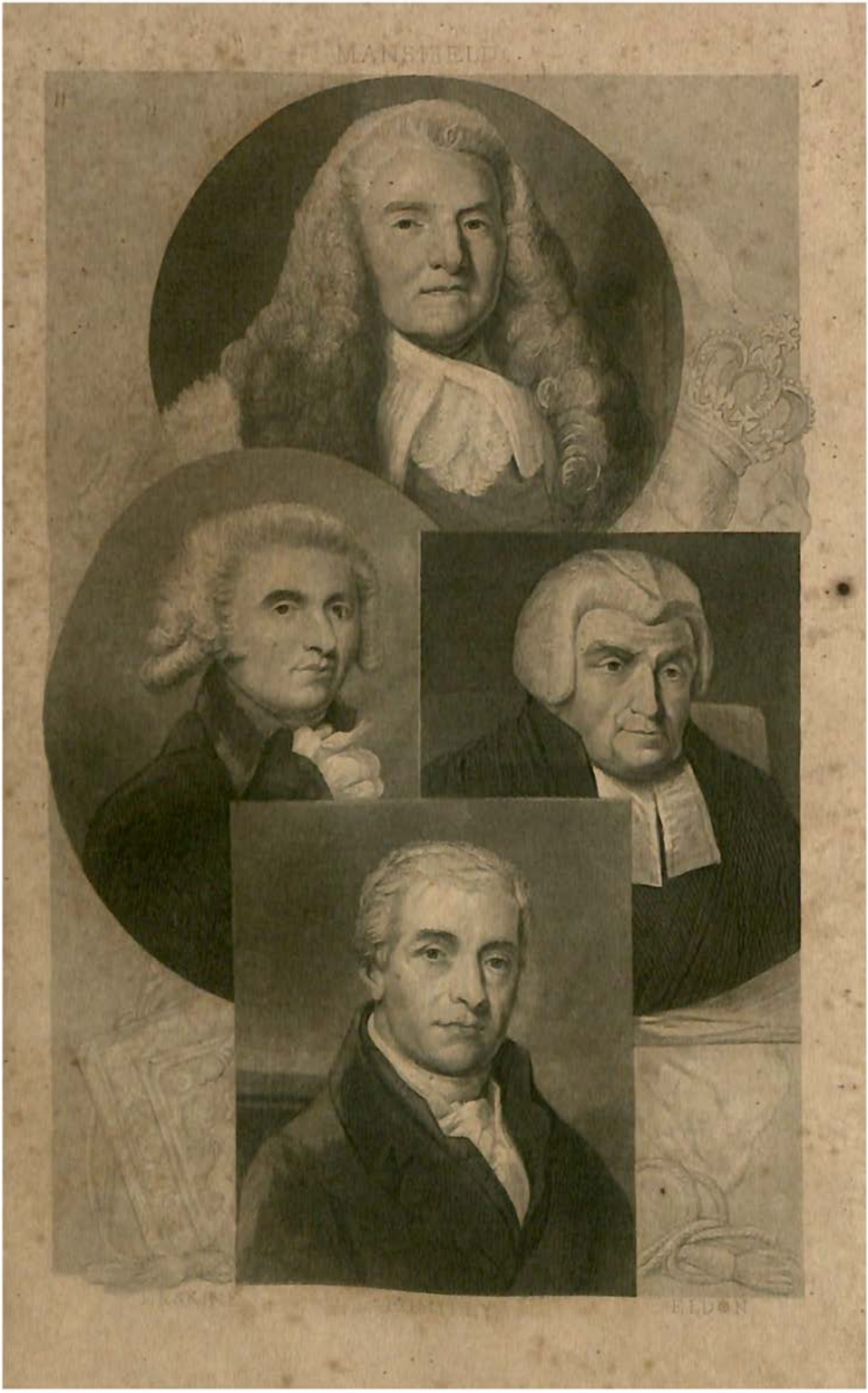
* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxix. col. 1517.

in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes" alluded to. M. Chauvelin, the French minister plenipotentiary, upon the appearance of this Proclamation, addressed a note to lord Grenville, in which he says, "If certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the legislative body, to the king, and to his ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and which, whenever it became known, would be universally condemned in France. Independently of these principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due consideration of the true interests of the French nation, that she ought to desire the interior tranquillity, the continuance and the force of the constitution, of a country which she already looks upon as her natural ally?" Arguing thus, at considerable length, M. Chauvelin requests that the Secretary of State would communicate his note to both Houses of Parliament previous to their deliberations upon the proposed Address. Lord Grenville administered a dignified rebuke to the French ambassador: "The deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the communications which his majesty shall be pleased to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom, are objects absolutely foreign to all diplomatic correspondence, and upon which it is impossible for me to enter into any discussion whatever with the ministers of other courts." It is clear that there could not be any very cordial communication between the French envoy and the English ministers, although the forms of diplomatic courtesy were sedulously preserved. On the 18th of June, M. Chauvelin, having previously announced the commencement of hostilities, invites his Britannic majesty, in the name of the king of the French, to use his influence, "to stop, whilst it is still time, the progress of a confederacy, which equally affects the peace, the liberty, and the happiness of Europe." Lord Grenville, coldly answering this impassioned exhortation, says, "the same sentiments which have determined the king not to take part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and the independence of other sovereigns, and especially those of the allies; and his majesty has thought that, in the existing circumstances of the war now begun, the intervention of his counsels, or of his good offices, cannot be of use, unless they should be desired by all the parties interested."

The Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of June. In his speech on closing the Session the king said, "I have seen with great concern the commencement of hostilities in several parts of Europe." The war between Turkey and Russia was at an end. The disciplined armies of Austria had scarcely yet come into conflict with the raw levies of France. But if there were evils to be dreaded from the progress of democratic opinions, there was no less a danger to be apprehended from the daring ambition of absolute monarchs. There was another Revolution upon which those who feared anarchy but loved liberty looked without apprehension. In 1791 a great change had been effected in the government of Poland. The tyranny of the nobles had been abolished, with the entire concurrence of the king and the people. A new Constitution

was established, which provided for an hereditary Crown; a Legislature consisting of two Houses; equality of civil rights; a complete toleration of all religions. This rational system was offensive to the despotic empress of Russia; and she sent an army into Poland to destroy the new liberties of the country. The king of Poland appealed to his ally the king of Prussia, to send him that aid which Prussia was bound by treaty to render. The tricky court of Berlin replied that the change in the government of Poland had cancelled the obligation. Such were the Allies to whom Great Britain had to look, if she was to take any hostile proceedings against the revolutionary government of France. Some enthusiasts in England thought, in the summer of 1792, that it would be a wise policy for our country to make common cause with France in resisting the despots who were crushing the independence of Poland. Against this scheme, Burke was indignant. He applauded the Revolution of Poland; he hated that of France. He lamented the fate of Poland; but he would sooner let affairs there take their course than enter "into a confederacy with the horror, turpitude, baseness, and wickedness of the French Revolution." * Things in Poland did take their course. The crimes of monarchy were at hand to make men careful not to exhaust all their indignation against the crimes of democracy.

* "Correspondence of Burke," vol. iii. p. 472.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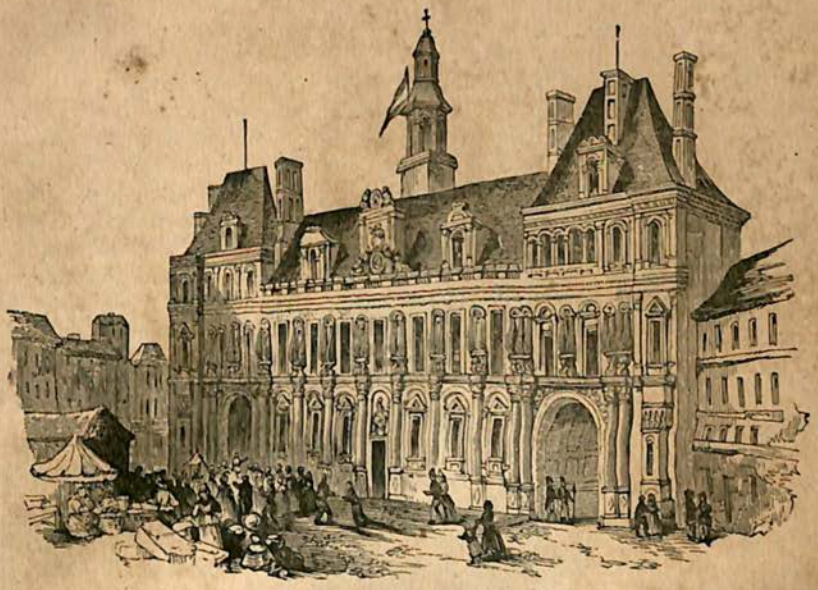


Hôtel de Ville

CHAPTER XII.

Deaths of the emperor and the king of Sweden—The Girondin Ministry—French declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia—The Veto—Roland, and two other ministers, dismissed—Insurrection of the 20th of June—The Country in Danger proclaimed—Arrival of the Marsellais—Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick—Insurrection of the 10th of August—Attack on the Tuileries—Royal family removed to the Temple—Longwy taken by the Prussians—The Massacres of September.

In March, 1792, two of the crowned heads of Europe who were meditating upon the great question of a war with France were removed by death. Leopold, the emperor, died on the 1st of March. He was succeeded as king of Hungary and Bohemia by his eldest son, Francis II. Gustavus III., king of Sweden, was shot on the 6th of March, at a masked ball, by Ankerstroem, one of the nobles whose privileges he had abrogated in 1789 to establish his own absolute power. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of thirteen years of age. The successor of Leopold was not yet elected emperor, when France declared war against him on the 20th of April. This declaration was the act of the Girondin ministry. The administration which represented the Feuillans, or party of the Constitution, of whom Bertrand de Moleville and Narbonne were leading members and political rivals, was broken up by

its own differences. The king had now to look to a party of greater power in the Assembly, but more likely to precipitate the Court into dangerous measures. On the 15th of March, general Dumouriez was offered the ministry of Foreign Affairs. By the 23d a new administration was formed. Clavière was appointed minister of finance; and Roland de Platière was appointed minister of the interior; he, of whom Arthur Young writes, in 1789, as "a gentleman somewhat advanced in life, who has a young and beautiful wife," and who then filled the humble office of inspector of fabrics at Lyons.* Roland has now brought to Paris his beautiful wife, the daughter of an engraver, to aid him in weightier matters than such as he discussed with the English agriculturist. The grave man goes to Court in plain black, with strings in his shoes; and the horrified master of the ceremonies points to him; and ejaculates to Dumouriez—"Quoi!—no buckles!" "All is lost," said the sarcastic general. Madame Roland, an enthusiastic republican, was admitted to the political meetings of her husband and the men of his party.

Madame Roland.

Dumont says of these committees of ministers and the principal Girondins, at which he was sometimes present and saw Madame Roland, "a woman might appear there somewhat out of place, but she took no part in the discussions. She sat at her own writing-table, busy over letters, but she lost not a word of what was going forward." Madame Roland, he says, "who had an easy and energetic style, was too fond of writing, and engaged her husband in writing unceasingly. It was the ministry of writers."† He conceived that they were too much occupied in labouring to influence the opinions of the moment, not to sacrifice too much to a vulgar policy, instead of rising above the dominion of prejudices. Brissot, equally active in the Assembly, and in the Jacobins' Club, was the head of a faction sufficiently powerful to make himself feared by the ministry. Brissot had strong pre-

* "Travels in France," 4to., p. 262.
† "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 276—p. 278.

judices against the king. Clavière had become convinced that the king had pure intentions; and he was detailing, at a meeting at Roland's house, an instance of the knowledge of the Constitution which Louis possessed. Brissot and Clavière had angry words; Roland was afraid to be just towards a king whose minister he was. The dispute was made up by the address of Roland's wife.* Such small circumstances indicate the internal influences that bore upon the actions of the ministry. The war with Austria was forced on by Brissot. It was opposed by all except Dumouriez. "Brissot," says Dumont, "was so violent, that I have heard him propose to disguise some soldiers as Austrian hussars, who should make a night attack upon some French villages; and, upon receiving this news, he would have made a motion for war, and would have carried an enthusiastic decree." † Dumouriez says in his Memoirs, that, as minister, he endeavoured to prevent the war; but that he would have considered the nation cowardly, and unworthy of liberty, if it had longer submitted to the hostile insolence of the Court of Vienna. The king was against the war; although he formally proposed to the Legislative Assembly a declaration of hostilities. The Assembly resolved on war the same night. The plan of the campaign was formed by Dumouriez. Its chief object was to advance into the Low Countries, where it was expected that the French armies would be welcomed by a population which disliked the rule of Austria. The first movements were not successful. La Fayette commanded the army of the centre; Rochambeau, the army of the north; two of his officers, Dillon and Biron, were to move forward with divisions, as a feint, whilst La Fayette made the real advance. The troops under Dillon and Biron were each seized with a panic, at the sight of the Austrian troops. La Fayette, hearing of these misfortunes, suspended his own march.

There was a crisis at hand of more importance in the future destinies of France and of Europe, than the first failure of the French arms in the advance from the frontier. The possibility of the Constitution of 1791 working in times of trial was to be demonstrated. That Constitution gave the king an absolute veto upon the acts of the Legislature. He had the sole power of nominating his ministers; and of appointing to every civil and military office. He had a large and uncontrolled revenue. That he was subject to popular insult was perhaps in some degree an unavoidable consequence of the anomaly that had been established between the power of the crown and the spirit of the people. A democratic legislature; a monarch, with the power in his own person of overturning their decrees, without any reference to ministerial responsibility. A ministry forced upon him by a party in the Assembly inclined towards a republic; an army upon the frontier, stimulated by the princes of the blood and a body of noble emigrants, in secret communication with him, and resolved to undo the work of the Revolution. The king had too much power of a dangerous nature; and too little power for the preservation of his own authority, in connection with the vast changes which had cut away all the natural props of the monarchy. The Girondin ministry, represented by Roland, were disposed to coerce the king but not to adopt the extreme opinions of the Jacobins. Dumouriez, a man of vivacity

* "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau," p. 284. † *Ibid.* p. 288.

and pleasure, was not at ease with his formal associate of the shoe-strings; who went straight forward to the assertion of his own opinions without intrigue or compromise. The king hesitated about his sanction of a decree of the Assembly for the deportation of the priests who had not taken the oath; and of another decree for the formation of a large camp of federates near Paris. Roland, or rather his wife, had drawn up a letter of advice to the king, which he proposed that all the ministers should sign. They declined to do so. Another letter was then drawn up by the enthusiastic lady, which was addressed by Roland to the king in his own name. It demanded, almost in a tone of menace, that the king should give his sanction to the two decrees about which he was deliberating. Dumouriez was asked by the king if he ought to endure this insult; and Dumouriez advised him to dismiss Roland and two other of the ministry. This was on the 13th of June. Roland went to the Assembly, and read his letter; and it was declared that the three dismissed ministers had the confidence of the country. The king resolved to sanction the decree for a camp near Paris, but not that for the deportation of the priests; and he prepared a letter to that effect to the Assembly, which he asked the remaining ministers to countersign. They refused, and were dismissed. Other ministers were appointed from the party of the Feuillans. They entered upon office on the 17th of June. On the 20th a popular demonstration of the most formidable nature showed where the power resided that would command an interpretation of the constitution according to its own will. Lamartine has truly said, "the first insurrections of the Revolution were the spontaneous impulses of the people. . . . . Public passion gave the signal, and chance commanded. When the Revolution was accomplished, and the Constitution had imposed legal order on each party, the insurrections of the people were no longer agitations, but plans. . . . . Amongst the citizens anarchy had disciplined itself, and its disorder was only external, for a secret influence animated and directed it unknown to itself." * In every quarter and section of Paris there were local leaders, who took their direction from the great agitators of the Clubs and of the Journals.

The 20th of June is the anniversary of the famous day of 1789, when the States-General in the Tennis Court swore never to separate. In the faubourg Saint Antoine, and in the faubourg Saint Marceau, there are great crowds assembled betimes in the morning. Their purpose ostensibly is to plant a tree of liberty, and to petition the Assembly about certain constitutional grievances. They have music; and tricolor streamers on pikes; and dainty emblems with inscriptions, such as a bull's heart pierced through, inscribed "Aristocrat's heart," and a pair of black breeches, with a label intimating that tyrants must tremble at the *sans-culottes*. The mob of armed men and armed women, led by Santerre, the brewer, have reached the Salle de Manége, to the number of eight thousand. They gain admittance, and a petition is read to the Assembly, the text of which is, that "blood shall flow, unless the tree of liberty which we are going to plant, shall flourish." They defile through the Hall, singing "*ça ira*," and shouting "Down with the Veto." The crowd had prodigiously increased when the petitioners came out. The tree is

* "Girondins," book xvi.

planted; and then, the king must be visited in his palace. The king is expected to come out, but he does not think proper to appear. The Place de Carrousel and the gardens of the Tuileries are filled with this wild rabble; and at last they are battering the doors of the palace with axes and crow-bars. The king goes to the Council Chamber, where some of the ministers are assembled, and three grenadiers are also there. The rabble are in the adjoining room, when the king orders the door of the Council Chamber to be opened. "Sire, be not afraid," said a grenadier to the king. "Put your hand upon my heart; it is tranquil," replied the king. He asks the mob what they want? His courage somewhat awes them. They then cry "Remove Veto." "This is not the time to do so, nor is this the way to ask it," says the brave Louis. A petition was then read to him by Legendre, a butcher. For four hours did this extraordinary scene continue. The red cap was handed to the king, and he put it on. A drunken man, with a bottle in his hand, offered the king to drink, and he drank "To the Nation." Pétion, the mayor of Paris, at last arrived. He had been very slow in coming, and was not very alert when

Pétion.

he did come. To his connivance is attributed the disgrace of this outrage; and it is even alleged that the agitators hoped that the king would fall by the hands of the mob. The education of the people in the school of bloodshed was not yet sufficiently advanced for this scheme to be realised. The king at last got out of the hands of the rude crowd, vociferous but not ferocious, though many were intoxicated. They marched through the apartments of the palace. They passed before the queen and her son, who stood behind a table, protected by some grenadiers; they placed a red cap on the little boy's head. The sun has set before the palace is cleared; but no lives have been sacrificed. The firmness of the king has saved him. Mr. Huskisson, in a letter of the 29th of June, pays a just tribute to the deportment of the king: "His admirable presence of mind during this long and painful scene, have gained him many friends among the better order of people, and seem to have added much to the affection of the army. His friends only wish that his courage was of a more active nature. In his conduct he seems to be supported by the spirit of a martyr, the tranquillity of a good conscience, the

resignation of a Christian; but nothing hitherto shows the enterprising courage and intrepidity of a hero, capable of great and astonishing resolutions, executed with that energy which strikes his enemies with terror, and ensures success to his cause." *

General La Fayette, on hearing of the atrocious proceedings of the 20th of June, arrived in Paris from his army, and appeared at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, to urge an inquiry into the cause of these excesses, and to denounce their instigators. La Fayette was received with honour at the Assembly. The Jacobins in their Club called for his impeachment. He left Paris in time to preserve his own life; and the Jacobins had only the satisfaction of burning him in effigy. On the frontier there is inaction in the German army and in the French. But events are ripening. On the 11th of July, it is resolved by the Assembly to proclaim "The Country in Danger." On the 14th of July there is a festival in the Champ de Mars—another feast of the Federation, when the king again takes the National oath. But there are no shouts for the king. The popular idol of this day is the mayor of Paris, Pétion, who had been suspended from his functions by the Directory of the Department, for his conduct on the 20th of June. "Pétion, or death," is the shout at the Feast of the Federation. On the 22nd of July there is a civic procession to proclaim "The country in danger." The ominous words are inscribed on an enormous flag which is fixed on the Pont-Neuf; and a similar flag is hoisted on the top of the Hôtel de Ville. Each section is headed by its municipal officer; and he is ready to inscribe the names of those who will go forth to fight for their country. Young men of Paris are going out to do battle against the foreigner. Other young men are marching into Paris, from the extrême south of France—how called together no one knows, with what object few can guess. They have travelled six hundred miles from the city of Marseilles, singing that stirring song of the Marseillais, whose chorus was an expression of the patriotism which exalted and the ferocity which disgraced the revolution.

"Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons! qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons!"

These five hundred tired and travel-stained patriots have entered Paris on the 30th of July, and on that same day are fighting with the National Guards. Who has brought these men of the south to Paris; and why are they fighting with the troops who are there to defend the constitution? A few days will show. They began their career in Paris by taking part with a rabble against the sworn defenders of the law. Barbaroux, a fierce republican, who came from Marseilles, had gone out from the city to meet these adventurers, and he was fully competent to give them their instructions in the duty of patriots.

The capital of France was in this state of excitement, when a proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, dated the 25th of July, from Coblentz, arrived; and was immediately printed in the journals. It is impossible to read this declaration without regarding it either as an act of insanity; or an atrocious attempt to render the most violent instruments of the Revolution more desperate, and thus to deliver up France, torn to pieces by civil war, an easy prey

* "Speeches of Huskisson," vol. i.—Introductory Memoir.

to those who would partition her, as they had partitioned Poland. We must regard it as the madness of the emigrant princes and their besotted followers. The declaration of the duke of Brunswick, in the name of the emperor and the king of Prussia, disavows any intention to make conquests, or to meddle with the internal government of France ; but announces that they intend to deliver the king and the royal family from their captivity, and to enable him to make such convocations as he shall judge proper, and to labour in security for the welfare of his subjects. The National Guards are called upon to

The Duke of Brunswick.

preserve order till the arrival of the troops of the emperor and the king of Prussia ; those who fight against these troops shall be punished as rebels to their king : the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, are held responsible, under pain of losing their heads, for all crimes which they shall suffer to take place ; if the inhabitants of the towns and villages shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, they shall be punished according to the most rigorous rules of war. The inhabitants of Paris are called upon to submit instantly to their king ; " to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to him and to all royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns ; their imperial and royal majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the National Guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern ; and their imperial and royal majesties further declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuileries be forced or insulted —if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done, to their majesties the king, the queen, and the royal family—if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction."

There was a Scotch physician of some celebrity, Dr. John Moore, the author of a popular novel, " Zeluco," travelling, in company with the earl of Lauderdale, to Paris, at the beginning of August, 1792. He saw the

peasants dancing on a green plain, without any fear of Austrians or Prussians. He met people in carriages flying from Paris, who seemed to be impressed with a notion that some important event was about to happen; and one person said that a conspiracy would break out on the 9th of the month. Moore and his friend laughed at the notion of a conspiracy so well known beforehand.* There were certainly grounds for apprehension; for Pétion had been, on the 3rd of August, at the bar of the Assembly, at the head of a deputation of the Commune, who demanded the deposition of the king. Louis had sent a message to the Assembly, disavowing the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, and expressing doubts of its authenticity. The friends of the king were in serious alarm, and were concerting measures for his flight. The Court apprehended an attack upon the Tuileries, and were bribing Danton, Santerre, and others of the Jacobin faction, to avert the dreaded insurrection. The decrees of the Assembly were wholly in the power of the Girondins, who desired a Republic, and of the Mountain, who would not scruple to destroy the Monarchy whatever amount of butchery the attempt might involve. The real hope of the Court was that the duke of Brunswick might be able to reach Paris before any serious outbreak. There were men there who had the absolute command of a fierce multitude, who would do their bidding with terrible promptitude, whilst the allied troops were slowly advancing towards the French frontier. There was an insurrectional Committee ready to strike a blow whenever the time came. The faubourg Saint Marceau, and the faubourg Saint Antoine, and the Club of the Cordeliers, were their three centres of action. On the evening of the 9th of August, Danton was crying "to arms." The Marseillais

Danton. From a Portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux.

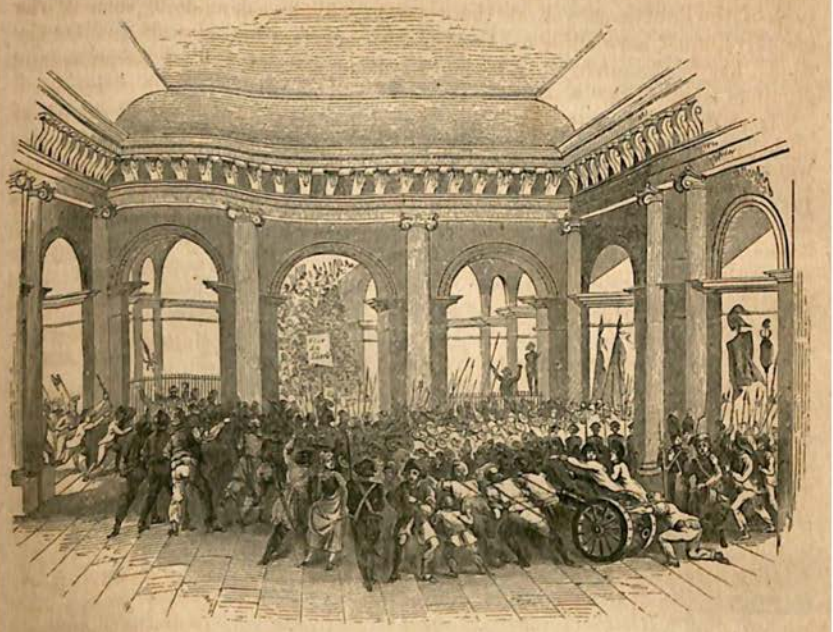
were forming their ranks at the entrance of that Club of which Danton was the leading mover. The Sections assembled, and sent their Commissioners to assume the municipal authority at the Hôtel de Ville, and to displace the Council. At midnight the tocsin was sounded in every quarter. Drums were beating to arms. The National Guards were rushing to the posts of their several departments. The streets were illuminated by order of the

* "Journal of 1792," August 6.

municipality. It was a night of terror; but it was more especially terrible to the king and the royal family, who had heard the dreadful note of the tocsin. They were surrounded by faithful servants who were resolved to share their perils. The National Guards, who were bound to defend the palace, had assembled very slowly at the beat of the rappel. The protection of the king almost wholly fell upon the Swiss guards. Mandat, a constitutionalist, then commanding the National Guard, made the best preparations in his power to resist an attack. He had given orders to the gendarmerie about the Tuileries, and at the Hôtel de Ville; which had the sanction of the Council that had been superseded in the night by the Sections. Mandat was sent for to the Hôtel de Ville, as the morning was approaching. He went, and was murdered. There was now no plan of defence for the Tuileries, which, as the sun rose, was surrounded by thousands of insurgents. There were National Guards sufficient to have driven back the multitude, if the men had done the duty to which they had been sworn. The king was advised to go into the courts and the gardens of the palace and review these troops. He was received with cries of "Down with the Veto." Battalions left their positions, and joined the assailants in the Place du Carrousel. The Assembly had hastily met during the night; and continued their sitting whilst this hurricane of popular violence was raging around them. They were debating some unimportant law, having no reference to the crisis whose development they were quietly expecting. The king and his family were strongly urged to place themselves under the protection of the Assembly. They at last consented; and when he entered the Hall, Louis said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime. I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, gentlemen." It was then about nine o'clock.

The royal family were placed in the logographe, a small box used by the reporters. Soon the sound of cannon was heard. No orders were given when the king left the palace. It was known to the leaders of the insurgents that he was gone. The great crime, the murder of the royal family, was averted by their leaving the Tuileries; but a wholesale butchery was to manifest the devotion to liberty and patriotism of the mobs of Paris. All the troops in the courts were received into the interior of the palace. Domestics, male and female; gentlemen of the household; priests; National Guards and Swiss guards, filled the apartments. The king had told the Assembly that he had given orders to the Swiss not to fire. The insurgents had obtained possession of the Cour Royale, and they called to the Swiss at the windows to deliver up the palace. The Swiss manifested no disposition to fire upon them. Some of the most furious of the rabble reached the vestibule. There was a barricade at the foot of the stairs; and when it was attempted to be forced, a combat began. The insurgents were driven back. The Swiss, boldly headed by two officers, marched into the court, and drove out the crowd. They even penetrated to the Carrousel, and the multitude fled before them. Had they been supported by the gendarmerie, the contest might have ended differently. An order had been sent by the king that the Swiss should repair to the Assembly. About two hundred marched thither, fired upon by the National Guards. The insurgents returned to the attack; obtained possession of the vestibule; rushed up the staircase, which was defended by eighty Swiss against the furious Marseillais and the pikemen of

the faubourgs, till not a Swiss on the staircase was left alive. A general massacre of all within the walls, with the exception of the women, then ensued. A large number of the Swiss and National Guards, who were in the courts, attempted to make their way to the Hall of the Assembly, but the Swiss were all picked out and murdered.



Attack on the Tuileries, August 10.

By eleven o'clock on that morning of the 10th of August, the Tuileries was in the complete possession of the rabble of Paris; the greater number of its inmates slaughtered; all its luxurious furniture, and works of art, broken to pieces or burnt. For sixteen hours the king sat in the logographe; and he and his family witnessed those proceedings of the Assembly which accomplished another Revolution. There was no constitutional party here now to control the Jacobins and the Girondins. A body of citizens appeared at the bar to demand the deposition of the king. Vergniaud retired; and soon returned with the draft of a decree by which a National Convention was to be formed; and the chief of the Executive was suspended, until the decision of the Convention. The decree was put and adopted without discussion. A new ministry was appointed. Roland, Clavière, and Servan resumed their offices. Danton was chosen minister of justice. The Assembly sate till one o'clock in the morning, the royal family continuing in their close box all the time. A lodging was provided for them. The next morning they were brought back to the Assembly, to listen to other decrees of their masters. Dr. Moore has described the scene, at which he was present: "From the place in which I sat I could not see the king, but I had a full view of the queen, and the rest of the royal family. Her beauty is gone.

No wonder. She seemed to listen with an undisturbed air to the speakers. Sometimes she whispered to her sister-in-law, and to Madame de Lamballe; once or twice she stood up, and, leaning forward, surveyed every part of the hall. A person near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the most provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made by some of the members, must have appeared to her highly insolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying situation seemed full of propriety and dignified composure." *

It was decided on that day that the king and the royal family should be placed in the Temple—an isolated building surrounded by high walls. On the 13th of August they were removed to this, their prison abode. On the 17th of August, earl Gower, the British ambassador at Paris, was recalled by

Louis XVI. conveyed Prisoner to the Temple. Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française.

a letter from Mr. Dundas. A writer of great ability says, "In defiance of every maxim of sound policy, the English ambassador was recalled from France, simply because that country chose to do away with the monarchy, and substitute a republic in its place." † This strong opinion seems scarcely to be borne out by the letter of recall, signed by Mr. Dundas, which is referred to, but not quoted. "Under the present circumstances, as it appears that the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his Most Christian Majesty, the credential, under which your excellency has hitherto acted, can be no longer available. And his majesty judges it proper, on this account, as well as most conformable to the principles of neutrality which his majesty has hitherto observed, that you should no longer remain at Paris. It is therefore his majesty's pleasure that you should quit it, and repair to England, as soon as you conveniently can, after procuring the necessary

* "Journal," August 11.
† Buckle—"History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 440.

passports. In any conversation which you may have occasion to hold previous to your departure, you will take care to make your language conformable to the sentiments which are now conveyed to you; and you will particularly take every opportunity of expressing that, while his majesty intends strictly to adhere to the principles of neutrality, with respect to the settlement of the internal government of France, he, at the same time, considers it as no deviation from those principles, to manifest, by all the means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties, and their royal family; and he earnestly and anxiously hopes that they will, at least, be secure from any acts of violence, which could not fail to produce one universal sentiment of indignation through every country of Europe." *

La Fayette, with his army, was at Sedan, when the Assembly, after the 10th of August, sent three commissioners to him with their decrees. La Fayette caused them to be arrested; refused to administer to his troops the new oath which the Assembly had sent; and called upon his soldiers to repeat the constitutional oath of obedience to the laws and the king. On the 17th, when the conduct of La Fayette was known in Paris, he was declared a traitor by the Assembly, and ordered to be arrested. New commissioners arrived at Sedan. The troops of La Fayette, beloved as he was by them, began to waver; and he thought it prudent to quit his camp with a few of his officers, and pass into the Austrian Netherlands. The Austrians arrested him and his companions, as prisoners of war; and for five years he was confined in a castle in Moravia. The Prussian army continued to advance. On the 22nd of August, Longwy was taken by them, after a cannonade of a few hours. They blockaded Thionville; and were advancing towards Verdun. Paris was in great alarm; and it was decreed that thirty thousand men should be immediately raised and equipped, and go forth to meet the invader. The patriotic spirit of the people was honourably excited by the orators of the Assembly. Let the entrenchments round Paris be completed by the voluntary labour of every citizen. Let a deputation of the members of the Assembly go daily to stimulate the labourers and work with them. So spake the fervid eloquence of Vergniaud. But there were other orators who were preparing the ferocious bands whom they swayed, for deeds of bloodshed surpassing in atrocity any which had gone before. On the 29th of August, by order of the Commune, every citizen was required to be in his house by six o'clock in the evening. The barriers were closed. What was to happen no one knew. At one o'clock in the morning, patrols of pikemen were going through the streets, for the purpose of entering every house, under the pretence of searching for arms, but really to carry off every suspected royalist. That night the prisons were filled with hundreds of destined victims.

On the morning of the 2nd of September, Paris was in great agitation. It was reported that Verdun had been betrayed by treachery into the hands of the Prussians. Some who mixed with the crowd shook their heads, saying, that the traitors within Paris were most to be feared. At noon, the people were startled by the firing of cannon, and by the peals of the tocsin.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 143.

Danton, in the morning sitting of the Assembly, said that the commissioners of the Commune were going to invite the citizens by solemn proclamation, to go forth to the defence of their country. "The tocsin which is about to sound is not a signal of alarm; it is the signal for attacking the enemies of our country: in order to vanquish them we require audacity, audacity, audacity." The Assembly sate again in the evening. Municipal officers came to announce that the people had massacred two hundred priests at the church Des Carmes; that crowds were collected round the prisons, and were about to force the doors. The Assembly appointed five of their members to exhort the people to tranquillity. They returned to say that the darkness prevented them seeing what was going on. Many in that Assembly knew too well what was going on. Throughout that night of horror, the city which, two hundred and twenty years before, had been polluted by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at the command of a crowned bigot, in the name of Religion, was again polluted by a massacre as frightful, at the command of furious demagogues, in the name of Liberty. The priests in the prison of Des Carmes, once a convent, were those who had been sentenced to deportation. They comprised many of the higher clergy. The greater number of the National Guards and gendarmerie, who were posted at this prison, were removed by order in the morning. The crowd of assassins, headed by Cerat, a friend of Danton and of Marat, forced the gates. They immediately commenced shooting down the priests in the garden and the cloisters; stabbed them in their cells; or brought them out of the church, one by one, to be murdered. For four hours this terrible work went on, till no victim remained. One hundred and ninety bodies were carried away in carts. At the prison of the Abbaye, after a few murders in the afternoon, a general slaughter took place as night drew on. A tribunal was formed, for the pretended trial of the prisoners. The trial consisted of identifying the prisoners by the entries on the prison rolls. That ceremony performed, the president, Maillard, the leader of the women to Versailles on the 5th of October, cried, "To the prison of La Force,"—and the man thus condemned to death by a word, well understood, which sealed his fate, was butchered as he passed to the outer court. Thirty-eight Swiss in the prison were put to death without this ceremony. The murderers became tired as the night advanced; but they were again ready for their business in the morning. Billaud de Varennes, one of the functionaries of the municipality, arrived at the Abbaye, and presented to each of the executioners twenty-four livres as his reward. "Think you," said a baker's boy, "that I have only earned twenty-four livres? I have killed more than forty myself." The Commune paid the dissatisfied scoundrels their miserable wages. To detail the atrocities which were committed at every prison throughout Paris, would be to make our readers as sick at heart as we are in reading of them in the narratives of eye witnesses. The prison of La Force was the scene of a crime that history cannot shrink from recording. That prison contained the persons belonging to the Court, whose lives were spared on the 10th of August. Amongst the ladies there was the Princesse de Lamballe, the intimate friend of the queen. When the slaughter of the prisoners had been nearly completed, this beautiful woman was brought before the tribunal, where two members of the Commune presided. The judges required her to swear love of equality and

liberty, and hatred to the king and queen. "I cannot swear the last," she said; "it is not in my heart." She was led to the door. When she saw the heaps of dead she uttered a cry of agony. She was instantly struck down. Her head was placed upon a pike; and was borne in horrid procession to the Temple. By the permission of the commissioners of the Commune, the ruffians were allowed to exhibit the head before the windows of the royal apartments. The king saw it; but his presence of mind saved the queen from beholding this terrible spectacle.

Of the origin of these dreadful transactions there can be no doubt. They were not the result of any spontaneous popular movement. They were organized by the Commune, acting by their committee of surveillance, and pressed on by Danton and Marat. They were tolerated by the Assembly. No attempt was made to repress them by the commanding officers of the National Guards. A circular was issued on the 3rd of September, in the name of the Commune of Paris, to inform the departments that a portion of the ferocious conspirators detained in the prisons had been put death by the people—"acts of justice which appeared to them indispensable." The massacre was defended as the subversion of a conspiracy. The massacre, it was maintained, prevented Paris being given up to foreign troops. Dumont, writing to Romilly from lord Lansdown's seat at Bowood, says: "I walk about half the day in a state of the greatest agitation, from the impossibility of remaining still, with my thoughts fixed upon all the sad events which are flowing from a source whence we had flattered ourselves human happiness was to arise." But he then turns to other thoughts as a counterpoise:—that the Parisians "in their last paroxysm murdered the prisoners, because a report had been spread that, at the approach of the duke of Brunswick, the prisons would be thrown open, and that the prisoners would purchase their pardon by serving their king, and turning against the patriots." To regard these massacres as the spontaneous movement of a people infuriated by the approach of a foreign army, is a belief professed by one of the most recent writers on the French Revolution: "A great cry is uttered, 'The enemy is at Verdun.' Then, seized with the fatal idea that liberty is entering upon its agony; that the torch lifted up by France to illuminate the world, is about to be snatched from her, to be extinguished under the hoofs of the Prussian horse; that the Revolution has no quarter to expect; that justice is dying, that justice is dead—the spirits of men yield to a black delirium, which formalizes itself, O eternal grief, in these three words of blood, 'To the Prisons.'"* Another eloquent Frenchman,—as experienced as he from whom we have quoted in the immediate causes of revolutionary action,—thus speaks of the September massacres: "After having for a long time cast the blame upon a sudden and irresistible movement of the people, attempts have been made to confine the crime to the smallest possible number of actors. History has no such complaisance: the idea belongs to Marat, the acceptance and responsibility to Danton, the execution to the council of surveillance, accompliceship to many, and dastardly tolerance to almost all. . . . . In Marat it was a thirst for blood, the last remedy of a society which he wished to destroy, in order to

* Louis Blanc—"Histoire de la Révolution," tome x. p. 4.

resuscitate it according to his dream. In the mind of Danton it was a master-stroke of policy; he consented to become the phenomenon of the revolutionary movement. He believed that his deeds, purified by the intention, and by time, would lose their character of ferocity; that his name would become greater when he had quitted the stage; and that he would be regarded as the colossus of the Revolution. It has since been said that he saved his country and the Revolution by these murders, and that our victories are their excuses. But those who assert this are deceived, as he was. A people who need to be intoxicated with blood to urge them to defend their country, is a nation of villains, and not a nation of heroes. Heroism is the reverse of assassination; and as for the Revolution its *prestige* was in its justice and morality; and this massacre sullied it in the eyes of all Europe." *

The massacres of September produced a signal change in the feelings of the British nation towards the French. "How," says Romilly, "could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation as to think them capable of liberty? wretches who, after all their professions and boasts about liberty, and patriotism, and courage, and dying, and after taking oath after oath, in the very moment when their country is invaded and an enemy is marching through it unresisted, employ whole days in murdering women, and priests, and prisoners! . . . . We might as well think of establishing a republic of tigers in some forest of Africa as of maintaining a free government among such monsters."† Those who had conceived the greatest hopes of the French Revolution—whose confidence in its chief agents had been little diminished by the previous excesses of the mobs of Paris—shrank appalled from the contemplation of the incidents of the 2nd of September. Fox writes to lord Holland, "I had just made up my mind to the events of the 10th of August, when the horrid accounts of the 2nd of this month arrived; and I really considered the horrors of that day and night as the most heart-breaking event that ever happened to those who, like me, are fundamentally and unalterably attached to the true cause."‡ These fearful scenes had, however, their apologists in some of the extreme admirers of revolutionary principles. Writing to his son, Burke adverts to "the abominable palliation of these horrors in our abominable newspaper."§ He regards the scenes of September as a fresh argument to reprove the government for their apparent indifference to these momentous occurrences: "I know it is the opinion of his majesty's ministers, that the new principles may be encouraged, and even triumph over every interior and exterior resistance, and may even overturn other states as they have that of France, without any sort of danger of their extending, in their consequences to this kingdom."‖ Thus he writes to lord Grenville on the 19th of September, "talking and reasoning as if a perpetual and organized anarchy had been a possible thing."¶ In this September the English ministry were not moved by the admonitions of Burke, or the terrors of the possessors

* Lamartine—"Girondins," liv. xxiv. c. 22.
† "Memoirs"—Letter to Dumont, Sept. 10.
‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 370.
§ This newspaper was probably the "Morning Chronicle," then the property of James Perry.
‖ "Correspondence of Burke," vol. iv. p. 7.
¶ Coleridge—"Friend," Essay I.

of property, to think of departing from their safe course of neutrality, even though they had recalled the ambassador to the king of France. But, having a strong conviction how the domination of the Jacobins would end, they resolved that the accustomed English hospitality to political fugitives should not be granted to regicides. Lord Grenville's letter to his brother, of the 20th of September, is interesting*: "The detail of the late events at Paris is so horrible, that I do not like to let my mind dwell upon them; and yet I fear that scene of shocking and savage barbarity is very far from its close. I deliver this day to the Imperial and Neapolitan Ministers a note, with the formal assurance that in case of the murder of the king or queen, the persons guilty of that crime shall not be allowed any asylum in the king's dominions. Opinions are a little doubtful about the best means of giving effect to this promise, should the case arise. Our lawyers seem clear, and Blackstone expressly asserts, that the king may prevent any alien from coming into the kingdom, or remaining there. But this power has so rarely been used, that it may, perhaps, be better to have a special Act of Parliament applying to this case. This, however, relates only to the mode. I imagine everybody will think the thing itself right, and some people seem to hope it may prevent the commission of the crime in question. In this hope I am not very sanguine."

Prison of the Abbaye.

* "Court &c., of George III." vol. ii. p. 217.

Dumouriez.

CHAPTER XIII.

Opening of the French National Convention—The Prussian Army enters France—Battle of Valmy—Retreat of the Prussians—Battle of Jemappes—Opening of the British Parliament—Disposition of the British Government—Aggressive Decrees of the French Convention—Mr. Pitt's continued desire for non-intervention—Louis XVI. and his family prisoners in the Temple—Louis brought to the bar of the Convention—Anxiety for his fate in the British Parliament—Political manœuvres of lord Loughborough—The Whig party broken up, and Loughborough made Chancellor—Influence of this negotiation on Mr. Pitt's policy—State of public opinion in England—Trial of Thomas Paine for libel, as the author of the "Rights of Man"—The Alien Bill—Correspondence with Chauvelin—Trial of the king of France—Votes of the Convention—Execution of the king—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Note on the Dagger-Scene.

THE National Convention held its first sitting on the 22nd of September. This body, which had been elected throughout France amidst the excitement of a foreign invasion, and chiefly under the influence of the Jacobins and Girondins, was not likely to number many men of those moderate opinions which had been denominated "constitutional." It comprised—with many who were mere provincial adventurers—some of the more distinguished of the two former assemblies; new men of repute in science and letters; magistrates; lawyers;—an assembly not wanting in capacity for judicious legislation, if the violent members had not been certain to overpower the peaceable. The leading Jacobins ruled the Convention through the mobs of Paris. They were a contemptible minority; but they usurped the power of a majority in consequence of the pusillanimity of those who shrank with horror from their atrocities, but who were afraid to endanger their own popularity by checking the ferocity of the people. Such were the Girondins. Opposed to bloodshed, they tolerated the massacres of September. They had dreams of a pure republican form of government to arise out of this whirlwind of anarchy; and they suffered the Jacobins, who cared only to destroy, to

dominate in the Convention. The system of the terrorists, such as Marat, was that of inspiring fear in the quiet and industrious portions of the community, and they especially sought to strike terror into all who clung, however doubtfully, to monarchical institutions. The first act of the Convention was to decree the abolition of royalty. The proposition was a surprise to the Girondins, but they accepted it, not to be behind the Jacobins. On the 22nd of September France was declared to be a Republic.

On this day, when the final blow was given to that power which for centuries in France had been deemed identical with the State, the Convention received the news of a conflict at Valmy, where the old troops of the monarchy, mixed with the raw levies of the Revolution, came into conflict with the trained veterans of a military despotism, and stopped the advance of the invaders. The Prussians had met with little impediment in their march towards Paris. They entered France on the 30th of July. Longwy had been taken at the end of August; and Verdun capitulated on the 2nd of September. There was now no fortified place to arrest their advance to the capital. But there was ground through which the Prussians must march, which would form a strong point of defence—the wooded ridge of the Argonne forest. Dumouriez put his finger on this spot on the map, and exclaimed, "This is the Thermopylæ of France." He out-generalled the duke of Brunswick. On the 4th of September, by a rapid movement in the very face of the enemy, the bold and adroit Frenchman had occupied the main passes of the forest, and had taken up a station of great strength at Grandpré. The weather was extremely wet. The country was flooded. The invading army was without food, and the peasantry were hostile. Nevertheless, Dumouriez had his own troubles; and not the least was that some of his troops shrunk from facing the legions that Frederick the Great had led to victory. But by exhortation and menace he inspired the timid with some ardour, and his recruits were rallied at the cry of "*Vive la patrie!*" For many days there was a constant struggle to force these passes. The French held their ground. At length, on the 19th, Kellermann, who had seen service, and who attained high

Louis Philippe, Duc de Chartres.

command in the wars of Napoleon, arrived with fifteen thousand men, and on the 20th fought that battle known as the Cannonade of Valmy. This was the

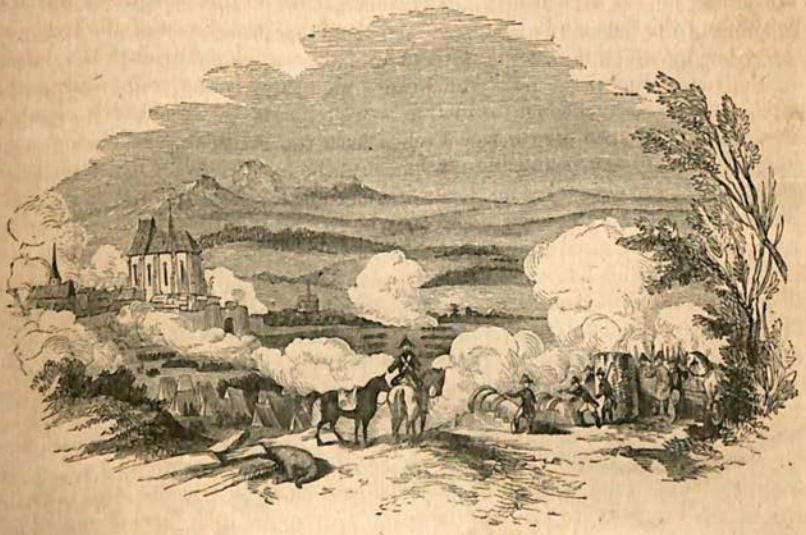
first battle of the Revolution, and it was of sufficient importance to confer upon Kellermann his title of Duc de Valmy after he had fought many battles of the Empire. In that conflict Goethe was serving in the German army, with the contingent of Weimar. There also, on the side of the revolutionists, was the son of the duke of Orleans, who will be king of the French long after his father has lost his head as the despised Egalité. The battle lasted twelve hours. After this event, some extraordinary negotiations went on between the French and Prussian head-quarters; and on the 30th of September the duke of Brunswick broke up his camp, and commenced a retreat. It is now known that a secret agreement was concluded between the duke and Dumouriez; by which it was determined that the Prussians, having given up Longwy and Verdun, should retreat unmolested, assurances having been required that the royal family of France should be saved, and an effort be made to restore the constitutional monarchy. Danton was a party to this negotiation. He desired to free France from the Prussian invaders; but he was powerless, certainly unwilling, to perform the conditions for which the king of Prussia had in decency stipulated. Dumouriez was cautious not to promise too much, but simply to raise hopes that he had no ability to fulfil. The loss of the invaders by disease was very great. Their disgrace was irreparable.

The army which had entered France was composed of thirty-four thousand Prussians, ten thousand Austrians, and eight thousand French emigrants. This force appeared to the European powers more than sufficient to march to Paris and restore the monarchy. The British government was entirely in ignorance of the true cause which produced the retreat. Lord Grenville writes on the 11th of October to the marquis of Buckingham, "We are all much disappointed with the result of the great expectations that had been formed from the duke of Brunswick's campaign. According to the best accounts I can get of a business involved in almost inextricable mystery, the flux, which had got into his camp, was the true cause of his retreat." * The extravagance of "the great expectations that had been formed," may be collected from a letter of Addington: "Verdun is taken—that we are sure of; and the duke of Brunswick will soon strike a stroke which, as lord Chatham said, will resound through the universe." The sanguine Speaker then quotes some lines, beginning "France shall perish;" and holds, with Burke, that "the bulk of the nation will, like madmen, be cured when they have been subdued." † The resolution of the English government not to join the coalition against France, has been ascribed as a reason for the king of Prussia not following up the bold resolves of the duke of Brunswick's proclamation. Another reason has been alleged; that the disappointment of the hope of a rapid march to Paris determined the rapacious Prussian monarch to return home, that he might look after a proper share in the partition of Poland. The predominant selfishness and jealousies of the two heads of the coalition were at this time a sufficient reason for the ministry of Mr. Pitt taking no part in their policy. "I bless God," says Lord Grenville, "that we had the wit to keep ourselves out of the glorious enterprize of the combined armies; and that we were not tempted by the hope of sharing the spoils in the division of France, nor by the prospect of crushing all democratical principles

* "Court, &c. of George III." vol. ii. p. 219.
† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 95.

all over the world at one blow." * Burke was, of course, indignant at this result of a French invasion: "The united military glory of Europe has suffered a stain never to be effaced." † Fox, as might have been expected, was in raptures: "No public event, not excepting Saratoga and York Town, ever happened that gave me so much delight. . . . The defeat of great armies of invaders always gives me the greatest satisfaction in reading history, from Xerxes' time downwards." ‡

Whilst the armies of the coalition were retreating from the Meuse, the Austrian army, under the archduke Albert, was besieging Lille. On the



Bombardment of Lille, Oct. 1792.

29th of September the trenches were opened against the ramparted city, which had so stoutly resisted the assaults of Marlborough and Eugene. For a week was Lille bombarded. There was a garrison of ten thousand ardent republicans; and a population that was not terrified whilst their poor dwellings were in flames. Lille holds out. Dumouriez is approaching. The Austrians raise the siege on the 7th of October; and France sings another song of triumph. The French then become the invaders. A hundred thousand men, of whom Dumouriez has the chief command, enter Flanders. On the 6th of November was fought the battle of Jemappes. The cannonade of Valmy, as the name expresses, was scarcely to be called a battle, for the armies cannonaded each other from opposite heights divided by a river, and never came to close action. Jemappes was the scene of a terrific struggle. Of the composition of the French army there are discordant accounts. Lamartine represents the cavalry as consisting of old soldiers, but says that the mass was composed of volunteers, inexperienced in manœuvre. Bona-

* "Court, &c. of George III." p. 222.
† "Correspondence of Burke," vol. iv. p. 20.
‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 372.

parte at St. Helena said that the Republic was not saved by the recruits and volunteers, but by the old troops of the monarchy. At any rate, there was enthusiasm opposed to disciplined steadiness, and novel tactics were matched against established routine. The Austrians were beaten, although the loss on the side of the French was more severe than that of their enemy. In this battle Louis Philippe gained those laurels which were still fresh when he was chosen to fill the throne from which the other branch of the Bourbons was ejected. Dumouriez was soon in possession of all the important fortresses of the Low Countries, the Austrians retreating before him. On the 30th of November he was in Antwerp. The consequence of this occupation was the opening of the Scheldt to the ships of all nations, in defiance of the treaty of Münster, by which the navigation of that river was closed against the people of the Low Countries. The French arms were equally successful against the Sardinian government, and Savoy was then annexed to the French republic as the department of Mont Blanc.

Jemappes.

The Session of Parliament was opened by proclamation on the 13th of December. The term fixed for the opening had been anticipated by three weeks. In the king's speech it was stated that the industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts has appeared to proceed from a design for the subversion of all order and government; "and this design has evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries." His majesty went on to say, that he had observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference with regard to the internal affairs of France; but that the indications of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, had rendered it necessary to look to means of internal defence, and to take steps for augmenting the naval and military forces. "These exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace." There was an animated

debate on the Address; but Mr. Pitt was not present, having accepted the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and waiting his re-election. It has been assumed by some, although the word "peace" was mentioned in the royal speech, that immediate war was the only thought of the government, as it was clearly the principle upon which Burke would have acted. But the proximate cause of the outbreak of that tremendous war with France which, with a very brief interval, lasted from 1793 to 1815, is a matter of historical interest, upon which opinions are still divided. The action of the English government may, however, be traced step by step. Five weeks before the meeting of parliament, lord Grenville wrote to his brother, with reference to the position of the states of Europe as regarded France; "we shall do nothing;" and he even looks to "the repeal of taxes," as one of the surest means of "keeping the country quiet." * On the 13th of November, Mr. Pitt, writing to the marquis of Stafford, says, "Perhaps some opening may arise which may enable us to contribute to the termination of the war between different powers in Europe, leaving France, which I believe is the best way, to arrange its own internal affairs as it can." † Of seditious movements Grenville, in the middle of November, is of opinion as to what his brother mentions "of overt acts," that "those things are all much exaggerated, where they are not wholly groundless. . . . . It is not unnatural, nor is it an unfavourable symptom, that people who are thoroughly frightened, as the body of landed gentlemen in this country are, should exaggerate these stories as they pass from one mouth to another." ‡ The alarm of others as well as the landed gentlemen, who were "thoroughly frightened" at the existence of violent democratic opinions in our own country, however exaggerated was the supposed prevalence of these opinions, left the government a very insufficient freedom of will for the maintenance of that idea of neutrality which Mr. Pitt clung to, almost against hope. It has been most truly said, "he was a lover of peace and freedom, driven by a stress against which it was hardly possible for any will or intellect to struggle, out of the course to which his inclinations pointed, and for which his abilities and acquirements fitted him, and forced into a policy repugnant to his feelings and unsuited to his talents." §

The proceedings of the French Convention with regard to other governments were almost sufficient to have diverted any British minister from his policy of neutrality, at the time when Pitt was still of opinion that it was best to leave France "to arrange its own internal affairs as it can." On the 19th of November, the National Convention, immediately on the excitement produced by the victory of Jemappes, passed a decree, in the name of the French nation, declaring that they would grant succour and fraternity to every people who desire to obtain liberty. Mr. Pitt, looking back in 1800 upon the events which had led to the war, adverting to this decree of the republicans, says, "they had, by all their language, as well as by their example, shown what they understood to be freedom. They had sealed their principles by the deposition of their sovereign; they had applied them to

* "Court, &c. of George III." vol. ii. p. 224.
† "Diaries, &c. of George Rose," p. 115.
‡ "Court of George III." vol. ii. p. 228.
§ Macaulay—"Biography of Pitt."

England by inviting and encouraging the addresses of seditious and traitorous societies." * At the end of November, delegates from the English "Society for Constitutional Information" appeared at the bar of the French Convention, and said, "after the example given by France, Revolutions will become easy." The President of the Convention replied in a style of grandiloquence: "The shades of Hampden and Sydney hover over your heads; and the moment without doubt approaches when the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain. Generous Republicans! your appearance among us prepares a subject for history." In the subsequent correspondence between M. Chauvelin and lord Grenville, it was affirmed that "the French nation absolutely reject the idea of that false interpretation of the decree of the 19th of November, by which it might be supposed that the French Republic should favour insurrections, or excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever." But the acts of the French Convention were opposed to its professions. They had unquestionably the notion of extending their principles by force. On the 15th of December, 1792, they issued a decree which required the French generals to proclaim, wherever they marched, the abolition of all existing feudal and manorial rights; to declare the sovereignty of the people, and the suppression of all existing authorities; to convoke the people for the establishment of a provisional government; and to place all public property under the safeguard of the French Republic. The French armies were then marching into Holland, a country at peace with France. This outrageous decree proclaimed that those who would not accept liberty and equality, and would attempt to preserve princes or privileged orders, should not be entitled to the distinction which France had justly established between government and people, and ought to be treated according to the rigour of war and conquest. With this disposition to foreign aggression, it is not surprising that lord Grenville, in his correspondence with M. Chauvelin, remonstrates against the opening of the Scheldt, and says, "This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." † This firm but not hostile language is employed by the English Secretary of State, on the 31st of December; but on the 29th of that month—as the world was first apprised by Mr. Pitt himself in 1800,—his views were still eminently pacific. The king of France had been accused at the bar of the Convention; had made his defence by counsel; and Europe was waiting in alarm for the almost inevitable sentence of those who were thirsting for his blood, when the prime minister of this country, in answer to an application from Russia, stated to that power "the line of conduct to be followed previous to the commencement of hostilities, and with a view if possible to avert them."

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 1307. † *Ibid.*, vol. xxxiv. col. 255.

The answer to Russia was communicated to Prussia. This line of conduct, wholly opposed to a principle of interference, even at this moment of fearful suspense, was thus defined: "It appears on the whole, subject, however, to future consideration and discussion with the other powers, that the most advisable step to be taken would be, that sufficient explanation should be had with the powers at war with France, in order to enable those not hitherto engaged in the war to propose to that country terms of peace. That these terms should be, the withdrawing their armies within the limits of the French territory; the abandoning their conquests; the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nation; and the giving, in some unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles, or to excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different powers of Europe, who should be parties to this measure, might engage to abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in their internal affairs, and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with the existing powers in that country, with whom such a treaty may be concluded. If, on the result of this proposal so made by the powers acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or being accepted should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view; and it may be to be considered, whether, in such case, they might not reasonably look to some indemnity for the expenses and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed."* Mr. Pitt, after he had read this document, asked, "whether it is possible to conceive any measure to be adopted in the situation in which we then stood, which could more evidently demonstrate our desire, after repeated provocations, to preserve peace, on any terms consistent with our safety; or whether any sentiment could now be suggested which would have more plainly marked our moderation, forbearance, and sincerity." Mr. Fox, on that occasion, asked, "whether if this paper had been communicated to Paris at the end of the year 1792, instead of Petersburgh, it would not have been productive of most seasonable benefits to mankind; and, informing the French in time of the means by which they might have secured the mediation of Great Britain, have not only avoided the rupture with this country, but have also restored general peace to the continent?" Mr. Wilberforce was aware of the existence of this communication. He writes, in 1801, "I never was so earnest with Mr. Pitt on any other occasion, as I was in my entreaties before the war broke out, that he would declare openly in the House of Commons that he had been, and then was, negotiating this treaty."† We may perhaps be able to discover that there were complications of party at home, which had a material influence on Mr. Pitt's policy, at the precise time when, individually, he was clinging to the principle of non-intervention. But it will be necessary, before touching upon this question, to take a brief retrospect of the progress of the French Revolution from the period of the decree of the 22nd of September, by which France became a Republic.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 1314.
† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 3.

The king and his family were close prisoners in the Temple from the 13th of August. Their apartments were in the gloomy tower of this ancient house of the Templars. The furniture was scanty; the accommodations mean and wretched. The garden, in which they were allowed to walk at stated times, attended by guards, was rank with vegetation, and not in the trim state represented in French engravings. At first the royal family were not treated very harshly, though they were watched by brutal jailors, and had no communication with the outer world. All the ladies of the court had

The Temple.

been dismissed. They had no personal attendants, with the exception of Cléry, who acted as the king's valet. He was a republican, but became touched with pity for the sorrows of the captives, and was a faithful friend to the unhappy monarch. After the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, the Convention permitted the Commune to make the position of the patient Louis and the proud Marie Antoinette as miserable as vulgar tyranny could render it. At the end of September, six municipal officers had entered the tower in which the king and the queen, their two children, and the king's sister, had supped together, and read an order of the Commune which decreed that the king should have no further intercourse with his family. They were separated in an agony of grief, and the king was told the next morning that he must not expect even to see his children again. That night the queen passed in unavailing lamentation. But she had taken her resolution. She refused all food; declaring that she would perish with hunger if the Commune persisted in separating her from her husband. The order of separation was then partially revoked. Louis and his family were allowed to meet three

times a day at their meals; but a municipal guard was always present, and prevented any confidential words from passing between them. They were forbidden to speak low, or in a foreign language. As the crisis approached which was contemplated as the final blow to Royalty, precautions, rendered wholly unnecessary by the religious principles and the calm temper of the king, were taken by the Commune to prevent any attempt at self-destruction. Every cutting instrument was taken away from the prisoners. The queen and princesses could no longer repair the small stock of clothing with which they were provided. They were deprived of pen, ink, and paper. The little boy could no longer be taught by his father to write. Persecuted as they were, the king showed no impatience under his captivity. The queen was not without hope that the pity which she had inspired in two of the officers of the Commune might lead to some measures for the escape of herself and those she loved from the fate which seemed impending over them.

The proceedings of the Convention were regularly published in the newspapers of Paris; whose contents were bawled out by the hawkers under the windows of the Temple. Cléry could thus obtain some vague information, which he communicated to Louis. On the 6th of November, a report was made to the Convention by an extraordinary committee, "on the crimes of the late king." On the 7th a Committee of Legislation also reported on the question whether Louis can be tried for the crimes which he is charged with having committed on the Constitutional throne; and by whom must he be tried. The Report concluded by proposing, as the basis of a decree, that Louis could be tried, and that he should be tried by the National Convention. This question was debated through the month of November, some maintaining the inviolability of the king; others pitying him; but scarcely one daring to defend him; for the belief was general that he was the cause of the invasion of France. It was decreed that the trial should proceed; and on the 6th of December, a Committee was appointed to prepare an act of impeachment against Louis Capet. It was then resolved that he should be brought to the bar of the Convention to hear this document read, and to answer questions which should be put to him by the President. He was then to be remanded; and, after being finally heard, the Convention would pronounce on his fate, by calling on each member separately for his vote, which should be given openly at the tribune. On the 11th of December the king was brought to the Convention in the carriage of Chambon, the mayor of Paris. He was there allowed a seat. The impeachment was read; the questions, many of them very vague, were answered with precision by the king whereever they were capable of an answer. He was not always candid; but the principle of English law that an accused person should not be called upon to criminate himself will be his justification with us. He asked for counsel, and after some debate the request was granted. There was an interval of fifteen days before the king again appeared at the bar of the Convention. The amount of commiseration which Louis was likely to receive from his judges was sufficiently manifested by a decree of the 15th of December, that he should only see his children, and that the children should not see their mother or their aunt, till his final examination. This was to isolate the poor king from all his family, for he would not separate the children from their mother.

Lord Malmesbury enters in his Diary of the 22nd of December, "Fox carried me home; he expressed great horror at the *décret* of the 15th December, issued by the National Convention." The feelings of men of all parties in the British Parliament as to the probable issue of the trial of Louis XVI., had been strongly expressed in proceedings on the 20th of December. On the 15th a motion of Mr. Fox, for an Address to the king to send a minister to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of executive government in France, had been rejected without a division, after a debate in which the passions of those who took very different views of the French Revolution had been called forth in a way which showed how unlikely was the question of war or peace to be treated with calmness. But there was little hesitation, five days later, as to the expression of an unanimous opinion of the public sentiment of England on the situation of the king of France and of his family. Mr. Sheridan said, "there was not one man of any description or party who did not deprecate, and who would not deplore, the fate of those persecuted and unfortunate victims, should the apprehended catastrophe take place." He desired some expression of opinion that might avert the calamity that seemed impending, by producing an influence on the public mind of France. Mr. Burke held such an expression to be useless. "The king was in the custody of assassins, who were both his accusers and his judges, and his destruction was inevitable." Mr. Fox asked whether some mode could not be proposed for obtaining an unanimous vote of both Houses, conveying the unanimous opinion of the country? Mr. Pitt moved that there be laid on the table a copy of the instructions of the 17th of August, signifying to earl Gower that he should quit Paris. That document was presented on the 21st, when Mr. Pitt said that he had at first thought that the best mode in which the sense of that House could be expressed would be by a vote, which might reach the whole of Europe, and whose influence might extend to France; but he had since doubted whether a strong and indignant expression of opinion might not hurry on the commission of the very crime which it was the intention of that House to exert their influence to prevent. He thought it would be a better mode simply to allow the paper to remain on the table of the House. That paper, our readers will have seen, expressed an earnest and anxious hope that the royal family would be secure from any acts of violence.* Windham, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke, expressed their concurrence in the proposal; and no one was more hearty than Fox in "condemning, from the beginning to the end, the proceedings against the unfortunate king of France." But this expression of the unanimous feeling of the British Parliament evinced no determination on the one side, no apprehension on the other, that war would be inevitable if the dreaded event took place,—"that dreadful and final consummation which could not fail to excite universal horror and indignation,"—to use the words in which Mr. Pitt expressed this general opinion. But horror and indignation at acts affecting the domestic condition of another nation are no reasons for going to war. An armament was proposed; but an increase of the navy did not necessarily imply war; and Fox declared that he was not willing that we should negotiate unarmed.

* *Ante*, p. 227.

On the 26th of December, an Alien Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords. On that occasion lord Loughborough, who, in February, 1792, was opposed to the ministry of Mr. Pitt, as he had been systematically opposed since the defeat of the Coalition, expressed himself in those terms of extreme violence against the contagion of French principles, which assumed that domestic insurrection, supported by foreign aid, was an evil to be averted even by stronger measures than this Bill for the regulation of Aliens. Lord Loughborough, in May, was ardently labouring to promote an union in administration between Pitt and Fox, in the hope that through this union he might obtain the Great Seal. That negotiation failed.* The intriguing and ambitious lawyer was now labouring, with equal ardour, to reach the same crowning glory of his professional life, by inducing a large number of the Whigs, and other remnants of the Coalition ministry, to separate from Fox, and support the administration of Pitt, assuming that the minister would be induced to depart from his system of non-intervention in the affairs of France, and at once adopt the war policy which Burke had advocated with such persevering vehemence. That policy would involve stringent measures against "the disaffected," under which convenient term the alarmists comprehended all those who advocated Parliamentary Reform, and who did not believe that improvement was identical with revolution. The course of lord Loughborough's political manœuvres has been made tolerably clear by the revelations of recent years. On the 20th of December, we find the duke of Portland, who was regarded as the head of the Whig party, decidedly against lord Loughborough taking the Great Seal.† This was a sufficient intimation that the time was not yet ripe for Loughborough carrying over a

Lord Loughborough.

large section of the Opposition to the support of the Government. On the 21st, on the second reading of the Alien Bill, the duke of Portland, although supporting that special measure, evinced no intention of giving a general support to the ministry of Mr. Pitt. On the 22nd, it was stated at a meeting of that portion of the Whigs who had adopted the opinions of Burke, that the duke was of opinion that it was not yet time to break with Fox; but

* *Ante*, p. 213. † Malmesbury—"Diaries," &c, vol. ii. p. 447.

Loughborough said that such conduct, inasmuch as they were considered to belong to the Portland party, involved all in the unpopularity and disgrace attending Fox's principles. Burke said that the duke of Portland was the instrument of Fox's schemes, or rather of Fox's abettors. Burke added, what was clearly a gross injustice to his old friend, that those abettors had made Fox believe that a government like ours was not a proper one for great talents to display themselves in, and that they had thus made him approve the French Revolution.* On the 23rd, Loughborough and his friends looked over the Red Book, and found that they could reckon upon a hundred and seven members of the House of Commons, and upon forty Peers, who would concur in their way of thinking, and unite in a representation to the duke of Portland, which would accomplish the desired separation from Fox and the few Whigs that he continued to influence.† Still the duke hesitated to declare himself, "from predilection and tenderness to Fox." On the 27th, Loughborough wrote to Malmesbury a bitter letter of complaint: "The duke of Portland hesitates whether he shall withdraw his countenance from a party formed by lord Lansdowne, Fox, and Grey, under the auspices of Chauvelin." ‡ On the 1st of January Loughborough was "eager for a further éclaircissement with the duke, and for laying the whole before the public." Malmesbury urged him to wait till after the recess. On the 10th, Loughborough showed Malmesbury a letter he had received from Dundas, pressing him to decide as to taking the Great Seal, "saying that he and Pitt had abstained renewing the subject for some time past, under the plea that there were still hopes of having the duke of Portland; that this was now considered to be at an end." § The astute politician was still disposed to wait till he could bring over the duke of Portland. On the 14th, Loughborough saw Dundas, and told him that if he then took the seals, he could only expect that forty or fifty members would join the government, and as many, now with the government, would probably go into opposition. On the 20th, Loughborough had an interview of an hour and a half with Pitt; and he reported to Malmesbury that war was a decided measure; that Pitt saw it was inevitable; and that the sooner it was begun the better, that we might possess ourselves of the French islands; that the nation was disposed for war; that we were in much greater forwardness than the French; that he had two millions in hand. ‖ Very shortly after this interview lord Loughborough had secured the adhesion of the duke of Portland; and the reward was the Great Seal, which the king delivered to him on the 28th of January. If it be necessary to seek any other immediate cause for the war, than the conviction of a political necessity arising out of the inevitable circumstances of the time, may we not believe that Mr. Pitt ceased to struggle with his own pacific inclinations, when he saw that a warlike policy would give him a greater majority in Parliament than any minister had previously commanded? On the 14th of January, he had not this assurance in the position which lord Loughborough held with the war party of the Whigs. On the 20th of January, lord Loughborough, in that interview of an hour and a half, was no doubt secure

* Malmesbury, vol. ii. p. 448. † *Ibid.*, p. 450. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

§ Malmesbury, p. 466. In the history of such transactions, exact dates are important. Lord Campbell gives the 4th as the date when Loughborough showed this letter.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

of his position, and came away with the news that "war was a decided measure." That Loughborough influenced the decision can scarcely be doubted. The king had forgiven the shifty lawyer's conduct on the Regency question, when he went further than any man in the advocacy of the absolute right of the prince of Wales to take the regal authority without restrictions. Loughborough had during a little year turned from an admirer of the French National Assembly to be the most zealous of Anti-Jacobins, and had thus made his peace at St. James's.

The vast majority which Pitt acquired by the accession of the Whigs who seceded from Fox was supported by the greater portion of the higher and middle classes, who had an extravagant dread of the possible progress of French principles, and not a sufficient dread of the certain evils of a contest that would entail the most fearful sacrifices upon the humbler classes, and thus produce real discontent in the place of theoretical disaffection. A very short time before this, the English ministers, although sufficiently alive to the danger of extreme democratic opinions, saw their best safety in the improvement of the condition of the mass of the people. Lord Grenville, at no more distant period than the 7th of November, wrote, in fraternal confidence, these remarkable words: "All my ambition is that I may at some time hereafter, when I am freed from all active concern in such a scene as this is, have the inexpressible satisfaction of being able to look back upon it, and to tell myself that I have contributed to keep my own country at least a little longer from sharing in all the evils of every sort that surround us. I am more and more convinced that this can only be done by keeping wholly and entirely aloof, and by watching much at home, but doing very little indeed; endeavouring to nurse up in the country a real determination to stand by the Constitution when it is attacked, as it most infallibly will be if these things go on; and, above all, trying to make the situation of the lower orders among us as good as it can be made." * It must have been perfectly clear to a minister as sagacious and experienced as Mr. Pitt, that the remarkable prosperity which had been built up during a peace of ten years would receive a severe shock from the cost of war,—that "the situation of the lower orders" would be materially deteriorated by the pressure of taxation and the interruption of industry. But Mr. Pitt thought that the contest would be soon decided; that revolutionary France would quickly exhaust her resources for war; that the opinions of the Revolution were only dangerous when they were "armed opinions." In the retrospect of the origin of the war which he took in 1800, when he maintained that he had laboured to the last "to preserve peace on any terms consistent with our safety," he confessed that the government had been too slow in anticipating the danger which was to be apprehended from France: "We might even then have seen, what facts have since but too incontestably proved, that nothing but vigorous and open hostility can afford complete and adequate security against revolutionary principles, while they retain a proportion of power sufficient to furnish the means of war." It was revolutionary principles in arms for conquest and rapine that statesmen dreaded. The terror of domestic revolution, through the contagion of revolutionary principles extending beyond a small band of

* "Court, &c. of George III." vol. ii. p. 224.

obscure republican enthusiasts, was a nightmare that only disturbed the sleep of alarmists—the "thoroughly frightened," who talked as familiarly of "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter," "as maids of thirteen do of puppy-dogs." These mistook "the meetings and idle rant of such sedition as shrank appalled from the sight of a constable, for the dire murmuring and strange consternation which precedes the storm or earthquake of national discord. . . . . The panic of property had been struck in the first instance for party purposes; and when it became general, its propagators caught it themselves, and ended in believing their own lie—even as the bulls in Borodale are said sometimes to run mad with the echo of their own bellowing." *

The state of public opinion in England, at the period immediately preceding the commencement of the war, may be traced in the proceedings of "Associations in support of the Constitution," and in counter resolutions of Societies such as those which Burke denounced in 1790. These Clubs, really insignificant in themselves, were raised into importance by the exaggerated alarm of the "friends of established law and peaceable society," and the inopportune enthusiasm of the advocates of parliamentary reform. At a meeting of "Gentlemen at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, November 20, 1792, John Reeves, Esq., in the chair," the danger was set forth "to which the public peace and order are exposed by the circulation of mischievous opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning." This circulation of dangerous doctrines was alleged to be mainly carried on by the industry of Clubs and Societies; and these opinions were held to be conveyed in the terms, "The Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament." On the 29th of November "The London Corresponding Society" published an Address, denouncing "the artifices of a late aristocratic association;" declaring that "whoever shall attribute to us the expressions of No King—No Parliament, or any design of invading the property of other men, is guilty of a wilful, an impudent, and a malicious falsehood;" but adding, "we admit and we declare that we are friends to Civil Liberty, and therefore to Natural Equality, both of which we consider as the Rights of Man." "The Society for Constitutional Information," on the 14th of December, resolved, that it disclaimed the idea of making any change by violence and public commotion; "but that it trusts to the good sense of the people, when they shall be fully enlightened on the subject, to procure, without disturbing the public tranquillity, an effectual and permanent reform." "The Society of the Friends of the People," at a meeting on the 15th of December, at which Samuel Whitbread took the chair, held themselves bound to persevere in their endeavours to accomplish, through the known channels of the Constitution, an effectual reform in the construction of the House of Commons; but remonstrating against the endeavours "to confound the idea of a reform in parliament with that of disaffection to the established constitution of this kingdom, as if a real representation of the Commons were incompatible with the security of a limited monarchy; as if the Crown were not safe with an honest unbiassed House of Commons; or as if the idea of such reform had been at all times reprobated, as it now is, by those who occupy the highest station of profit and confidence under the Crown." † At this period of

* Coleridge—"Friend," Essay I.

† For these various Resolutions, &c., see "Annual Register," 1793, pp. *155 to *170.

political heat the trial of Thomas Paine, upon a prosecution for libel in publishing "The Rights of Man," took place on the 18th of December. "No one," says lord Campbell, "could justly complain of it as an infringement of public liberty." The eloquent defence of Erskine did not influence the decision of the jury, who returned a verdict of Guilty, even without waiting for the Attorney-General to reply. This great advocate maintained as the basis of the liberty of the press, "that every man not intending to mislead, but seeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience, however erroneously, have dictated to him as a truth, may address himself to the universal reason of a whole nation, either upon the subject of government in general or upon that of our own particular country." But the argument was too broad for those excited times. The clamour against the republican had already condemned his book, in some respects very justly.

At the time of this trial Paine was a member of the National Convention of France; and he took occasion to write an insolent letter to the Attorney-General, in which he says, "The duty I am now engaged in is of too much importance to permit me to trouble myself about your prosecution . . . . . The time, sir, is becoming too serious to play with court prosecutions and sport with national rights. The terrible examples that have taken place here upon men who, less than a year ago, thought themselves as secure as any prosecuting judge, jury, or Attorney-General can now do in England, ought to have some weight with men in your situation." The Attorney-General read this letter to prove the authorship of the "Rights of Man," therein avowed by Paine; but it was quite clear that language such as this would ensure the conviction of this furious democrat, who thus threatened with the perils of the lamp-post and the guillotine those who were discharging their constitutional functions. Still less would a jury bear the scurrilous allusions to "Mr. Guelph and his profligate sons." The king was at this time almost universally popular. The mistakes of the early years of his reign, when he sought to govern by secret influence and favouritism, had been forgotten. The odium attached to his pertinacity in the American war had been chiefly confined to statesmen, who addressed themselves to the reason and justice of the few rather than to the passions of the many. The coalition had been distasteful to the people; and the young minister chosen by the king had fully vindicated the choice. The example of the court had produced a considerable reformation in the manners of the higher classes; open profligacy was a bar to royal favour. The simple tastes of the king; his domestic piety and decorum; his habitual attention to the best pursuits of a country gentleman in his love of agriculture; his unrestrained intercourse with his subjects on public occasions; even his garrulity and familiar curiosity, made him really an object of affectionate attachment to the great bulk of the people. They did not believe him to be a great king, but they knew him to be a good king, as far as they could judge of royal attributes. His narrow views upon large political questions, such as that of the admission of Roman Catholics to civil offices, were a recommendation to the majority. They probably had no very exalted opinion of his understanding; which, however, was far more acute than it has been the fashion to regard it in very recent years. They laughed at the ribaldry of Peter Pindar; but they were not convinced by it that their king was a simpleton—because he was exhibited at Whitbread's brewery

exclaiming, "What's this? hæ, hæ! what's that? what's this? what's that?" or, as hunting with "Parson Young," and when a fatal accident occurred to his reverend friend, ejaculating, "What, what? Young dead? Take him up, and put him home to bed;" or learning from the widow of Salthill the way to catch a mouse in a trap baited with toasted cheese; or taking shelter in a farm-kitchen, and making the discovery how the apple got into the dumpling. These were not the things to abate one jot of the king's popularity—perhaps they increased it. The sneer of Paine at the "capacity of Mr. Guelph" fell harmless. The king had courage and common sense—qualities perhaps more important to a constitutional sovereign than great intellectual refinement. The nation clung to him as representing the principles most antagonistic to French philosophy.

The Alien Bill, which had been read a third time in the House of Lords, was read a second time in the House of Commons on the 28th of December. On that occasion, Burke "mentioned the circumstance of three thousand daggers having been bespoke at Birmingham by an Englishman, of which seventy had been delivered. It was not ascertained how many of these were to be exported, and how many were intended for home consumption." The Parliamentary History then adds, "here Mr. Burke drew out a dagger which he had kept concealed, and with much vehemence of action threw it on the floor." The orator, pointing to the dagger, said, "This is what you are to gain with an alliance with France; wherever their principles are introduced their practice must follow." * The Alien Bill, after much debate, was passed on the 4th of January. On the 7th of that month, M. Chauvelin, styling himself "minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic," addressed a Note to lord Grenville, remonstrating against this Bill as a violation of the Treaty of Commerce, by which the subjects of the two nations had liberty to come and go freely and securely without licence or passport. He says, "It is thus that the British government has first chosen to break a treaty to which England owes a great part of its actual prosperity, burthensome to France." Lord Grenville returned the Note, stating that M. Chauvelin had therein assumed a character which is not acknowledged; he being in "no otherwise accredited to the king than in the name of his most Christian Majesty." In a letter of the 9th of January, lord Grenville stated, as he had stated in a private conversation of the 29th of November, that "he would not decline receiving non-official communications, which, without deciding the question either of the acknowledgment of the new government in France, or of receiving a minister accredited by her, might offer the means of removing the misunderstanding which already manifested itself between the two countries." On the 13th M. Chauvelin informed lord Grenville that the Executive Council, "to discard every reproach of having stopped, by the mere want of formality, a negotiation on the success of which the tranquillity of two great nations is depending, have taken the resolution of sending letters of credence to citizen Chauvelin, which would furnish him the means of treating in all the severity of diplomatic forms." He then enters into the various points of difference, and thus concludes: "If the explanations of France appear insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear a

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 189. See Note to this Chapter.

haughty language; if hostile preparations are continued in the English ports; after having exhausted every means to preserve peace, we will prepare for war." Lord Grenville, still protesting against the unofficial form of the notifications, answers that "a threat of declaring war against England, because she thinks proper to augment her forces, as well as a declaration of breaking a solemn treaty, because England has adopted, for her own security, precautions of the same nature as those which are already established in France,* could neither of them be considered in any other light than that of new offences, which, while they subsisted, would preclude all negotiation." On the 17th of January, M. Chauvelin required to be informed whether his Britannic majesty would receive his letters of credence; and on the 20th lord Grenville replied, "I am to inform you, that his majesty does not think fit, under the present circumstances, to receive those letters;" and he added that, "after what has just passed in France," M. Chauvelin must return, as a private person, to the general mass of foreigners in England. On the 17th of January a majority of the National Convention had pronounced for the death of the king of France. "What had just passed" in France was followed up on the 21st by the execution of Louis; and on the 24th M. Chauvelin was ordered, by direction of the king in council, to retire from this country within eight days.

We have to take up the thread of a painful narrative, from the time when the king went back to the Temple, after having appeared at the bar of the Convention on the 11th of December. He named two persons as his counsel —Target, and Tronchet. Target had a cowardly dread of accepting the offer, and his place was taken by the venerable Malesherbes, who volunteered his services to the President of the Convention, saying, that he had been twice called to the councils of Louis, when to serve him was an object of ambition; and that he owed him the same service when it might be considered dangerous. With Malesherbes and Tronchet, Desèze was associated. There was no impediment offered to their free consultations with the king; and a fortnight was spent in preparations for the defence. On the 26th of December, the king again appeared at the bar of the Convention. Desèze conducted the defence. His arguments were logical, but he was unequal to the task of moving an assembly that was swayed more by passion and sentiment than by reason. He said, "History will sit in judgment on your judgment, and the judgment of history will be the judgment of ages." His Will, which the suffering king made before this conclusion of a pretended trial the issue of which was pre-determined, is sufficient to fix the judgment of History as to the personal character of this kind-hearted king. In this solemn document, written on the 25th of December, he says, "I recommend my son, if he has the misfortune to become king, to remember that he owes himself to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; to forget all hatred and resentment, and especially that which relates to the misfortunes and sorrows I now undergo." It was with perfect consistency that Louis declared, in the few words that he addressed to the Convention after his counsel had spoken, that his greatest grief was that he should have been accused of wishing to

* The system of passports, introduced during the Revolution, was rigidly applied to British subjects, in contravention of the treaty of commerce.

shed the blood of his people—"I, who have exposed myself in order to avert the shedding of one drop of their blood." For many days there were stormy discussions in the Convention, on propositions made by those who were afraid to declare Louis not guilty, but who wished to save him without compromising themselves. One proposed that the Convention should decide on the guilt of Louis, but refer to the primary assemblies the question of his death or his exile. The principal Girondins, speaking through their great orator, Vergniaud, proposed that the judgment which should be pronounced upon Louis, whether that of Guilty or Not Guilty, should be submitted to the ratification of the people. It was at length decided that three questions should be determined by the vote at the tribune of each member, on the *appel nominal*,—the call by name. Upon the first question, put on the 15th of January, "Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the

Duc D'Orleans.

nation, and of attempts against the general security of the state," six hundred and eighty-three members replied, "Yes, Louis is guilty." On the second question, "Shall the decision of the Convention be submitted to the ratification of the people," two hundred and eighty-one voted for the appeal; four hundred and twenty-three against it. The third question, "What shall be the sentence," was to be decided on the morrow. The Convention during the whole of that day had been occupied with various preliminary discussions, especially upon a proposition that two-thirds of the votes should be necessary to constitute a majority. This proposition was rejected. It was eight o'clock in the evening before the voting commenced. The fearful ceremony which every member had to go through in the presence of a blood-thirsty audience in the galleries, and a furious mob without doors, was continued through the night, and was renewed the next day. The greater number of the Girondins, including Vergniaud, joined the Mountain, in voting for the sentence of Death. The one Prince of the blood, who had laid down his title to become a member of the Convention, voted for Death.* The one

* There are some interesting details of this crowning infamy of Egalité, in the Journal of her Life during the Revolution, by Mrs. Elliott, who had the misfortune of being the mistress of two

Englishman who had been elected a Deputy, Thomas Paine, voted for imprisonment, and banishment at the peace. It was late at night before the votes were counted. Three hundred and eighty-seven were for death without any condition; three hundred and thirty-four were for imprisonment on conditional death. Vergniaud, as President, declared the sentence. On the 19th the question was put, "Shall the execution of the sentence of Louis Capet be deferred?" For the suspension of the sentence there were three hundred and ten members; for its immediate execution there were three hundred and eighty. On the 20th of January, the decision of the Convention was officially communicated to Louis. He requested a delay of three days to prepare himself to appear before his Maker; he requested that he should have a priest, whose name he wrote down; he requested to see his family without witnesses, and that they might be allowed to leave France. The Convention refused the respite. They granted the priest, and the permission to see his family, which permission the brutal Commune refused to have carried out, causing them to be watched through a glass-door. They "authorized the Executive Council to reply to Louis, that the nation, always magnanimous and always just, would consider the situation of his family." We spare our readers the heart-rending details of the parting of the king with his wife, his son and daughter, and his sister. The priest that Louis had chosen was the Abbé Edgeworth. He attended the king to the scaffold; and as the knife of the guillotine was about to fall, exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." This tragedy was completed at ten o'clock of the morning of the 21st of January.

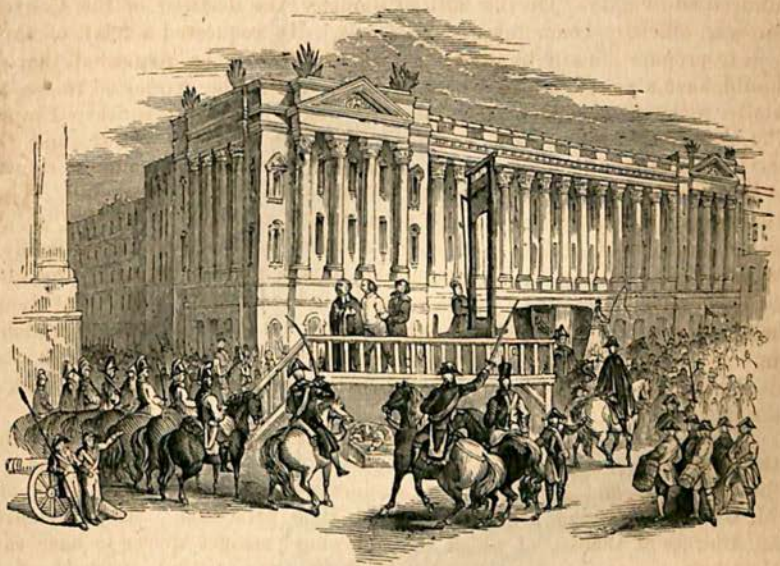
On the 28th of January a message was delivered to parliament, in which the king stated the indispensable necessity of a further augmentation of forces by sea and land, the correspondence between lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin having been at the same time presented. Mr. Pitt moved an Address of thanks, of which the following passages appear to have shut the door to any further negotiation with the existing government of France:—

"To offer to his Majesty our heartfelt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which must be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, and humanity; and as a striking and dreadful example of the effect of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

"To assure his Majesty, that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition, which, in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been openly manifested on the part of France,

of the most profligate men of Europe, the prince of Wales and the duke of Orleans. When this lady urged the duke to vote for the deliverance of his cousin, the king, he said sneeringly, "Certainly, and for my own death." He subsequently said, "he thought the king had been guilty by forfeiting his word to the nation, yet nothing should induce him to vote against him" on the final question of his sentence. After the execution of Louis, Mrs. Elliott said to the duke, "You, monseigneur, will die, like the poor king, on the scaffold." The duke replied, "The king has been tried, and he is no more. I could not prevent his death. . . . . I could not avoid doing what I have done. I am, perhaps, more to be pitied than you can form an idea of. I am more a slave of faction than anybody in France. But from this instant let us drop the subject."—pp. 117–118–127.

and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government: that, under the present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to these views as essential to the security of everything which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries."



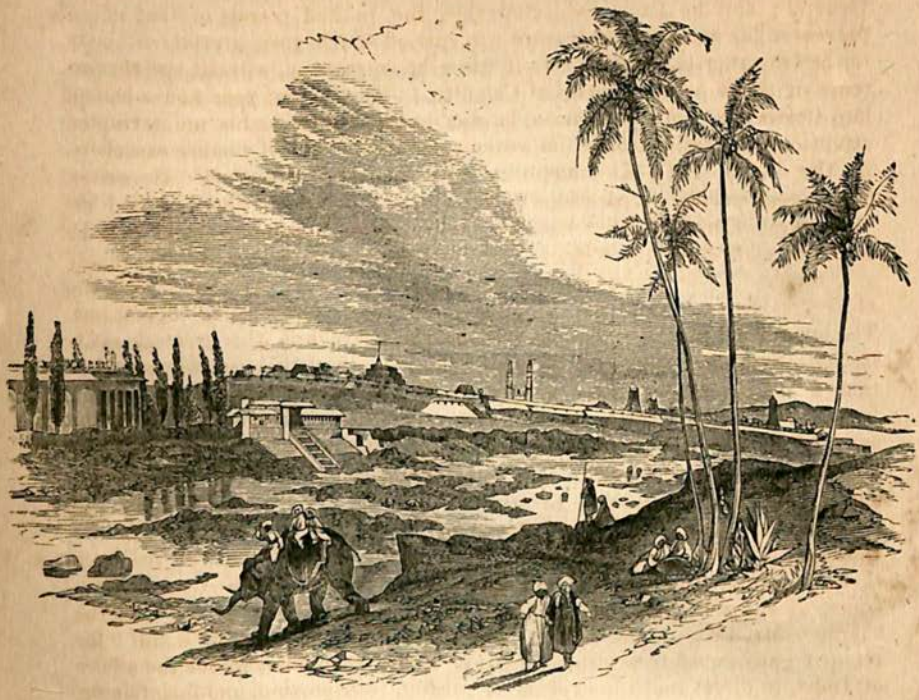
Execution of Louis XVI. From Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française.

NOTE ON THE DAGGER-SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Eldon, then Sir John Scott, in a letter to his brother of the 17th January, says, "You would hear of the dagger which Burke exhibited in the House of

Commons. I have got the pattern specimen of that order, which I shall keep as a great curiosity." In a note to Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, the inheritor of his title says, "On Lord Chancellor Eldon's death I found with his papers the dagger which, from conversations with him in the latter years of his life, I had understood to be the one thrown down by Burke in the House of Commons." But it appears that there were two specimens of this Birmingham manufacture, one of which was in the possession of Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, the son of Sir James Bland Burgess, who was at that period Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. The dagger-scene was the subject of a famous caricature by Gillray; and so characteristic a likeness of Burke was never produced as in this sketch.

This dagger-scene was in some respects a matter-of-fact affair—elevated into an approach to sublimity by the imagination of the orator, and, like many other sublime actions, treading close upon the ridiculous. It certainly, upon the face of the thing, does appear a proper subject for caricature, when the man upon whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed,—who at that moment exercised more influence over public opinion than any speaker or writer who ever existed,—a grave man well-stricken in years,—should draw out a dagger from his pocket, and cast it upon the floor of the House of Commons. The occurrence has been called "a stroke of oratorical acting;" but it appears, from the circumstantial account by Sir Charles Lamb, that Burke's possession of the dagger was an accidental occurrence, and that the "acting" was at any rate unpremeditated. This dagger, "a foot long in the blade, and about five inches in the handle, of coarse workmanship, and might serve either as a dagger or a pike-head," according to Sir Charles Lamb, "was sent to a manufacturer at Birmingham, as a pattern, with an order to make a large quantity like it. At that time the order seemed so suspicious, that, instead of executing it, he came to London and called on my father at the Secretary of State's office, to inform him of it, and ask his advice; and he left the pattern with him. Just after, Mr. Burke called, on his way to the House of Commons; and upon my father mentioning the thing to him, borrowed the dagger, to show in the House. They walked down to the House together; and when Mr. Burke had made his speech, my father took the dagger again, and kept it as a curiosity."



Seringapatam.

CHAPTER XIV.

Retrospect of Indian Affairs from 1785—Lord Cornwallis Governor-General—Declaratory Bill—War with Tippoo—Retreat of Cornwallis in 1790—Capture of Seringapatam in 1791—Peace with Tippoo—The French West India Islands—Retrospect of Discoveries in the Pacific—Otaheite—New Zealand—New South Wales—Canada—Military and Naval Establishments of Great Britain—France declares War.

It is desirable at this point, when our country was about to enter upon a war which developed events of unexampled interest, to take a brief view of some circumstances which may explain her position, without interruption to the progress of the general narrative of her history.

Let us first take up the thread of Indian affairs at the point at which we left them at the close of the administration of Hastings in 1785.

The India Bill of Mr. Pitt, while it gave the Governor-General of Calcutta supreme authority over the other two Presidencies, restricted him from com-

mencing hostilities against any native prince, or from taking certain proceedings likely to lead to hostilities, without the express permission of the Court of Directors. In 1786 lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General; and he having objected that the limited powers of that officer prevented his efficiency, a measure was carried which gave greater authority to the Governor-General to act, in cases of emergency, without the concurrence of the Supreme Council of Calcutta. For the first year and a-half of lord Cornwallis's administration, he was enabled to give his uninterrupted attention to administrative improvements, in matters of finance especially. At the end of 1787, his tranquillity was somewhat disturbed. He writes, "The great warlike preparations of Tippoo, and the reports transmitted me by sir Arch. Campbell that he meditated an attack upon me, and that he would be assisted by the French, made me tremble for my plans of economy and reform. The storm is, however, blown over."* At this period the Governor-General was not very well prepared for warlike operations. The appearance of the native troops, he said, gave him the greatest satisfaction; but "the Company's European troops are such miserable wretches that I am ashamed to acknowledge them for countrymen: out of the six battalions I do not think that I could complete one that would be fit for service." In the temporary apprehension of a war with France in 1787, the British government desired to send four regiments to India in the Company's ships. The alarm soon came to an end; but the government at home did not think it safe to leave the defence of India solely to sepoys and to the Company's inefficient European troops. The Board of Control resolved, therefore, to send out the four regiments at the charge of the Company for transport and maintenance; and the Company as stoutly refused to bear the charge. Mr. Pitt, on the 25th of February, 1788, brought in a Bill "for removing any doubt respecting the power of the commissioners for the affairs of India, to direct that the expense of raising, transporting, and maintaining such troops as may be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies, should be defrayed out of the revenues arising from the said territories and possessions." This proposition gave rise to animated debates in both Houses. It was contended that there would be an end to the East India Company and all their property if such a Bill were passed. Mr. Fox declared that the Declaratory Bill was "an insidious attempt to assume the same powers that his Bill would have given to his Board of Commissioners, but in a manner less open and much more dangerous to the Constitution." The real bearing of the question was expressed in a pleasantry of sir James Johnstone: "The present dispute was a matrimonial quarrel between lord Control and lady Leadenhall. He considered himself as a justice of peace before whom the parties had come to make up their differences: he was always disposed to side against power, and should give in favour of the lady. He saw no reason why lord Control should be allowed to rob lady Leadenhall of her pin-money."† The Bill was passed.

At the beginning of February, 1790, earl Cornwallis wrote to his brother,

* Cornwallis's "Correspondence," vol. i. p. 316.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxvii. col. 109.

the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,—"The unprovoked attack which Tippoo has made upon our ally the Rajah of Travancore has, much against my inclination, forced us into a war. . . . . It is a melancholy task to write this, and to see all the effects of my economy, and the regulation of the finances which cost me so much labour, destroyed in a few months." * On the 29th of December, 1789, Tippoo had stormed the lines of our ally. No one of the native princes was so formidable as Tippoo. His dominions of Mysore were very extensive, and were fully populated by Hindoos and Mohammedans. Many places were strongly fortified. His cavalry were those that had swept the Carnatic in 1780, as "a whirlwind;" his artillery was formidable, consisting of heavy ordnance drawn by elephants. To assist in carrying on the contest against this unscrupulous despot, Cornwallis concluded alliances with the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and the Nizam of the Deccan. General Meadows commanded the British army in the Carnatic, and general Abercrombie the army formed in the presidency of Bengal. Tippoo was compelled to return to his capital of Seringapatam; but nothing decisive against his power was effected in 1790. On the 29th of January, 1791, lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army, and moved from Vellout towards Vellore, with the intention of penetrating to the heart of Tippoo's dominions. On the 5th of March he invested Bangalore, about two hundred miles from Madras. On the march thither, some shameful acts of pillage had been committed, which, in a General Order, lord Cornwallis described as "shocking and disgraceful outrages"—as "scenes of horror, which, if they should be suffered to continue, must defeat all our hopes of success, and blast the British name with infamy." They were repressed by prompt measures of severity towards the marauders. Bangalore was taken by storm on the 21st of March. The army then moved forward; and on the 13th of May took up a position at Arikera on the banks of the Caveri, within nine miles of Seringapatam. Having crossed the river, Cornwallis attacked Tippoo on the 15th, and obtained a victory, driving the Mysoreans to seek refuge under the guns of their capital. The city was within view; but Cornwallis was not strong enough to besiege it. The expected contingent of the Mahrattas had not arrived. Abercrombie was at Periapatam, with ample stores of provisions; whilst the army of Cornwallis was suffering severe privations. They could not effect a junction, although Cornwallis, in the hope of doing so, had moved up the Caveri to Caniambaddy. In a private letter to his brother, the Governor-General describes the causes of the retreat which he was now compelled to make: "I wish to tell you that my health has not suffered, although my spirits are almost worn out, and that if I cannot soon overcome Tippoo, I think the plagues and the mortifications of this most difficult war will overcome me. You will have heard that after beating Tippoo's army, and driving him into the island of Seringapatam, I was obliged,—by the famine which prevailed amongst our followers, and especially the bullock-drivers, by the sudden and astonishing mortality amongst our cattle, owing to the scarcity of forage and a contagious distemper which unhappily attacked them when they were too weak to resist it, and by the unexpected obstacles to my forming a junction with general

* "Correspondence," vol. i. p. 494.

Abercrombie, in time to attempt the enterprize before the rising of the river,—to destroy my battering guns and to relinquish the attack of Seringapatam until the conclusion of the rains. Had the numerous Mahratta army, which joined me on the 26th of May unexpectedly and without my having received the smallest previous notice, arrived a fortnight sooner, our success would have been complete, and that event which Mr. Francis and Mr. Hippesley seem so much to apprehend—the destruction of Tippoo's power—would have actually taken place. It is, however, much crippled; and if he should not propose during the present rains such terms as the Allies can reasonably accept, I trust we shall take such precautions as will render our next move to Seringapatam effectual." *

The next move to Seringapatam was effectual. Reinforcements had been sent out from England; and during the autumn all the lines of communication for another march upon the capital of Tippoo had been opened. Some of the strong hill-forts, especially Severndroog and Octradroog, had been stormed and taken by the troops under general Meadows. On the 25th of January, Cornwallis, with 22,000 men, had united his force to the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and commenced his march from Severndroog. On the 5th of February he encamped about six miles northward of Seringapatam. The Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. It amounted to 5000 horse and 40,000 foot. The city was defended by three strong lines of works and redoubts, in which 300 pieces of artillery were planted. Cornwallis reconnoitred these lines on the morning of the 6th, and determined to storm them that night, with his own army, without communicating his plan to his allies. At eight o'clock the British moved in three columns to the attack, one column being led by Cornwallis himself. The moon was shining brilliantly; but the sun of the next day was declining before the firing ceased, and the whole line of forts to the north of the Caveri were in possession of the British forces. Tippoo retired within the walls of his capital. Preparations for the siege went vigorously on; but negotiations for peace were at the same time proceeding. The British commander, assured of his triumph, demanded that Tippoo should cede the half of his dominions; should pay a sum amounting to £3,000,000; should release all his prisoners; and should deliver his two sons as hostages. The sultan assembled his officers in the great mosque, and adjured them, by the sacred contents of the koran, whether he should accept these hard terms. They all held that no reliance could be placed upon the troops, and that submission was inevitable. On the 23rd of February the preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 25th the two sons of Tippoo were surrendered to lord Cornwallis. Mr. Ross, the editor of the Cornwallis Correspondence, says that he had often heard the details of the scene from his father, general Ross, who was present: "The coolness and self-possession of the two boys, the eldest only ten years old, were most striking; and the more than paternal kindness of lord Cornwallis not only impressed his own European and native attendants with admiration, but produced in the minds of Tippoo's Vakeels, and the other Mysorean spectators, feelings of regard which were never effaced." The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 19th of March. The ceded

* Cornwallis's "Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 98.

territories were divided in equal portions between the Company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas. On the 4th of May, Cornwallis wrote to his brother, "Our peace will no doubt be very popular in England. I see every day more reason to be satisfied with it. No termination of the war could, in my opinion, have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest; and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India." *

The subjection of Tippoo was most opportune. In all probability Cornwallis, who was blamed by some for not insisting upon harder terms, anticipated the probability that the French Revolution would involve England in war, and therefore he made peace whilst it was in his power. When the war broke out he hurried to Madras. But his presence was unnecessary. Pondicherry had already been taken by sir John Brathwaite; and the French had no longer a footing in India. The agents of the republic were nevertheless active; but they were unable, for several years, to move "Citizen Tippoo" into a course of open hostility.

In the decisive interview with lord Loughborough, on the 20th of January, 1793, Mr. Pitt said that the sooner the war was begun the better,—"that we might possess ourselves of the French islands." The French islands offered a paltry prize to be gained by such a tremendous risk. The West India islands in the possession of the French since the peace of 1783, were Tobago, a small territory with an unhealthy climate; St. Lucia, even more unhealthy; Martinique, an important possession; and Guadaloupe and its dependencies. The great island of Hispaniola, or San Domingo, partly French and partly Spanish, was not a colony with which any nation would have been glad to meddle in its then disturbed condition. The imports into the island from France are stated to have amounted in 1789 to three millions sterling, and its exports to six millions, this commerce employing three hundred thousand tons of shipping, and thirty thousand seamen.† An insurrection of the slaves took place in 1791, the seeds of which were sown by the French Revolution. The French planters and Creoles had talked of Liberty and Equality, and put on the tri-coloured cockade. They scorned the Mulattoes, who, in 1790, engaged in a fruitless revolt. The negroes rose against their masters in August, 1791. This fair country went through scenes of bloody insurrection, and was plunged into a terrible anarchy, which worked itself, in course of time, under the leadership of remarkable men of the despised race, into a Black republic. The massacres of 1791 were the impulses of vengeance for long suffering. They were urged in the British Parliament as a reason for maintaining the Slave Trade; and the insurrection, which had become more formidable as it proceeded, created alarm even amongst the English abolitionists.‡

At this time, when the approaching war with France led the government of Mr. Pitt to look to the necessity of defending our own colonial possessions, and to the hope of adding to their number by naval enterprizes, there was

* "Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 166.
† Speech of Mr. Baillie, "Parliamentary History," vol. xxix. col. 1073.
‡ "Wilberforce Correspondence," vol. i. p. 89.

little solicitude about those vast regions in the Pacific, which the Spaniards and Portuguese had left undiscovered, but on which the standard of England was planted early in the reign of George III. The results of the Voyages of Discovery of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, were feebly and imperfectly followed up. Any system of colonization that could be permanently useful was not thought of. In most cases no system was attempted. The regions of unbounded extent and inexhaustible wealth which were nominally attached to the British crown, derived small advantage from British civilization. The condition of the Australian possessions, seventy years ago, as contrasted with their present greatness, is one of the marvels of our history, which it is impossible to contemplate without patriotic emotion—without a feeling of the mighty destinies that were involved in the Divine protection of the Anglo-Saxon race—in the growth of a community which, having built up its own civilization upon principles of rational liberty, went forth "to make new nations" of freemen, who would have ties of consanguinity; speaking the same language, and bound together by the same principles of government as the parent state. Continents and islands, compared with which, in extent of territory, Britain is but a speck in the ocean, have thus been conquered in the noblest of victories, the victories of peace. But the last generation little understood the value of the great nations they were founding. They had a dim sense of some material advantage that might be derived from the displacement of aborigines of the lowest type of savage life, but a dread of the ferocity of higher races, that in their fierce barbarism appeared incapable of being amalgamated with European habits and modes of thought.

The discoveries which have been attended with political and social consequences of which it is difficult to speak without apparent exaggeration, were originally impelled by the pure ardour of scientific inquiry. In August, 1768, Lieutenant James Cook was sent out in the ship Endeavour, by order of the British government, and at the request of the Royal Society, to find an appropriate spot in the South Seas, to make observations upon the expected transit of Venus over the sun's disk, in June, 1769. Otaheite, the chief island of the Pacific, had been discovered by Wallis in 1767, and had been called "King George the Third's Island." Bougainville, a French navigator, had visited it before the time when Cook established an observatory for the transit on the northern cape of the island. The observations were made; and during a residence of three months the naturalists who had accompanied the expedition investigated the productions of the country, rich with the cocoa-nut, the sugar-cane, and the banana, and especially with the bread-fruit tree—that wonderful gift of heaven to a fertile climate, which might enable a happy race to subsist without all the manifold labours that are requisite to produce bread from corn. The natives, it was said, laughed when they were told of our tedious processes of ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing, grinding, and baking.* Cook, when he left Otaheite, discovered the group which he called "Society Islands," in honour of the learned body at whose instance he was sent out. But in that, his first voyage, he explored the coasts of a country which had been discovered by Tasman, a Dutch navigator, in 1642. From that time to 1769, no one had landed upon

* Boswell's Johnson, May 7, 1773.

those two islands, now so familiar to us as New Zealand. Long neglected, this fine country had no regular settlement till 1840, when it became an accredited colony of the British government—a land henceforth to be inhabited by a great off-shoot of the Anglo-Saxon stock, with all the manifold blessings of the religion, the knowledge, the industry, of our own nation, whose process of civilization, under Roman colonizers, was far less rapid. The New Zealander himself, thirty years ago a clever cannibal, has already been

View in New Zealand. From Cook's Voyages.

absorbed into British citizenship, by the all-dominant superiority of higher intellect and purer morals. But this great good has been accomplished by treating the New Zealander as an accountable being, with rights not to be taken from him by the rapacity of conquest. He has been dealt with as the proprietor of the soil; and the territory of the settlers has been purchased and not seized. The New Zealanders, by far the highest in capacity of the barbarous tribes, have, in their brief colonization of twenty years, manifested the possibility of raising a native race to an appreciation of the value of what constitutes civilization, by imparting to them the blessings on which we pride ourselves as Christians and freemen.

The Dutchmen had discovered New Holland; but they left it unexplored. Cook minutely surveyed the Eastern Coast, which he called New South Wales. The naturalists of the expedition, Mr. Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, found many curious plants in an inlet of this coast, which they denominated "Botany Bay." What a word of terror was "Botany Bay," when, in 1792, there were only sixty-seven free settlers in New South Wales. When the American colonies became independent, and even before their independence, they refused to receive "those unfortunate individuals who were convicted of such smaller felonies as are too frequent in a country where, from the freedom of the government, no strict police can be established." * There was a very summary remedy for the higher offences, such as stealing in a dwelling-house above the value of five shillings—death. The capital-punishment system

* Sinclair, "History of the Revenue," vol. ii. p. 102.

grew somewhat odious, and the system of the hulks was more generally adopted. At last it was recollected that Captain Cook had found a convenient place, to which criminals, not worthy of Tyburn, might be banished; and so, from 1787 to 1792, about five thousand convicts had been sent to New South Wales and Norfolk Island. In the first years of the colony these wretched creatures were literally slaves—employed in clearing woods to gain a spot for cultivation; half-starved—with no hope of escape, with the sea before them, and a boundless waste behind. The "Botany Bay Eclogues" of Southey, written in 1794, open with this lament of a female convict:—

> "Once more to daily toil, once more to wear
> The livery of shame, once more to search
> With miserable task this savage shore."

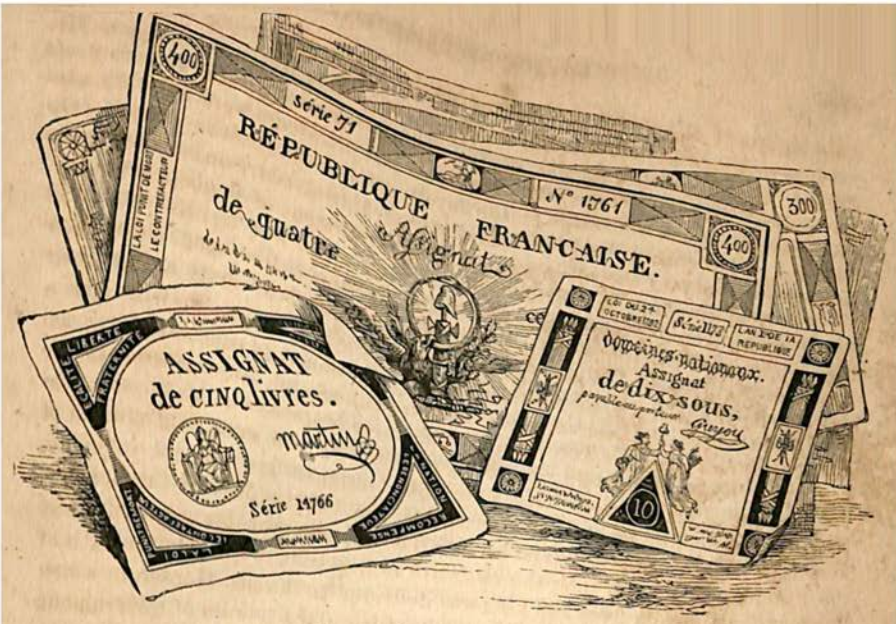
Contrast the felon of Sydney Cove with the prosperous merchants and artisans of Sydney;—contrast the miserable outcast flying for his life to the deserts of the kangaroo, with the flock master reckoning his thousands of sheep on the fertile plains which he calls his own;—contrast England paying millions for the transport of convicts, with England receiving new impulses to her industry from the Australian gold fields. The most extravagant dreams in 1793 of the believers in the probable results of commercial and colonizing enterprize, never could picture any change approaching that gradual result of British energy, "which converted a transmarine gaol into one of the greatest communities of free men on the earth." *

The very remote possibility of founding a great empire in Australia when the flag of England was first hoisted on the shores of Sydney Cove in 1788, could offer no prospect of compensation for the loss of our American colonies. Canada, at the time when war with France was imminent, was not wholly to be relied upon for loyalty to her conquerors, with her mixed French population; and with her proximity to the United States, whose people, if not her government, were rather too much enamoured of the ideal liberty of the French Republic to open their eyes to its aggressions. Britain must rely upon herself alone. She would persist in submitting to hard bargains with mercenary despotisms to make them fight for their own existence; but she would mainly have to depend upon her own right arm. Her military establishment was not equal to any sudden emergency. "It certainly was impolitic," says Sir John Sinclair, "reducing the peace establishment of this country so low as it was in 1792, when from the state of France it was evident that all Europe was likely to get into a convulsed state." † The military expenditure of that year was under two millions. The expected rupture with Spain in 1790, and with Russia in 1791, had occasioned great activity in the English dockyards; and an improved plan of providing imperishable stores in the magazines had enabled ships to be quickly equipped for service. The British fleet, at the commencement of 1793, included 115 ships of the line, carrying 8718 guns. The ships of the French line were 76, carrying 6002 guns.‡ The British navy, at the commencement of 1793,

* "Quarterly Review," vol. cvii. p. 1.
† "History of the Revenue," vol. ii p. 195.
‡ James's "Naval History," vol. i. p. 91.

comprised 411 vessels of all rates, of which only 135 were in commission.* "At no previous period had France possessed so powerful a navy," says Mr. James. The English fleet was not so readily manned as the French fleet. The appeals to republican enthusiasm to fit out privateers were more stimulating than the sober addresses to the loyalty of our mercantile classes. On the 31st of December the French Minister of Marine addressed a letter to the friends of liberty in the sea-ports:—"The government of England is arming. . . . . The king and his parliament intend to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well! we will fly to their succour; we will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree; and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." M. Chauvelin returned to Paris with the same wild notions of the amount of disaffection. He judged, as foreigners are too apt to judge, that our freedom of writing and speaking—the safety-valves of the political machine—indicated violence and revolt. The war was probably inevitable; but the French Convention took the initiative in declaring war. On the 11th of February, a Message from the king was delivered to the two Houses, in which it was stated that "the Assembly now exercising the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretensions, declared war against his majesty and the United Provinces."

* See Tables to James's "History," No. I.



Specimens of French Assignats

CHAPTER XV.

Resolutions proposed by Mr. Fox against war with France—Commercial distress—Parliamentary Reform opposed by Mr. Pitt—Traitorous Correspondence Bill—Pitt, Burke, Fox,—the diversity of their views of England's policy—Sanguine expectations of warlike success—Dumouriez in Holland—Battle of Neerwinden—Defection of Dumouriez—Measures of the Jacobins—Revolutionary Tribunal—Committee of Public Salvation—Excessive prices of commodities in Paris—Produced by the depreciation of Assignats—Plunder of the Shops—Law of Maximum—Forced Levy of troops—La Vendée in insurrection—Mr. Fox's motion for Peace—Insurrection against the Girondin Deputies—Their arrest and flight—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Note on the French Revolutionary Kalendar.

THE opposition of Mr. Fox to the war with France, supported as he was by only a small band of his friends, was consistent and unremitting. He moved an amendment to the Address on the King's Message respecting the Declaration of War, and was defeated without a division. He proposed, a week after this royal Message had been delivered, a series of Resolutions, the object of which was to declare, that it was not for the honour or interest of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumstances of that country; that the complaints against the conduct of the French government were not sufficient to justify war in the first instance without having attempted to obtain redress by negotiation; that the pretended grounds of the war with France, the security of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, had been disregarded in the case of Poland; that no engagements ought to be entered into with other powers which might prevent Great Britain making a separate peace. After an acrimonious

debate, Mr. Fox's motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority, only forty-four members supporting the Resolutions. Again, and again, Fox advocated negotiations for peace with those, whoever they were, who had the government of France in their hands. "Why," he said, "was every man in England to be a sufferer because the people of France were in confusion? . . . Let them ask every man in the kingdom who had any commercial dealings, whether the accounts he received from all parts of the kingdom did not call for a conclusion to this war."* The embarrassments in trade had been so serious, from whatever cause, that Parliament had sanctioned an issue of five millions in exchequer bills, to be advanced by commissioners, in loans to commercial firms who could give security for repayment. The demand for peace, upon the plea that war produced distress and privation to the bulk of the people, was thus met by Burke, in one of his most virulent personal attacks upon Fox:—"The ground of a political war is, of all things, that which the poor labourer and manufacturer are the least capable of conceiving. This sort of people know in general that they must suffer by war. It is a matter to which they are sufficiently competent, because it is a matter of feeling. The *causes* of a war are not matters of feeling, but of reason and foresight, and often of remote considerations, and of a very great combination of circumstances, which *they* are utterly incapable of comprehending; and, indeed, it is not every man in the higher classes who is altogether equal to it."† According to this doctrine, the war with the French republican government was "a political war," of the justice or expediency of which only the initiated in the mysteries of statesmanship were competent to form an opinion. The bulk of the people might feel the consequences of such a war, but they had no capacity for the investigation of its causes, and had therefore only to confide and suffer. Pitt, proud and confident as he was, made no attempt to measure this war by the calculating foresight only of official wisdom. He was driven into the war, undoubtedly against his wishes, by the violence of popular opinion rather than by the calculations of his own statesmanship. He did not claim an infallibility which regarded with contempt the general tone of public feeling. He carried the greater portion of the industrial community with him in his resistance to extreme democratic principles, by describing with a rhetoric that could not exaggerate the reality, the cruelties and oppressions perpetrated in France under the names of Liberty and Equality. He defended his own abandonment of the cause of Parliamentary Reform by dwelling upon the consequences of extended suffrage in France. In the great debate on Mr. Grey's motion for Reform, previous to which petitions had been read praying for Universal Suffrage, Mr. Pitt said, "In what is called the government of the multitude, they are not the many who govern the few, but the few who govern the many. It is a species of tyranny which adds insult to the wretchedness of its subjects, by styling its own arbitrary decrees the voice of the people, and sanctioning its acts of oppression and cruelty under the pretence of the national will. . . . The question is, whether you will abide by your Constitution, or hazard a change, with all that dreadful train of

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx.—Debate of the 18th June.
† "Conduct of the Minority."

consequences with which we have seen it attended in a neighbouring kingdom?" * The fanaticism of the republicans who ruled France has been compared to that of the Mussulmans, "who, with the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other, went forth conquering and converting." The fiery zeal of the higher and middle classes of England has been compared to that of the Crusaders, "who raised the cry of *Deus vult* at Clermont." † The watchword of "King and Constitution" was, on one side of the Channel, as potent as the war-whoop of "Liberty and Equality" on the other side. There was no great "reason and foresight" required to plunge each nation into a conflict of twenty years.

The passions that were involved in this political war impelled the alarmists to call for such stringent measures of precaution and coercion as Great Britain had not witnessed since the days of the exiled Stuarts. The Chancellor, lord Loughborough, was ready with a "Traitorous Correspondence Bill," drawn by the Attorney-General, sir John Scott, and introduced by him to the House of Commons on the 15th of March. They considered the law of Edward III. against adhering to the king's enemies as insufficient to prevent the French being supplied with arms and stores, and they made it high treason even to enter into an agreement for supplying them. They called for the penalties of treason against those who should invest capital in the French funds or in the purchase of lands in France. Forfeiture and corruption of blood were not to follow a conviction; but, on the other hand, the evidence of two witnesses, and the further protections secured to the accused by the statutes of William and Anne, were to be set aside. The arbitrary tendencies of the Lord Chancellor and his Attorney-General could not be more strongly exhibited than in the proposition that a man might be hanged, drawn, and quartered, upon the evidence of one witness, without being furnished with a copy of the indictment against him; and without the privilege of being defended by counsel. The Bill passed the House of Commons in spite of the opposition of Fox, Sheridan, and Erskine; but in the House of Lords this attempt to take from the accused the means of defence, under the appearance of lenity, was modified. The penalties of the law of treason, and its protections, remained as before. The definition of treasonable acts was very widely extended. The minister who had never sanctioned any act of the executive, or any proposal of the legislature, of an unconstitutional or arbitrary tendency, was now to become identified with measures such as Englishmen regarded as belonging to past generations of oppression. The minister who had built his reputation upon his financial prudence was to lay a load of debt upon his country that even now seems fabulous.

Mr. Pitt began this tremendous contest by undervaluing the power of a nation whose government, if government it could be called, was one of factions without a common head, each contending for supremacy; of a nation that had lost every ordinary source of strength,—settled laws, established property, natural leaders, public credit. Obscure men, such as Jourdan, who had carried a pack from fair to fair, were commanding the French armies.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 902—Debate of May 7.
† Macaulay—"Life of Pitt."

Men taken from the ranks, it was held, could know nothing of strategy, and could have no authority over their fellows. In despising their origin and training, it was forgotten that the passion for Equality gave them a more powerful influence in the French armies than was ever wielded by the titled Marshals of the old monarchy. The English minister sent the king's second son, whose military experience had been limited to a field-day in Hyde-Park, to terrify the raw levies of the republic with two regiments of Guards; and with a contingent of Hanoverians and Hessians, all disciplined upon the most approved principles of "the bookish theorick." Mr. Pitt knew that Austria and Prussia hated each other—would act upon no common agreement for large and disinterested purposes in the conduct of the French war. He knew that Russia and Prussia were intent upon aggressions as hateful and as dangerous as the pretensions of the French republicans; that not until they were gorged with the spoils of Poland would they seriously direct their thoughts to the common dangers of established governments; but that meanwhile they would let the war take the languid course of a Coalition without a presiding mind to direct it to salutary ends, or to arrest the selfish schemes which some indulged of territorial aggrandizement. And yet Mr. Pitt had no doubt that the expedition which he sent to Holland in March under the duke of York, and his armaments against the West India islands, constituted that vigorous prosecution of the war which he promised when he brought forward his Budget; and he could not comprehend why Mr. Fox had no confidence in numerous foreign alliances, saying that "he dreaded our being led into dangerous engagements for the prosecution of the most unjustifiable purposes." It soon became manifest that the war was not carried on with that vigour on the part of the Allies which alone could ensure success; that purposes wholly unjustifiable interfered with that unanimity which justice and disinterestedness alone could inspire. In a very few months it was found out that there was a new element in this contest, in dealing with which historical experience was no guide. In October, 1793, Burke acknowledged that a state of things had arisen, "of which, in its totality, if History furnishes any examples at all, they are very remote and feeble." Who, he says, could have imagined new and unlooked-for combinations and modifications of political matters, in which property should, through the whole of a vast kingdom, lose all its importance and even its influence;—who could have thought that a formidable revolution in a great empire should have been made by men of letters who would become the sovereign rulers;—that atheism could produce one of the most violently operative principles of fanaticism;—that administrative bodies in a state of the utmost confusion, and of but a momentary duration, should be able to govern the country and its armies with an authority which the most settled senates, and the most respected monarchs, scarcely had in the same degree? "This, for one, I confess I did not foresee," says Burke, and he gives the reason of his own short-sightedness as the apology for others: "I believe very few were able to enter into the effects of mere *terror* . . . . For four years we have seen loans made, treasuries supplied, and armies levied and maintained, more numerous than France ever showed in the field, by *the effects of fear alone*." * The

* "Policy of the Allies." The words in Italics are so in the original.

experience had come, in less than a year of warfare, which was to be more instructive than "History or books of speculation," but not for encouragement or warning, till the passions had cooled down which prevented its instruction teaching us what to do and what to forbear doing.

Nevertheless, in this condition of "new and unlooked-for combinations and modifications of political matters," it would be presumptuous to affirm that either of the extreme principles advocated on the one hand by Burke, and on the other hand by Fox, would have led eventually to happier results than the middle policy pursued by Pitt. The French Revolution was permitted by the Supreme Arbiter of human affairs to run its course of savage crime, of wild anarchy, of crushing despotism, of insatiate ambition, of aspirations for universal empire, to be arrested at last in its mad career, by the necessity of all nations combining for their common safety. They might have successfully combined at an earlier period to prevent the aggressions of the Republic, had they possessed the wisdom to have left France to choose what form of government it pleased. They roused the republicans of every faction to almost superhuman efforts of resistance, when they believed that a king would be again forced on them; that their noblesse would be brought back with all their privileges and immunities; that the confiscated properties would return to their old possessors; that France itself would be dismembered of some of its fairest provinces. It was the day-dream of Burke to do all these impossible things, except to partition France. He would restore the Monarchy—he would restore the Church—he would restore the Aristocracy—he would have no peace with Regicides—he would have "a long war" to bring back the France before 1789. To him the Constitutionalists were as odious as the Jacobins; La Fayette and Marat were equal in villainy. These desires were not fulfilled; the Revolution brought its tardy wisdom as well as its instant terror. Europe had not to groan for another century under the leaden sway of unmitigated Absolutism; England had not to rush upon untried theories to supersede her constitutional freedom. Pitt had no monarchical enthusiasm to oppose to republican fanaticism. He would treat with any government in France that he considered stable; he would fight those whom lord Auckland, in his Memorial to the States-General, denounced as "*miserables*," in the belief that their reign would be very short; that exhausted France would soon lie at his feet; that a solid peace would be concluded with some responsible form of power when the revolutionary conflagration had burnt out. The Jacobins dreaded the policy of Pitt more than the idealities of Burke. They called Burke "a madman"—they called Pitt "a monster." The style in which "that Orestes of the British Parliament, the madman Burke; that insolent lord Grenville; or that plotter Pitt," were spoken of in the French Convention was this: "They have misrepresented the independence of the French nation. They have invariably represented us as robbers and cannibals. Soon shall they be laid prostrate before the statue of Liberty, from which they shall rise only to mount the scaffold that awaits them, and to expiate by their death the evils in which they have involved the human race." * Fox, on the contrary, from his original sympathy

* Quoted by Burke, from the speech of citizen Lasource, in the *Moniteur* of 17th March.—"Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 614.

with the new order of things during the existence of the States-General, from his exultation upon the repulse of the Allies from the French frontier, from his constant abhorrence of the war in which Great Britain was engaged, was in France held to be wedded to the whole course of the Revolution as firmly as Paine was wedded. There is a curious anecdote illustrative of this French feeling in the Journal of Mrs. Elliott. She was arrested, and carried before the Comité de Surveillance; a letter addressed to Mr. Fox having been found in her possession. At that sitting Vergniaud interposed in her behalf. "I don't see why this woman should have been arrested because a letter directed to Mr. Fox was found in her house. Had it been directed to the monster Pitt you could have done no more. Mr. Fox is our friend; he is the friend of a free nation, he loves our Revolution, and we have it under his own hand-writing." Fox carried his party-feeling too far; but he did good service to his country by his dogged resistance to the measures of Pitt. He, with a few others, saved us from the full swing of rampant Toryism, in those days when fear was hardening the hearts of men in these isles, and driving them into measures which, without some check such as Fox, Grey, Sheridan, Erskine, interposed, might have resulted in despotism or in civil war. Madame de Staël has said, with an impartiality which History should endeavour to emulate, "However advantageous it might have been to England, that Mr. Pitt should have been the head of the State in the most dangerous crisis in which that country ever found itself, it was not the less so that a mind as enlarged as that of Mr. Fox should have maintained principles in spite of circumstances, and have known how to preserve the household gods of the friends of liberty in the midst of the conflagration." *

A wise political teacher has justly described the delusion under which the majority in Parliament and in the country laboured at the beginning of 1793: "It is a memorable example of the intoxication of men, and of their governors, that at the commencement of this war, the bare idea of the possibility of its failure would have been rejected with indignation and scorn." † With the exception of the brilliant successes of our own navy, we shall have to pursue a narrative of a series of disasters which culminated at Austerlitz, and which carried Pitt, broken-hearted, to his grave. The sanguine views of those who expected that a volcano could be extinguished by a fire-engine were never more strongly exhibited than in a speech of lord Loughborough, at a period when the English Guards, having landed in Holland, had assisted in the relief of Williamstadt, and thus in some degree influenced the movements of Dumouriez, which we shall have presently to relate. On the third reading of the Traitorous Correspondence Bill on the 22nd of April, lord Lauderdale had expressed a doubt whether nineteen hundred men, sent out under the command of the duke of York, had saved Holland, or driven the French from the Austrian Netherlands. Lord Loughborough, in his reply, was extravagant in his appreciation of the consequences which had already attended the warlike operations of the British Government. "To the promptitude in sending out those few troops under the able command of an illustrious personage, was to be ascribed that Holland was saved; that the

* "Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution Française," 1818.

† Mackintosh—"Reasons against the French War"—Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii. p. 180.

French were defeated and driven back; that all Europe, from Petersburgh to Naples, was delivered from the plunder, the confiscation, the rapine, the murder, the destruction of order, morality, and religion, with which it was threatened by the prevalence of French arms and French principles." *

Dumouriez had entered Antwerp in triumph on the 30th of November, 1792. He moved with his army on the 17th of February, 1793, to carry the war into Holland. During his occupation of Belgium, the French Convention had sent Commissioners into that country, of whose tyrannical conduct Dumouriez bitterly complained in a letter which he addressed to the President of the Convention on the 12th of March: "We have oppressed the Belgians by every species of vexation; have violated the sacred rights of their liberty, and have imprudently insulted their religious opinions." He exposed the pretended union of several parts of Belgium to France: "The union of Hainault to the Republic was effected by sabres and muskets; and that of Brussels by a handful of men who could exist in trouble only, and by a few sanguinary men assembled to intimidate the citizens." Marat denounced the moderation and equity of Dumouriez as "crimes against the Revolution;" and he was accused of aspiring to the title of duke of Brabant, or to the Stadtholdership. The victor at Jemappes was hated by the party of the Mountain, and he knew that if they gained the ascendency his destruction was inevitable. Danton, however, was his friend, and the Jacobins suspended their avowal of hostility till a more convenient season. Dumouriez marched into Holland, and soon obtained possession of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenburg. But he was brought to a stand at Williamstadt, which was occupied by a Dutch garrison who had not been corrupted, and by the English detachment of Guards. The generals who were second in command to Dumouriez had sustained severe reverses whilst he had marched into Holland. In a Proclamation to the French nation he says, "I made myself master of three strong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the disaster of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raising of the siege of Maestricht, and the sad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly summoned: I abandoned my conquests to fly to its succour." On the 16th of March the prince of Cobourg, commanding the Imperialists, was in position at Neerwinden; and upon the arrival of Dumouriez the small river of the Geete only separated the two armies. The river was crossed by the French on the 18th. In their attack upon the Austrians they were defeated with a loss of four thousand men; and were compelled to return to their former position. The hour of misfortune had now arrived; and with the French Convention the certain remedy for defeat was the guillotine for the unhappy commander—*pour encourager les autres.*

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 739.—The "*few* troops" become a great army in the narrative of sir A. Alison. Under the date of April 20, 1793, he says, "A corps, consisting of twenty thousand English, was embarked, and landed in Holland, under the command of the duke of York." According to the statements of the Secretary at War, the total number of the effective forces of the kingdom at the commencement of hostilities was 22,000; and, deducting those employed in foreign settlements, the land forces did not amount to more than 9000 effective men. During the first year of the campaign 10,000 additional men had been raised. This enabled the government gradually to send reinforcements to the duke of York; but with 9000 disposable troops in the early part of 1793, Mr. Pitt would have had some difficulty in embarking 20,000 for Holland in April.—(See "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1248, and col. 1330.)

Dumouriez knew what was in reserve for him when, on the 2nd of April, six Commissioners arrived in his camp to summon him to the bar of the Convention. He refused to obey, and ordered his Germans to take the Commissioners as their prisoners, but to do them no harm. They were sent to Tournay, to be kept as hostages for the safety of the royal family. Dumouriez had been in secret communication with the Austrian general Mack; and an agreement had been come to, that the French army should evacuate Belgium; that the Allied armies should not invade France; but that Dumouriez should march upon Paris, to overthrow the Jacobins and to restore the Constitutional Monarchy. On the day when the French Commissioners had failed in their arrest of Dumouriez, he addressed a Proclamation to the French nation, in which he said, "Frenchmen! we have a rallying point which can stifle the monster of anarchy: 'tis the Constitution we swore to maintain in 1789, '90, and '91: it is the work of a free people, and we shall remain free." On the 4th he was to complete his arrangements with the prince of Cobourg, near Condé. Although in great danger of being seized by some volunteers, he accomplished his purpose; and a Proclamation of the prince was agreed upon, and published, in which the alliance with the French general for the purpose of establishing a constitutional king was avowed. When Dumouriez returned to his army on the 5th, escorted by a body of imperial cavalry, he learned that his artillery had left the camp, and that large bodies of troops had marched to general Dampierre at Valenciennes. The chances of restoring France to any system which should combine order with liberty was at an end for one generation. Dumouriez lived an exile in England till 1823. In the Proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, issued on the 5th of April, he stated that he was seconding the beneficent intentions of general Dumouriez to restore to France its constitutional monarch, with the means of rectifying such experienced abuses as may exist; and he declared, on his word of honour, that he should enter the French territory without any view of making conquests, and that if any strong place should fall into his hands he should regard it as a sacred deposit. After the failure of Dumouriez's project a Congress was held at Antwerp, attended by the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain; and then the prince of Cobourg issued a second Proclamation, in which he revoked his former declaration, and announced that he should prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. The Jacobins, now almost supreme, had for three weeks or more been preparing to resist any invasion of the French territory—or any attempt to give France back a king, constitutional or absolute—with a terrible energy of which the world had seen no previous example, in its daring or its atrocity. "The utmost vigour" of the prince of Cobourg was that of a rocket in comparison with a thunderbolt.

On the 10th of March, the Convention passed a decree for the establishment of an extraordinary Criminal Tribunal, without appeal, for the trial of all traitors, conspirators, and counter-revolutionists. This was the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal, composed of five judges who were to be bound by no forms of procedure, and of a permanent jury. These jurymen were to satisfy themselves as to facts in any way that they could, and to vote audibly in the presence of a Paris mob. To direct the proceedings of this awful tribunal, from whose decrees there was no appeal, a Public Accuser was

appointed. Fouquier Tinville filled this office with an excess of zeal that permitted none of the ordinary weaknesses of humanity in judge or jury to interfere with the sacred duty of giving to the guillotine its daily food. He had only one remedy for the cure of lukewarmness towards the Revolution—Death. He was in so great a hurry to do his work, that identity of person was sometimes unnecessary when an accused stood before him. Two women of the same name having been arrested, he settled the accounts of both, for fear of a mistake. You are idle, he would say, to his officers—I want two or three hundred every decade.* Over the Revolutionary Tribunal presided

The Revolutionary Tribunal. From "Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution."

the *Comité de Salut Public*, which was instituted at the end of March. Consisting only of nine members, it will have all those appliances of despotism at its command which cannot be so well managed by that discordant body the Convention, of which Assembly a very large party, the Girondins, are utterly sick of the system which has been growing into irresistible strength, since they winked at the September massacres, and equivocated with the murder of the king. If the *Comité de Salut Public* has its centralizing functions, extending to all matters civil and military, the local agencies for carrying on the system of terror are not less efficient. In every township of France there is a *Comité Révolutionnaire*, each consisting of twelve staunch patriots, chosen by universal suffrage; and of these committees there are forty-four thousand, all busy in making domiciliary visits, arresting and examining the suspected, giving certificates of good citizenship—*Cartes de Civisme*—and filling the prisons with victims for the Moloch of Liberty.

* See Note on the Revolutionary Kalendar.

There is much to do in this mad world of France in which all the ordinary relations of social life are overthrown. The whole state machinery is out of gear, and nevertheless it must work. Oiling the wheels and cranks will be useless, so they must be moved by main strength. "The effects of fear alone" will do a great deal. But fear will not give the people food, when the interruption of commercial dealings, by the utter want of confidence between seller and buyer, keeps food out of the markets. In 1792 Paris had been provisioned with grain and flour, not in the ordinary course of demand and supply, but by the municipality. The loss to the government upon this year's transactions was enormous. In February, 1793, it was reported to the Convention that the price of bread must either be raised by the municipality, or an extraordinary tax must be levied, to keep down the price of bread. The Convention granted the tax, to be levied upon an ascending scale upon property, moveable and immoveable. The municipality, however, could not keep down prices, even by buying in the dearest market and selling in the cheapest. The farmers kept their grain in their barns; the merchants kept their sugar in their warehouses; the soap-boilers made no stock to supply the retailers. They did not like the coin in which they were to be paid in exchange for their commodities. When the National Assembly and the National Convention had declared the domains of the church and the estates of the emigrants to be public property, they put into circulation a new species of Paper-Money, estimated upon the supposed value of that property, denominated *Assignats*, the holders of them being assignees of so much of the property thus represented. Lands and houses might be bought, and were largely bought, by the holders of assignats, but they were not otherwise convertible. As a necessary consequence the value of this paper-money fluctuated according to the belief in the permanency of the Revolution; and in the same way the purchasers of the confiscated property became fewer and fewer when the hope of a constitutional monarchy had passed away, and France was governed in a great degree by the Jacobin Clubs. But the more decided was the depreciation of the Assignats the more unlimited was their issue by the Convention. As an inevitable consequence the nominal price of every article of subsistence and household necessity was prodigiously increased. Sugar, coffee, candles, soap, were doubled in price. The wages of labour remained stationary; for there was a superabundance of labour through the general interruption to production and exchange. The washerwomen of Paris go to the Convention to say that soap is so dear that their trade will be at an end. We want soap and bread, cry the poor *blanchisseuses* of the Seine. Commissioners of the Sections superintend the distribution of loaves to those who can pay. Furious women surround the grocers' shops, demanding sugar. The terrified grocers roll their sugar-hogsheads into the streets, and the citizenesses weigh it out at twenty-two sous a pound. Some paid; some helped themselves without paying; and the pallid shop-keepers helplessly looked on; for had not Marat, the friend of the people, said in his journal of the 25th of February that there would be an end of high prices if a few shops were pillaged, and a few shopkeepers hanged at their own doors? The shopkeepers, however, brought out their stores when their price was tendered in metallic currency. The Convention had its strong remedy against the unpatriotic *bourgeoisie*. It decreed that whoever exchanged gold or silver for

a higher amount in assignats than their nominal value, and whoever stipulated for a different price of commodities if paid in paper or in specie, should be subjected to six years' imprisonment. The final step in this direction was to fix a maximum of price upon all agricultural produce and upon all merchandize. The system was extended from Paris to the departments, with the certain results of the ruin and misery which follow every violation of economical laws. And yet amidst this total derangement of the ordinary principles of social intercourse, the people lost no faith in their Republic. They were stirred up to the belief that their miseries were not the result of natural causes, but were produced by the intrigues of the aristocrats, aided by the gold of Pitt. Marat, who had excited the plunder of the shops, was in

Marat.

vain denounced by a small majority in the Convention, who foresaw the quick approach of the reign of anarchy and bloodshed. The Mountain was gradually deriving new strength from the hunger and violence of the populace. "The people can do no wrong," said Robespierre. Danton, who had manifested many indications of disgust at the proceedings of the extreme democratic faction, was carried away by their ascendency, and supported the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Its scaffolds were quickly set up. Sansculottism soon became supreme. Misery fell upon all classes, and especially upon those who depended upon the wages of industry. But every Parisian, rich or poor, trembled and obeyed; and the provinces, for the greater part, did the same, for Paris ruled France. Most Frenchmen were ready to defend their country against the foreigner, and to maintain any form of revolutionary government, however oppressive, in preference to the restoration of the ancient order of things which had been destroyed. Their fanaticism was stimulated by arts not wholly unlike the delusion practised upon the Kaffir tribes in 1857, who were persuaded by their chief to destroy their cattle and corn, that, rendered desperate by want, they might rush to a war which would sweep the British colonists from the land. The Assignats and the Law of Maximum produced the same desperation in France. The Jacobin leaders knew perfectly well what would be the consequences of their insane decrees. They traded on the despair of the people

"The Jacobin Revolution," wrote Burke, "is carried on by men of no rank, of no consideration; of wild savage minds, full of levity, arrogance, and presumption; without morals, without probity, without prudence. What have they then to supply their innumerable defects, and to make them terrible even to the firmest minds? One thing, and one thing only—but that thing is worth a thousand—they have energy." * This energy was put forth in the formation of Revolutionary Committees, which were to reject all the ordinary principles of justice and mercy; and in desperate conflicts with those natural laws by which the exchanges of mankind are regulated. But the greater the domestic miseries of France, the readier were its population to turn from peaceful pursuits to the excitement of war. The Convention, on the 10th of March, decreed a forced levy of three hundred thousand men. This decree few dared to disobey, and many submitted to it without reluctance, and even with patriotic ardour. There was a remarkable exception in the district of La Vendée, in which singular country an insurrectionary spirit was developed in the population, when their priests were ejected and the king had perished on the scaffold. When the peasantry were about to be dragged from their homes to serve in the armies of the Revolution, this spirit broke out into open violence against the republican authorities. In La Vendée the zeal of Loyalty and Religion came into open conflict with the passions excited under the names of the Rights of Man and the Age of Reason.

In the British Parliament, on the 17th of June, Mr. Fox proposed an elaborate Address to the Crown, the object of which was to make it the most earnest and solemn request of the Commons, that his majesty would employ the earliest measures for the re-establishment of peace with France. The proposition was rejected by the very large majority that the ministry now commanded. In the course of his speech Mr. Fox contended, in answer to the question which had been often asked, "whether we were to treat with France in its present state," that we ought to treat, and ultimately must treat, with whoever had the government in their hands, with him or them, be he or they whom they might. "Good God," cried the orator, "what was there in their proceedings that made us look for an established government among them? . . . . . Let them suffer the penalties of their own injustice; —let them suffer the miseries arising from their own confusion. Why were the people of England to suffer because the people of France were unjust?" The reply of Mr. Pitt was not easy to controvert. "Where is our security for the performance of a treaty, where we have neither the good faith of a nation, nor the responsibility of a monarch? The moment that the mob of Paris becomes under the influence of a new leader, mature deliberations are reversed, the most solemn engagements are retracted, our free will is altogether controlled by force . . . . . Should we treat with Marat, before we had finished the negotiation he might again have descended to the dregs of the people from whom he sprung, and have given place to a more desperate villain."† At this precise point of time it was no figure of speech for Mr. Pitt to refer to Marat as the representative of the executive power in France. "Let us consider," said Mr. Burke in the same debate, "the possibility of

* "Policy of the Allies."

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 994—1018.

negotiation." The minister Le Brun is in gaol. The minister Clavière is not to be found. "Would you have recourse to Roland? Why, he is not only in gaol, but also his wife along with him, who is said to be the real minister . . . . Brissot is likewise in gaol, bearing a repetition of that sort

Brissot.

of misfortune to which it is hoped that habit may reconcile him. Pay your addresses to Egalité, and you will find him in his dungeon at Marseilles. There then only remains my celebrated friend, the mild and merciful Marat."

The Girondins, on whose authority in the Convention rested the only hope of a stable government in France,—a government not founded upon the supremacy of the rabble,—had fallen, never to rise again, on the 2nd of June. They then became wanderers in the provinces, or prisoners in the dungeons of Paris. They had relied upon their patriotic eloquence and their republican virtue. They would hold no communion with the movers of insurrection and massacre; and they found the terrible earnestness of ignorant ruffianism too strong for respectable philosophy. Their majority in the Convention availed them nothing; for that Assembly had come into open conflict with the physical force of Paris, hounded on by the Jacobin Club, when the idol of the populace, Marat, was sent for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. As more prudent men than the Girondins might have expected, the sanguinary demagogue was acquitted; and he was carried,—as a successful candidate was formerly chaired in England—upon the shoulders of the mob, to the hall of the Convention, amidst the cry of "Death to the Girondins." Robespierre, between whom and Marat there was mutual hatred, saw that in giving his support to this "friend of the people," whose mode of testifying his friendship was to excite to plunder and butchery, he was using an instrument for the destruction of the only party that had the confidence of the middle classes. He denounced the Girondins in the Convention as men who had wished to save the tyrant Louis, and had conspired with the traitor Dumouriez. The Commune of Paris had obtained a power which was opposed to all steady government, and the Girondins tried to bring them under the control of a Commission of Twelve appointed by the Convention. The mob was roused to that fury which never waits to inquire and to reflect,

when victims are pointed out for its vengeance. On the 31st of May the mob declared itself in a state of permanent insurrection—a phrase which indicated that the ordinary operations of justice were suspended, in the same way that martial law supersedes the accustomed course of legal authority. On the 2nd of June, the Convention was surrounded by an armed force, whose decrees were to be pronounced by a hundred pieces of artillery. Resistance was in vain. Twenty-two of the Girondin leaders were conducted to prison. Many of their friends escaped to the provinces. Some who had fled from the guillotine died by their own hands. The political existence of the party was at an end.

For the most odious of the assassins of the anarchical republic there was the vengeance of assassination also in store. The story of Charlotte Corday has been told by Lamartine with a power of picturesque narrative which few have equalled. The naked facts can only be related by ourselves. In the city of Caen resided, in 1793, a grand-daughter of the great tragic poet, Corneille. She was an enthusiast, devoted to those ideas of the new philosophy which she had derived from her father, and from the secret study of Rousseau in the convent in which she had passed her girlhood. Some of the proscribed Girondins had come to reside in Normandy; and from their eloquent invectives against the terrorists who were degrading the cause of the revolution by their crimes, she derived, in common with her neighbours, a hatred of Marat as the personification of all that was atrocious in the rulers of the populace. Pétion, Barbaroux, with many others of the fugitive deputies called up this disgust towards the ruling faction of Paris, by their oratory and their proclamations. Formidable bands of young men enrolled themselves to march to Paris, in order to rescue liberty from the assaults of anarchy. Amongst the number of these volunteers was one who aspired to Charlotte's love, but with a timid reserve. Her enthusiasm suggested that she had a higher call of duty than the indulgence of a feeling suited to more tranquil times. She felt that if the ferocity which now guided the Revolution was not arrested, her province, and the neighbouring districts now in insurrection, would become the scene of the most terrible carnage. She took her resolution. If Marat should fall there might be hope for the Republic. She travelled to Paris, which she entered on the 11th of July. With some difficulty she obtained admission to the mean lodging of Marat, on the evening of the 13th. She found him in a bath; and there she slew him. When examined, she said that she saw civil war ready to devastate France; that she deemed Marat to be the chief cause of the public calamities; and that she sacrificed her life, in taking his, to save her country. Her execution quickly followed. The wretch whom she had murdered was decreed a public funeral in the Pantheon. Danton pronounced his eulogy as "the divine Marat."

NOTE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY KALENDAR.

In reading the French historians of the period from the declaration of the Republic in 1792 to the end of 1805, we find the dates of events not given according to the common kalendar, but according to the most puzzling of all systems of chronology, the Republican Calendar adopted by the Convention. In our own history we give the dates, thus found in French writers, according to the Gregorian Kalendar; but it may be useful here to present a complete view of the Revolutionary Kalendar; which view we adopt, with some abridgment, from "The English Cyclopædia of Arts and Sciences."

The Convention decreed, on the 24th of November, 1793, that the common era should be abolished in all civil affairs: that the new French era should commence from the foundation of the republic, namely on the 22nd of September, 1792, on the day of the true autumnal equinox, when the sun entered Libra at $9^h\ 18^m\ 30^s$ in the morning, according to the meridian of Paris; that each year should begin at the midnight of the day on which the true autumnal equinox falls; and that the first year of the French republic had begun on the midnight of the 22nd of September, and terminated on the midnight between the 21st and 22nd of September, 1793. To produce a correspondence between the seasons and the civil year, it was decreed, that the fourth year of the republic should be the first sextile, or leap-year; that a sixth complementary day should be added to it, and that it should terminate the first Franciade; that the sextile or leap-year, which they called an olympic year, should take place every four years, and should mark the close of each Franciade: that the first, second, and third centurial years, namely, 100, 200, and 300 of the republic should be common, and that the fourth centurial year, namely, 400, should be sextile; and that this should be the case every fourth century until the 40th, which should terminate with a common year. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five additional days at the end, which were celebrated as festivals, and which obtained the name of "Sansculottides." Instead of the months being divided into weeks, they consisted of three parts, called Decades, of ten days each. It is however to be observed that the French republicans rarely adopted the decades in dating their letters, or in conversation, but used the number of the day of each month of their kalendar. The republican kalendar was first used on the 26th of November, 1793, and was discontinued on the 31st of December, 1805, when the Gregorian was resumed.

The decrees of the National Convention, which fixed the new mode of reckoning, were both vague and insufficient. A French work, 'Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien," par L. Rondonneau, puts every day of every year opposite to its day of the Gregorian kalendar. It is to actual usage that we must appeal to know what the decrees do not prescribe—namely, the position of the leap years. The following list, made from the work above mentioned, must be used as a correction of the usual accounts, in which the position of the leap-years is not sufficiently regarded.

		Sept.
An I.	begins	22, 1792
II.	,,	22, 1793
Sext. III.	,,	22, 1794
IV.	,,	23, 1795
V.	,,	22, 1796
VI.	,,	22, 1797
Sext. VII.	,,	22, 1798
VIII.	,,	23, 1799
Sext. IX.	begins	23, 1800
X.	,,	23, 1801
Sext. XI.	,,	23, 1802
An XII.	,,	24, 1803
XIII.	,,	23, 1804
XIV.	,,	23, 1805
ended 31 December, 1805.		

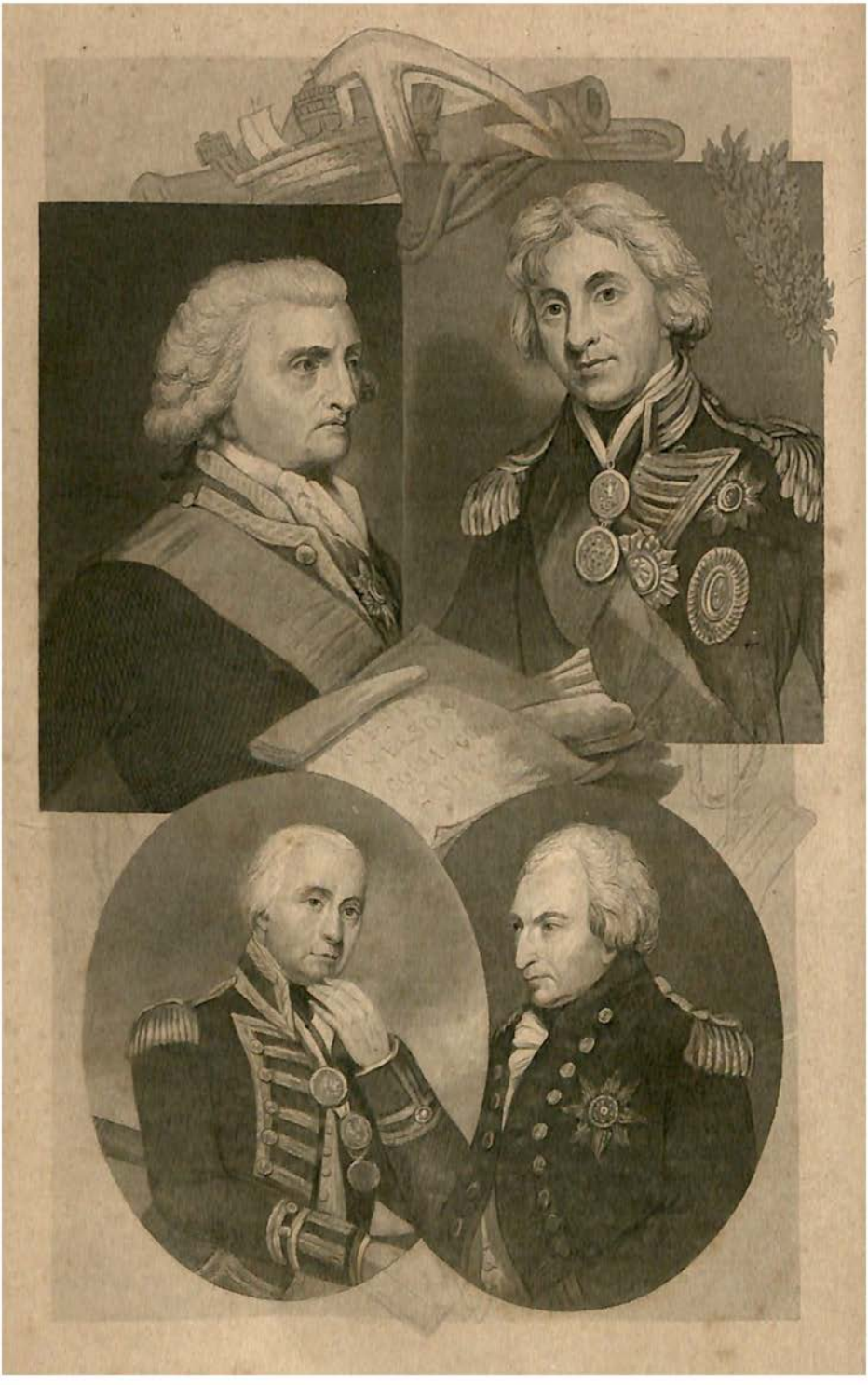
When the Gregorian year is not leap-year, the beginnings of the months are as follows, according as the republican year begins on September 22, 23, or 24 :—

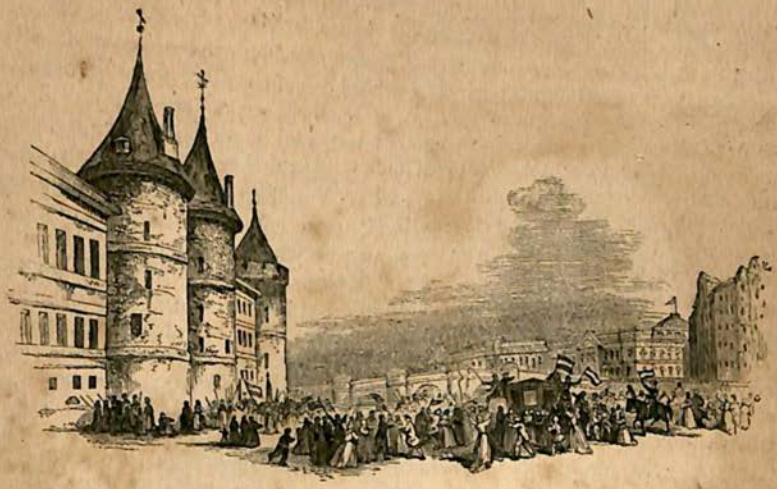
1	Vendémiaire	is	Sept.	22, 23, 24	1	Jan.	is	Niv.	12, 13, 10
1	Brumaire	is	Oct.	22, 23, 24	1	Feb.	is	Pluv.	13, 14, 11
1	Frimaire	is	Nov.	21, 22, 23	1	March	is	Vent.	11, 10, 9
1	Nivose	is	Dec.	21, 22, 23	1	April	is	Germ..	12, 11, 10
1	Pluviose	is	Jan.	20, 21, 22	1	May	is	Flor.	12, 11, 10
1	Ventose	is	Feb.	19, 20, 21	1	June	is	Prair.	13, 12, 11
1	Germinal	is	March	21, 22, 23	1	July	is	Messid.	13, 12, 11
1	Floréal	is	April	20, 21, 22	1	Aug.	is	Thermid.	14, 13, 12
1	Prairial	is	May	20, 21, 22	1	Sept.	is	Fructid.	15, 14, 13
1	Messidor	is	June	19, 20, 21	1	Oct.	is	Vendém.	10, 9, 8
1	Thermidor	is	July	19, 20, 21	1	Nov.	is	Brum.	11, 10, 9
1	Fructidor	is	Aug.	18, 19, 20	1	Dec.	is	Frim.	11, 10, 9

But when the Gregorian year is leap-year the beginnings of the months are as follows, according as the republican year begins on September 22, 23, or 24 :—

1	Vendém.	is	Sept.	22, 23, 24	1	Jan.	is	Niv.	12, 11, 10
1	Brum.	is	Oct.	22, 23, 24	1	Feb.	is	Vent.	13, 12, 11
1	Frim.	is	Nov.	21, 22, 23	1	March	is	Pluv.	12, 11, 10
1	Niv.	is	Dec.	21, 22, 23	1	April	is	Germ.	13, 12, 11
1	Pluv.	is	Jan.	20, 21, 22	1	May	is	Flor.	13, 12, 11
1	Vent.	is	Feb.	19, 20, 21	1	June	is	Prair.	14, 13, 12
1	Germ.	is	March	20, 21, 22	1	July	is	Messid.	14, 13, 12
1	Flor.	is	April	19, 20, 21	1	Aug.	is	Thermid.	15, 14, 13
1	Prair.	is	May	19, 20, 21	1	Sept.	is	Fructid.	16, 15, 14
1	Messid.	is	June	18, 19, 20	1	Oct.	is	Vendém.	11, 10, 9
1	Thermid.	is	July	18, 19, 20	1	Nov.	is	Brum.	12, 11, 10
1	Fructid.	is	Aug.	17, 18, 19	1	Dec.	is	Frim.	12, 11, 10

For instance, what is 14 Floréal, An XII. ? The republican year begins Sept. 24, 1803, so Floréal falls in 1804, which is Gregorian leap-year. Look at the third table, and when the year begins Sept. 24, the 1st of Floréal is April 21 ; consequently the 14th is May 4, 1804. Again, what is June 17, 1800, in the French kalendar ? The year is not Gregorian leap-year ; and An VIII. contains it, which begins Sept. 23. Look in the second table, and in such a year it appears that June 1 is the 12th of Prairial ; therefore June 17 is Prairial 28.





The Conciergerie, Paris. The Populace conveying Marie Antoinette to Prison there.

CHAPTER XVI.

Campaign of 1793—Valenciennes and Condé taken by the Allies—Mayence surrendered to Prussia—Duke of York besieges Dunkirk—The siege raised—Insurrection at Lyon against the Convention—Siege and surrender of Lyon to the republican armies—Doom of the city—Toulon—The Royalists negotiate with lord Hood, admiral of the fleet off Toulon—The French fleet and harbour surrendered to the combined forces—Declaration of the British government—Toulon besieged by republican armies—Napoleon Bonaparte—His plan for taking Toulon—Evacuation of Toulon—Destruction of the French fleet and arsenals—Energy and atrocities of the Jacobin government—War in La Vendée—The British aid to the Vendeans comes too late.

At the close of the Session of Parliament on the 21st of June, there was an exulting notice in the King's Speech of "the rapid and signal successes which, in an early period of the campaign, have attended the operations of the combined armies." The successes, at that moment, were scarcely of a nature to call for such congratulation. After the defection of Dumouriez, general Dampierre was appointed to the command of the republican army on the Flemish frontier. The Allied army, under the prince of Cobourg, took no advantage of the alarm produced amongst the French forces when the commander who had defended the Argonne, and won the battle of Jemappes, went over to their enemies. There was a month of inactivity whilst a Congress was deliberating at Antwerp upon the plan of a campaign. In the entrenched camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes, Dampierre received reinforcements. He thought himself strong enough on the 8th of May to make an attack on the extended lines of the Allies. On this day, the English Guards, under the duke of York, were first brought into action; and their bravery contributed much to the result of the engagement. The French were driven back to

their camp, with a severe loss, and general Dampierre was killed. On the 23rd the camp of Famars was attacked and carried by the Allies; and the French fell back to the camp of Cæsar, leaving Valenciennes uncovered. The siege of that city commenced on the 14th of June, the besieging forces being commanded by the duke of York. A fierce bombardment went on till the 28th of July, when the garrison capitulated, and were allowed to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. Their arms were turned against their fellow-countrymen in La Vendée. Condé also capitulated in July. On the Rhine, the forces of Prussia had defeated the French in several considerable actions. The great success was the surrender of Mayence to the king of Prussia, after a protracted siege, on the 22nd of July; the garrison of twenty thousand men being allowed to retire to France upon the same condition as the garrison of Valenciennes. The king of Prussia, having thus secured the safety of his own frontier, left the Allies to pursue their course without any further effectual co-operation. He sent the greater part of his army to occupy Dantzic and Thorn, upon which he had seized as his spoil in the new partition of Poland.

After the surrender of Valenciennes and the surrender of Condé, there was no fortified place sufficiently strong to have arrested the march of the allied armies to Paris had a vigorous and united policy been resolved upon. At the beginning of August, the republicans were driven from their stronghold, the camp of Cæsar, to a position behind the Scarpe, in front of Arras. But there was little vigour amongst the Allies, and there was less union. The combined armies separated. The Austrians, with forty-five thousand men, commenced the siege of Quesnoy, which fortress they took. The British, and their Hanoverian contingents, under the command of the duke of York, marched to attack Dunkirk, and were joined by a detachment of Austrians. This movement, for an object as selfish as the policy of Prussia, was dictated by the ministry of Mr. Pitt, under the miserable traditional desire to maintain our maritime ascendancy by the possession or the destruction of this French naval entrepôt. The duke had thirty-seven thousand men under his command. On the 18th of August an engagement took place at Lincelles, and the brave Guards carried a strong redoubt. Dutch troops also advanced against Dunkirk. Great preparations had been made in England for this enterprize. Eleven battalions were sent from the Thames, with a bombarding flotilla; but they arrived too late. The besieging army had not only failed of assistance from home; but in their encampment near the sandy shore they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's gun-boats. Whilst they were preparing for active operations during three weeks, the French, by the energetic direction of Carnot, who had brought the military affairs of the republic under the control of one powerful will, had rapidly marched from the Moselle, and finally compelled the duke of York to raise the siege. The covering army of the Austrians was defeated on the 8th of September, by the French general Houchard, near Hondscoote. The garrison of Dunkirk made a sally on the besiegers at the same time. The duke of York was placed in a position of imminent danger; and he resolved, on that night of the 8th, to withdraw from his lines, abandoning his heavy artillery and ammunition. The king's son, who possessed the bravery of his family, and was not altogether deficient in the rarer qualities of a commander, was not to be blamed for this reverse.

The French general Houchard was submitted to a more terrible criticism than the reproaches of the journalists who libelled the duke of York. The Convention put their general to death because he had not been vigilant enough to prevent the retreat of the English. In the affair of Dunkirk the duke of York manifested a generous forbearance towards those who were chiefly to blame. Lord Malmesbury, on his way to Berlin, saw the duke on the 6th of December; who said his army was ill provided; and he condemned the whole measure of Dunkirk, and separation of the armies. "On my hinting," says lord Malmesbury, "a possibility, or rather a certainty, that Grey would make Dunkirk the first object on the opening of the Session, the duke said he trusted none of *his* friends would be so over zealous as to defend him at the expense of others. . . . . He should be very sorry indeed that any blame should be thrown on any particular measure, or any particular minister, as it certainly would go to censure the principle of the war and produce the worst consequences." * On the first night of the Session (January 21, 1794), Mr. Fox did defend the duke of York, and did blame the minister. He wished to know who was the wise man who planned the expedition, and advised the division of the combined forces in Flanders? He exclaimed, "What must have been the feelings of a gallant British prince, who, through dangers and difficulties, had approached the sea, the natural dominion of his country, and expected to find the whole coast a fortress for him, at beholding his troops destroyed by the gun-boats of the enemy commanding the shore." Fox did point at the "particular minister" whom he held accountable for this and other miscarriages: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer possesses great talents and great eloquence; and the long period during which he has had the opportunity of displaying these talents in office has no doubt added to the number of his admirers: but he must now pick from the very lowest class of his flatterers before he can collect thirty men around his own table who will tell him that he is a great war minister." †

The failures in the North of France were compensated in the view of the British government by great events in the South. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother on the 15th September, lamenting that the bad accounts overbalance the good in Flanders. But, he adds, "I am much mistaken in my speculation if the business at Toulon is not decisive of the war. Only let your own mind follow up all the consequence of that event, and you will, I believe, agree with me that the expression I have used is not too sanguine. ‡ The English Secretary of State beheld the outbreak of civil war when the Girondins had been proscribed by the Jacobins; and as the probable end of a civil war he anticipated the restoration of the Monarchy. In the same letter, in which he rejoices over "the business at Toulon," he says, "we have news that the people of Lyon have defeated Dubois Crancé. . . . . The next month or six weeks will be an anxious period, and big with events." Lyon, Toulon, La Vendée, during that autumn, were the scenes of some of the most stirring and terrible events in modern history. We were not

* Malmesbury—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 17.
† "Parliamentary History," col. 1268–1271.
‡ "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 242.

content to look on. We did little good, if not positive harm, by our interference. The British government was far too weak effectually to control the issues of the fearful struggle between the factions of the Revolution. Grenville saw this: "We have nothing like force enough for all the objects that present themselves, and you know my settled aversion to undertaking little points of detail; some of which might succeed, but the result of the whole must be to cut to pieces the small force we have, without adequate success."*

Lyon, the great manufacturing city of the Rhone and the Saone, in 1793 contained a population amongst which were to be found all the extreme opinions engendered by the Revolution. There were ultra-royalists, constitutional royalists, moderate republicans, and republicans that went to such lengths in the assertion of anarchical doctrines that even Marat accused them of being paid by the foreign enemy. The party of the Girondins was the most numerous; that of the Jacobins the most daring. There dwelt in Lyon a Piedmontese named Chalier, who had been a considerable traveller, and had noted the oppressions of mankind under despotic governments. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution he went to Paris; became associated with Robespierre; and returned to Lyon to denounce, in the Central Club of that city, not only kings and nobles, but all the possessors of property, in whom the prophecy was to be fulfilled—"The wealthy shall be despoiled, and the poor shall be enriched." Chalier and his brother Clubbists sent for a guillotine from Paris; issued lists of the proscribed; and having obtained the control of the municipal authority, enforced their sweeping orders for the arrest and imprisonment of suspected persons. At length the terrorists, with their revolutionary tribunal, roused the citizens of Lyon to resistance. A battle between the partizans of Chalier and the sections of the city took place, which ended in the defeat of the municipal tyranny, and the triumph of the Girondins, at the very time when their leaders had fallen in Paris. Lyon, however, did not fear to oppose the dominant party in the Convention. Chalier, the disciple of that party, was condemned to death, and died by his own guillotine. From this time the city of Lyon was marked by the Jacobins for destruction, as the seat of counter-revolutionary opinions. The city refused to accept the new Constitution decreed by the Convention; and in August was in open revolt, with republican armies gathering on every side. At the beginning of August Lyon was surrounded by a great force under the command of Kellermann, who had been ordered to leave the defence of the frontiers to meet this more pressing danger. The men of Lyon had chosen for their leader the count De Précy, who had been colonel of a regiment, and had fought for the throne on the memorable tenth of August. He was a brave and skilful commander; and so directed the armed resistance of the Lyonnese that for two months they defended the beleaguered city amidst all the horrors of a bombardment. The fiercest assaults of the infuriated besiegers were met by the desperate sallies of the starving besieged. Public edifices, workshops and warehouses, mansions and hovels, were choking the narrow streets with their blazing ruins. Shelter and sustenance were at an end; when De Précy and three thousand resolute followers went forth to cut

* "Court and Cabinets," &c., vol. ii. p. 244—Letter of October 11.

their way through the republican lines, leaving Lyon to its fate. The greater number of this band perished. De Précy was one of the few who escaped. On the 8th of October the troops of the Convention entered the town. Kellermann, whose views were too merciful for the Jacobin rulers of

Siege of Lyon.

France, had been superseded by Dubois-Crancé; and his authority was merged, after the surrender of the city, in the superior power of Couthon and the other Commissioners of the authorities in Paris. The doom of Lyon was pronounced by Barère, of whom it has been said, "He tasted blood, and felt no loathing: he tasted it again, and liked it well. Cruelty became with him, first a habit, then a passion, at last a madness."* This clever and odious man, whose character is implied in his nickname, "The Anacreon of the guillotine," thus pronounced the doom of the great manufacturing emporium, with its hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: "Let the plough pass over Lyon. Let her name cease to exist. The rebels are conquered; but are they all exterminated? No weakness; no mercy. Let every one be smitten." The Convention issued its decree; Collot d'Herbois and Fouché went forth to execute it. Couthon had not slain enough men, nor destroyed enough property. He had traversed the city with a silver hammer in his hand; and when he struck a door, saying, "Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of the law," the mansion was quickly gutted and its walls overthrown. But he had not sent twenty victims daily to the scaffold, by the sentence of a Revolutionary Tribunal. He had not dragged batches of prisoners from their dungeons and destroyed them at once by volleys of musketry and grape-shot. This was the work of the Proconsuls, one of whom, Collot d'Herbois, apologizes to the Convention for his tardiness: "We go on demolishing with the fire of artillery, and with the explosion of mines, as fast as possible. But you must be sensible that, with a population of

* Macaulay in "Edin. Review," vol. lxxix. p. 279.

150,000, these processes find many obstacles. The popular axe cuts off twenty heads a day, and still the conspirators are not daunted. The prisons are choked with them. We have erected a Commission as prompt in its operations as the conscience of true republicans trying traitors can be. Sixty-four of these were shot yesterday on the spot where they had fired on the patriots. Two hundred and thirty are to fall this day in the ditches, where their execrable works had vomited death on the republican army." Fouché, his colleague, disclaimed any participation in these acts. He said to the late earl Stanhope, in 1815, in speaking of a German memoir of him which referred to the sanguinary scenes of Lyon, " I went there to save the inhabitants, all of whom would otherwise have been murdered by Collot d'Herbois." His name, with that of his colleague, was appended to some of the letters of this period; but he denied the authenticity of his signature.* A letter written by Fouché in March 1794, after Collot d'Herbois had quitted Lyon in the previous December, unless it be a forgery, is sufficient evidence of his guilt. " There still remain some accomplices of the Lyonnese revolt. We are about to hurl the thunderbolt at them."† Six thousand had perished by the knife and the bullet after the surrender of the city. The few wretches who crept out of their hiding-places after five months were reserved for the tender mercies of the virtuous Fouché.

Marseille had preceded Lyon in an insurrection against the Jacobin tyranny. But the revolt had been suppressed by general Carteaux; and those who had escaped the gaol and the scaffold had fled to Toulon. In that great sea-port there was deep discontent; and a monarchical spirit was rising into avowed hatred of the excesses of the republic. The fleet in Toulon harbour partook of this spirit, and its commander, admiral Trogoff, was opposed to the course of the Revolution. In the middle of August, admiral lord Hood was off Toulon, with twenty-one sail of the line and several frigates and sloops. A Spanish fleet was on its passage from Cadiz to join lord Hood. The French fleet in Toulon consisted of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates and corvettes, besides others fitting and repairing. On the 23rd of August two Commissioners from Toulon came off to lord Hood's flag-ship, to propose the surrender of the port and shipping to the British. They represented themselves to be charged with full powers from the sections of the Mouths of the Rhone to negotiate, with a view to the restoration of peace, and the re-establishment of a monarchical government, under the son of Louis XVI., according to the constitution as accepted by their late sovereign in 1789. Lord Hood issued a proclamation in which he promised that if the people should declare openly in favour of a monarchical government, and should put him in possession of the harbour, they should receive all the succour which he could afford; and that upon the return of peace the fleet should be restored to France. In a second proclamation he referred to the solemn declaration of the Commissioners, and stated that he should take possession of Toulon, as a deposit for Louis XVII. until peace should be re-established in France. After some delay, occasioned by the opposition of the French

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," 3rd series, p. 46, 8vo. edit., and Note by Earl Stanhope, p. 125.

† See Louis Blanc's "Histoire de la Révolution," tome x. p. 185.

admiral St. Julien, a staunch republican, who was supported by the crews of seven ships, the British marines, and the Spanish forces that had now arrived, took possession of the forts of Toulon. The French fleet removed into the inner harbour, and the British and Spanish fleets occupied the outer harbour. St. Julien and his adherents were permitted to leave the ships, and escape into the interior. The revolt of Toulon was met by the same vigour of the Jacobin rulers as they had manifested in the bombardment of Lyon; and the same principle of terror was called into action. Barère exclaimed in the Convention, "The corpses of the rebellious Lyonnese, floated down the Rhone, will teach the perfidious citizens of Toulon the fate which awaits them." The besieging army of Lyon was free to march against the revolted sea-port; general Carteaux moved from the subdued Marseille with his troops; another force advanced from Nice. In a few weeks a great French army was gathered round the walls of Toulon, animated by one spirit and led by daring officers. The garrison of Toulon at the end of October was in number about seventeen thousand, consisting of a mixed force of French royalists, Piedmontese, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, with little more than two thousand British. In the British fleet was a post-captain, Horatio Nelson, who, in a letter to his wife, described the surrender of Toulon and its fleet, without firing a shot, as such an event as history cannot produce its equal.* Nelson was dispatched in his swift-sailing ship, the Agamemnon, to procure from Naples the aid of Neapolitan troops; four thousand of whom finally joined the Allied forces under the temporary command of lord Mulgrave.

The political responsibilities of the British commanders at Toulon were of a very difficult and delicate nature. Lord Mulgrave, in his place in Parliament, stated, that he had refused to be present at the hoisting the white flag in Toulon, as requested by the principal magistrate. The constitution of 1789, he said, was adopted in the stipulation between the people of Toulon and us, for the purpose of quieting the fears of all descriptions of persons, and of removing all apprehension of the restoration either of the ancient or the modern despotism. Lord Mulgrave's description of the political opinions of the people of this great sea-port may be received as, in all probability, a tolerably correct view of the general state of public opinion in the provincial towns of France. The inhabitants of Toulon understood nothing of the terms of the Constitution for which they had stipulated: "Some felt such detestation and horror of the old despotism,—her bastiles, lettres de cachet, &c.,—that they were ready to undergo every extremity rather than submit to it; while others, conceiving that they had adopted the ancient system, wondered at the continuation of the modern authorities,—the sections, tribunes, magistrates, &c.,—when they had agreed to the restoration of monarchy, with all its appendages of nobility, orders, and priesthood."† The French before the Revolution had lost all political life; they had no practical acquaintance with the working of political institutions; and it is not therefore surprising that when the Revolution came they did not understand it. A Constitutional Monarchy was for them an anomaly. In a Monarchy they

* "Inedited Letters of Lord Nelson," communicated to "The London Review," conducted by Charles Mackay.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxi. col. 250—Debate, April 10, 1794

saw only a return to the ancient despotism. A Republic based upon law and order seemed to them an impossibility. They had a Republic of anarchical tyranny, before which the greater number trembled. But there was no sound public opinion to lead to the middle path of safety. The British government timidly appealed to the monarchical spirit, and as timidly professed a respect for the spirit of freedom. Lord Grenville was exceedingly solicitous about the precise terms of a Declaration, published by order of the king, on the 29th of October, 1793.* It was written in French, and was especially addressed to the "well-disposed part of the people of France." It said, "His majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular forms of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers." His majesty called upon the people of France, therefore, "to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy; not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and of religion." The rhetorician on the sea-shore, trying to make his voice heard above the roar of the angry waves, is but a faint type of lord Grenville preaching of "external peace, domestic tranquillity, a real and genuine liberty," to a people of whom one of their countrymen has written the character in words of deep significance: "Was there ever any nation on the face of the earth so full of contrasts, and so extreme in all its actions; more swayed by sensations, less by principles; led therefore always to do either worse or better than was expected of it, sometimes below the common level of humanity, sometimes greatly above it; a people so unalterable in its leading instincts, that its likeness may still be recognized in descriptions written two or three thousand years ago, but at the same time so mutable in its daily thoughts as to become a spectacle and an amazement to itself, and to be as much surprised as the rest of the world at the sight of what it has done!" †

The man was at Toulon who was fully to develope the leading attribute of the French people,—"apt for all things, but excelling only in war; adoring chance, force, success, splendour, and noise, more than true glory." ‡ In the French army was an officer of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte. He was twenty-four years of age; had been educated at the military school at Paris; had been a lieutenant of artillery in his seventeenth year; early in 1793 had fought for the Convention against Paoli in his native Corsica; had left the island with his mother and sisters in May of that year; had spent a short time at Marseilles, where he had written a pamphlet exhorting the revolted Marseillese to obey the Convention; and in September had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and had joined the besieging army before Toulon. He has himself described the general, Carteaux, under whom he was appointed to serve, as a man utterly incompetent. The artillery

* See "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 246.
† Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," p. 384. ‡ *Ibid.*

officer had a plan for conducting the attack upon Toulon, which he finally submitted to a Council of War, when Carteaux had been replaced by a more able commander, Dugommier. The success of this plan compelled the British to evacuate the city; and gave to the young officer a reputation

Napoleon Bonaparte, the Artillery Lieutenant.

which finally carried him, step by step, to be the arbiter of the destinies of Europe; and, beginning his career as a soldier of Liberty, to be the greatest foe of Liberty that ever appeared in the world.

The engineering operations of the French appear not to have at first impressed lord Hood and lord Mulgrave with an adequate sense of their possible consequences. Lord Mulgrave wrote home that Toulon was in a state of comfortable security; when the besieging army under Carteaux was taking up its positions. Towards the end of November, the plan of the enemy to attack the outer works which commanded the harbour, instead of making a general assault upon the town, was sufficiently developed, by the opening of a battery near the fort of Malbosquet, one of the most important of the forts in the occupation of the Allies. This was the mode of attack projected by Bonaparte. The fortifications of Toulon on the land side were below the posts of the besieging army on the amphitheatre of hills which surrounded the town. If batteries could be brought to bear on these fortifications from the higher ground, they might be taken by assault, and then the inner and outer harbour would be at the mercy of the besiegers, and the town must be evacuated. The fire of the French upon Malbosquet was so annoying, that on the 30th of November the garrison made a sortie with two thousand three hundred troops of various nations, of which three hundred only were British. The sortie was ineffectual. The Allied troops, commanded by sir David Dundas (lord Mulgrave having gone home), were repulsed by a much stronger body of the republicans; and general O'Hara, the commander of

the garrison, was wounded and taken prisoner. On the 13th of December lord Hood sent home a despatch in which he says, "Nothing very material has happened since the 30th of last month, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by some new erected batteries." These nearer approaches were something very material, whose consequences were soon to be determined. In a week after his despatch of the 13th, lord Hood writes, "It is my duty to acquaint you that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon." On the 17th of December, after a continued bombardment during twenty-four hours, the French forced the line of defence in two of its most essential points; and now, to use lord Hood's words, "the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells." The evacuation was determined upon by a council of war held the same day; and it was also resolved that the French ships which were fitted for sea should sail out with the English fleet, and that those which remained in the harbour, as well as the magazines and arsenal, should be destroyed. On the 18th the troops had been all withdrawn from the forts, and were concentrated in the town, ready to embark when the signal should be given for the most awful conflagration that naval warfare had ever presented. Sir Sidney Smith volunteered to conduct the terrible work of destruction. On the evening of the 18th the Vulcan fire-ship was towed into the inner harbour, and placed across the tier of the men-of-war. Preparations had previously been made for burning the arsenal and the storehouses. At ten o'clock a rocket flew up; and then the trains were fired that consigned the stores of this great naval depôt to the flames; and the fireship went amongst the men-of-war and the frigates at their anchorage, and they were quickly burning to the water's edge, amidst the explosion of powder magazines which threatened to involve the destroyers themselves in the general havoc. "The concussion of air," says sir Sidney Smith, "and the shower of falling timber on fire, was such as nearly to destroy the whole of us." Napoleon at St. Helena described the conflagration at Toulon as a sublime and unique spectacle. But that night presented a scene of horror far more impressive than the grandeur of the illumination which threw its red light afar upon sea and mountain. The quays of Toulon were crowded with terrified multitudes of both sexes, earnestly imploring a refuge in the Allied fleet from the dreaded vengeance of the triumphant republicans. Many of the more prominent of the monarchical party had been previously received on board the British and Spanish ships which were about to move into the roads off Toulon; but there was a helpless band of fugitives left behind, who, having found a temporary abiding place, knew that the vengeance which they had escaped at Marseille and Lyon would follow them here. Some crowded with desperate haste into boats which they found upon the beach, and were swamped. Others dashed into the sea, hoping to be picked up by the ships' crews. Sir Sidney Smith lingered in the harbour—amidst the bewildering glare and smoke, the tempest of scorching ashes, even the fire of the republican batteries upon the port,—till his own retreat had become difficult, in the endeavour to rescue all who cried to him for succour. In a debate in Parliament it was asserted that the commanders were much to blame in not having made dispositions for securing and bringing away the miserable inhabitants; and that, although a considerable number had embarked, that number was small, when compared with the wretches that

were left behind.* On the contrary, it was officially asserted that every one was taken from the town on its evacuation that felt disposed to go.† The naval historian of Great Britain says, "Those who recollect the massacres that stained republican France will be gratified to learn, that 14,877 men, women, and children, of the loyal Toulonese received an asylum on board the ships of the British." ‡ The refugees of Toulon, according to Lamartine, were conveyed to Leghorn, and established themselves in Tuscany. Lamartine paints the horrors of that night, and the difficulties of the attempt to carry away the terrified multitudes. But he does not distort historical facts, to gratify that hatred of England which seems, in some instances, to be engendered by her hospitality. Another historian of the Revolution says, "A party of fugitives had found an asylum on board the Spanish and Neapolitan vessels, where they were treated with a generous sympathy. The English themselves, although less anxious (*quoique moins empressés*), received *a certain number*, and the English government allowed them some support." § Those "sentiments of humanity," which M. L. Blanc eulogizes in the Spanish admiral, Langara, appear to have had some place in the heart of the English admiral. Lord Hood, in his despatch of the 20th December, writes, "It is a very comfortable satisfaction to me, that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in his majesty's ships." Those were sedulously cared for who claimed protection as being most compromised. Mr. Fox, in the debate on the evacuation of Toulon, said, if we took away all those who were desirous of coming away, we had the less to lament our failure; but he added, that the numerous executions that followed tended to throw a doubt upon this statement. The executions were indeed numerous. Barère had expressed the temper of the French Convention towards Toulon: "The conquest won by the Mountain over the Brissotines must be commemorated by a mark set on the place where Toulon once stood. The national thunder must crush the house of every trader in that town." The Committee of Public Safety had sent thither its commissioners, Barras, Fréron, and the younger Robespierre. According to some accounts these ministers of vengeance slew thousands by their fusillades. According to other accounts, the number of victims did not exceed a hundred and fifty or two hundred.‖ The letters of Fréron himself, if not forgeries, contradict the apologists of republican massacres. On the 24th of December, five days after Toulon had been evacuated by the Allies, he writes to the Committee in Paris, that he had secured twelve thousand labourers to raze to the ground the buildings of the town; and he adds, "Each day I accomplish the fall of two hundred heads; and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot."

The capture and destruction of a large portion of the French fleet at Toulon was of considerable service to Great Britain in the naval war. But, like many other successes, it may be doubted whether the moral injury did not overbalance the material advantage. Burke, before the events of the 18th of December, "heard with infinite sorrow that in taking the king of

* "Parliamentary History," April 10, 1794, vol. xxxi. col. 248.
† *Ibid.* col. 246.
‡ James's "Naval History," vol. i. p. 156.
§ Louis Blanc, "Histoire de la Révolution," tom. x. p. 101.
‖ Thiers, tom. vi. p. 146; Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 103.

France's fleet in trust, we instantly unrigged and dismasted the ships. . . . These ships are now so circumstanced, that if we are forced to evacuate Toulon, they must fall into the hands of the enemy, or be burnt by ourselves. I know this is by some considered as a fine thing for us. But the Athenians ought not to be better than the English, or Mr. Pitt less virtuous than Aristides."* This reasoning was too subtle for the Parliament or the people to comprehend it. Great Britain was at war with France; and therefore it was good for Great Britain to have destroyed fifteen vessels of war at Toulon, and to have brought away seventeen. When Aristides would not listen to the project of burning the Lacedæmonian fleet, he said that nothing could be more advantageous to the State or less honourable. The parallel does not hold in all its circumstances. The destruction of the Lacedæmonian fleet would have been an act of treachery to confederates. No one denied the advantage of crippling the Toulon fleet; and few could see any injustice in despoiling an enemy, whose language was, "May England be ruined! May England be annihilated! Such ought to be the concluding article of every revolutionary decree of the National Convention of France."†

In the debate on the Address, when Parliament was opened on the 21st of January, 1794, Mr. Fox took a retrospect of the events of the preceding seven months. He said that when the Session closed in June, there were parties existing in France of equal strength. The Girondins occupied Lyon, Bourdeaux, and other places; the Royalists possessed La Vendée. The Convention not only quelled all internal insurrections, but defeated their foreign enemies. What, he asked, is the inference? "That there is no probability, nor even possibility, of overthrowing the Jacobin government of France in another campaign, nor in another after that." The minority in both Houses constantly alleged against Mr. Pitt, that the establishment of monarchy in France was the object which he wished to effectuate. They might have reproached him more justly that, if he really had this object at heart, he lost the only real opportunity of giving an energetic support to the loyal and religious spirit which had been awakened in a portion of France; and had neglected thus to oppose a definite principle to the ferocious domination of the Jacobin government. It has been said of Mr. Pitt by one who, looking calmly upon the past, is not carried away by any anti-democratic prejudices, "If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own." ‡ In March, 1793, the people of Brittany and La Vendée rushed into such a Holy War; and during the whole of that year they were fighting with an energy which at one time appeared not unlikely to hurl back the Jacobin tyranny to its chosen seat of Paris, and give the provinces a chance of escape from the Reign of Terror which had established itself after the fall of the Girondins. The efforts of the poor Vendeans are in vain. The provinces look on and tremble whilst the guillotine does its work in the South of France; whilst the Queen Marie Antoinette,—sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the motion of Barère,

* "Policy of the Allies."
† Speech of Barère, September 21, 1793.
‡ Macaulay, "Life of Pitt."

who calls the daughter of Maria Theresa "the Austrian woman,"—is dragged to the scaffold on the 10th of October; whilst Vergniaud, the young and eloquent, and twenty-one other Girondin deputies, are put to death on the same day, the 31st of October; whilst the enthusiastic Madame Roland; and Bailly, once so venerated as a patriot; and the duke of Orleans, whose fate nobody deplores, are executed early in November; whilst the Goddess of Reason, personated by a harlot of the Opera, is inaugurated at Notre Dame. Surely, the outraged humanities and decencies of life will not long endure these horrors. They will be endured; and they will go on from bad to worse. Terror calls out its levy-en-masse to defend the Republic from all internal and external enemies. Wherever there is a foe on the frontier the conscripts are hurled against him. Wherever insurrection against the Mountain shows its head, legions march to put it down. Jourdan drives the prince of Cobourg over the Sambre on the 16th of October. The Vendeans are annihilated at Mans and Savenay in the middle of December. The Jacobin government is successful in all its military operations. Success throws a veil over its crimes; and the French learn to believe that Barère was speaking very reasonably when he exclaimed, "The vessel of the Revolution can float into port only on waves of blood."

The exciting and romantic incidents of the war in La Vendée are familiar to most persons, in the charming Memoirs of the Marchioness de La Rochejaquelein. She has presented to us, in her simple and touching descriptions, the picture of a community almost wholly different from any other French population at the time of the Revolution. La Vendée, known also as *Le Pays du Bocage*,—a tract of about a hundred and fifty miles square, on the southern bank and at the mouth of the Loire,—was for the most part a sequestered district, with few towns—a pastoral district, where the resident proprietors lived without pomp or luxury, keeping up an affectionate intercourse with the peasantry; and where the curés and their flocks had no differences of opinion, and the philosophy of the Revolution had not come to disturb the old piety and its traditional superstitions. This state of tranquillity was interrupted by the harsh measures of the republican authorities, before the death of the king. The murmurs of the people became loud against their oppressors. "The unhappy peasants, wounded in every thing that was dear to them—subjected to a yoke which the happiness they had formerly enjoyed made them feel still heavier—revolted at last. . . . . The insurrection began, from the impulse of the moment, without plan, without concert, and almost without hopes." * It broke out at La Florent in Anjou, where the young men made a forcible resistance to the Commissioners who were superintending the ballot for the levy of troops. Jaques Cathelineau, a hawker of woollens, put himself at the head of his countrymen, who were all accustomed to field-sports, and some familiar with the use of arms. Their numbers soon amounted to a thousand; but after several successful encounters with the republican troops, they suddenly dispersed; for Easter was at hand, and they must keep the sacred festival in their own homes. But the Vendeans were soon again in the field, many under the command of M. de Charette; who became the principal chief of the district of Bas

* "Memoirs of the Marchioness de La Rochejaquelein," English translation, p. 53.

Poitou. Another leader, the most popular of the insurgents, was young Henri de la Rochejaquelein, who said to his ten thousand followers, "Follow me when I advance against the enemy; kill me when I turn my back upon them; revenge me, if they bring me down." M. de Lescure, the first husband of the fair historian of La Vendée, was equally beloved. There were other chiefs who held commands, some of whom had served in the army.

Count Henri de la Rochejaquelein.

But the discipline of the insurgents was very imperfect, and their organization still more loose. It was an army of partizans, who fought well, but had little effectual concert in their operations.

To trace the course of civil war in La Vendée would exceed the limits of this History, and would be a departure from its objects. After various successes against the republicans, the contest assumed the most formidable dimensions. Cathelineau was appointed to the chief command of the insurgents; but was soon after killed. General Westermann was dispatched by the Convention, with orders to lay waste and burn the whole district. The royalists attacked Westermann at Chatillon; and his defeat was followed by fearful massacres of the republicans in revenge of their vindictive acts. The whole country was in the agonies of an internecine conflict. During the summer the English government offered assistance through an emigrant from Brittany, M. de Tinteniac, who brought despatches from Mr. Dundas. The ignorance of the English, in all that related to the position of the Vendeans, is described as complete; and M. de Tinteniac, although he stated that the English government appeared disposed to assist, and that all seemed ready for a landing on the coast of France, could not help suspecting its lukewarmness, on account of "the conduct of the English ministry towards the emigrants." The Vendean chiefs proposed a place of landing for a British force, and promised to join with fifty thousand men. For months the Vendeans thought that the promised help would come. The war went on without any assistance from the ministry of Mr. Pitt. It was probably out of his power to render any effectual aid, with a number of other objects in hand, each requiring a few thousand men. We did not make war, as Carnot made war, by throwing a great force upon one point. The Convention sent two hundred thousand men into La Vendée, with orders that

the whole inhabitants should be exterminated without regard to age or sex, the woods in which they sheltered cut down, the habitations given to the flames. Terrible was the resistance to these sanguinary decrees. Some of the Vendean chiefs, such as M. de Lescure and Henri de la Rochejaquelein, were humane; others, such as Charette, repaid cruelty by cruelty. The Vendeans obtained a victory over Kleber, at Chollet, in September; but another battle was fought on the same ground, when the overwhelming forces of the republic drove the insurgents to the low country on the bank of the Loire. M. de Bonchamps, one of the most efficient commanders, was mortally wounded at Chollet. M. de Lescure had been previously wounded, and met a lingering death. Henri de la Rochejaquelein was now elected to the chief command. The passage of the Loire into Brittany, where the people invited the fugitives to come over and join their fates to theirs, has been described by the Marchioness de la Rochejaquelein with a power which an eye-witness could only attain. She paints the heights of St. Florent

Charette.

forming a semicircular boundary to a vast level strand reaching to the wide Loire; eighty thousand people crowded in the valley; soldiers, women, children, aged, wounded, flying from destruction; the burning villages behind; another multitude on the opposite shore. There were five thousand republican prisoners with the Vendean army. It was proposed to shoot them. The wounded De Lescure interfered, and they were spared. But another spirit soon came over this devoted royalist almost in his dying hours. He was carried with the army in a carriage. On his way "somebody came and read to him from a newspaper the details of the queen's death. He cried out, 'Ah! the monsters have then killed her! I fought to deliver her! If I live it will be to revenge her. No more quarter.' This idea never quitted him." * The details of that murder, if truly told, would excuse this outburst. The long imprisonment in the Temple; the brutal separation of the mother from her son; her removal to the dens of the Conciergerie; her mock trial and exposure to the obscene insults of the judges of the infamous Tribunal; her lofty contempt; her pious fortitude;—these were indeed details to move

* "Memoirs," p. 312.

even a merciful leader of a royalist insurrection to think only of revenge. De Lescure died: but his words were not forgotten. Then came a series of battles in which no quarter was given on either side. The harassed fugitives again tried to repass the Loire, reduced in number to ten thousand survivors. The final destruction of "the Catholic army" soon closed that first great struggle of the Vendeans. The brave Henri de la Rochejaquelein was killed. The horrible proceedings of the Jacobin Proconsul Carrier at Nantes—his *noyades*, in which boat-loads of victims were sunk daily by this exulting ruffian,—these formed the climax of the horrors of the royalist war. The details of these tragedies are heart-sickening. "Cruel is the panther of the woods, the she bear bereaved of her whelps; but there is in man a hatred crueller than that." *

Whilst all these struggles in La Vendée, heroic but hopeless, were proceeding during that eventful year, the British government, having twice been in communication with the royalists, at length roused itself to make an effort

Attack on Nantes by the Vendeans.

for their assistance. At the moment when the Vendeans had re-crossed the Loire, unable to maintain their position in Brittany, an expedition under the command of lord Moira, with eight English battalions and ten thousand Hanoverians and emigrants, was dispatched to their assistance. There was no signal from the shore. The help had come too late.

* Carlyle, book v., chap. 4.

Victory of the First of June.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Reign of Terror in France—Sentence upon Muir and Palmer in Scotland—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Trials for High-treason of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall—Invasion threatened—National Defence—State of the Navy—Howe's Naval Victory of the first of June—French decree of No Quarter for Englishmen and Hanoverians—Jacobinism recognizes the Supreme Being—The Fall of Robespierre—Rottenness of the Coalition against France—Successes of the French—Recall of the Duke of York from the command of the British forces—Holland lost—Remnant of the British army leaves the Continent—Poland finally enslaved when Kosciusko fell—Corsica—Siege of Bastia.

On the opening of the Session of Parliament in January, 1794, the earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) delivered a most remarkable speech, in which he traced the whole course of the French Revolution, contending that it was impossible to make peace with those who directed the government of France. His eloquent peroration was in some degree prophetic of the vicissitudes that the then possessors of revolutionary authority might be expected to undergo. Would a great nation rely upon her own sword, or entrust the whole frame of her laws, her liberties, and her religion, "to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their

crimes?" * Assuredly the Revolution was then steadily pursuing the process of "eating its own children." The Girondins had all vanished—some by the scaffold, some by starvation, some by poison. Other chiefs of rival factions were about to follow. On the 24th of March, the Hébertistes were guillotined. On the 3rd of April, the Dantonists were guillotined. Hébert,—the most filthy of writers, the most violent of insurrectionists,—and a strange assortment of his disciples, were condemned for their love of blood. Danton, and Camille Desmoulins, who had grown sick of revolutionary horrors, stood equally in the way of Robespierre, and were condemned for their moderation. The Notabilities of the Revolution fall in quick succession; but the guillotine knows no distinction of persons. It sweeps all opinions into its sack. It takes without any nicety of selection the widow of Hébert; the widow of Camille Desmoulins; the princess Elizabeth, the admirable sister of Loius; the duchess de Grammont, and the duchess du Chatelet;—famous members of the Constituent Assembly, D'Espremenil, Chapelier, and Thourot;—Malesherbes, the generous defender of the king, with his daughter and grand-daughter. For republicans and royalists, for rich and poor, for either sex, for bedridden fourscore, and for blooming sixteen, the Revolutionary Tribunal has its infallible prescription. The prisons of Paris are full—not of violators of the laws for the protection of person and property, but of *suspects*. The prisons must be emptied. In these pleasant months of April and May, when the orange blossoms are smelling sweetly in the Tuileries gardens, the dread machine is doing its daily work upon batches of a dozen or a score; and women sit upon its steps and knit—the "Tricoteuses of Robespierre" who were paid to assist in the "National fêtes,"—the priestesses of the sacrifices, during those two months, of five hundred and twenty-seven select victims out of seven thousand prisoners.

These things were not done in a corner. Englishmen heard and read of the atrocities of the Reign of Terror—probably presented to them with some exaggeration. At this season the English government chose to believe that revolutionary principles had an especial attraction for some portion of the people of this country. Obscure quarters of London were swarming with emigrant nobility and clergy—learning to labour at some calling, or earning their bread by teaching their language. Delicately nurtured women were mantua-makers in garrets in the dingy regions of St. Pancras. There might be a few stern believers in equality who would rejoice to see the great ones of the earth humbled in the dust; but even these might have been softened in beholding how cheerfully adversity was borne,—in many cases how piously. What Englishmen heard of the course of Revolution abroad—its murders, its confiscations, its interruptions of all industry, its conscriptions;—what they saw of the privations and humiliations of those who had taken refuge where they might at least be safe from lawless violence—these things were not calculated to make them desirous of such organic changes as would substitute a sanguinary Despotism for a limited Monarchy, a National Convention for a House of Commons, and a Revolutionary Tribunal for a British Jury. Nevertheless, this was the dreaded danger, to proclaim which Burke first rang his alarm-bell. According to the belief of the great parliamentary

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1213.

majority, the advocates of Reform were the high-priests of Anarchy. Pitt did not hold such extreme views. He said, as he had a right to say, that it was a dangerous time for any constitutional change. But he was carried along with the current; and he practically identified himself with the passions of the time, when he sanctioned the arbitrary attempts to punish Reformers as conspirators.

The disposition of the British government was exhibited in a very striking manner in the parliamentary proceedings arising out of the sentences passed by the Courts of Scotland upon Thomas Muir, and Thomas Fysshe Palmer. We are told by the biographer of lord Eldon that "the revolutionary poison, distributed by the French republicans, had now begun to operate extensively. A time therefore was considered by the government to have arrived, when the safety of the State required prosecutions, which should involve heavier consequences than those attaching under the English law to mere sedition. The first experiments were made in Scotland." * These first experiments were certainly not greatly to the honour of those who, in the sister kingdom, contrived to inflict the punishment of fourteen years transportation upon Muir, a young advocate at the Scotch bar, and seven years transportation upon Palmer, an English clergyman, for an offence which in England would have amounted only to a misdemeanour, if a jury could have been found in England to convict the accused. They were agitators for Reform in the representation of the people. The lord justice clerk Braxfield summed up violently against Muir; and, says lord Campbell, "hardly attempted to conceal that the corpus delicti was the advocacy of Parliamentary Reform." This specimen of a past time asked, what right had the rabble, who had been petitioning Parliament, to representation? The landed interest alone has a right to be represented. In passing sentence upon Muir it was proclaimed that by the Roman law, which is held to be the Scotch Common Law, transportation was amongst the mildest of penalties; that death was the proper punishment of sedition—death by the gallows or by exposure to wild beasts, as the merciful judge set forth in Latin quotations. In a most learned and able speech in the House of Commons, where these arbitrary proceedings formed the subject of several debates, Mr. Adam maintained that the offence with which these persons were charged in their indictments was what the law of Scotland termed Leasing-making; that is, uttering words, or publishing matter, tending to breed discord between the king and his people; and that the punishment of transportation could not, by the same law, be inflicted for the crime of Leasing-making. The lord advocate contended that he had indicted them under the Common Law, and that the judges in Scotland had a discretionary power of punishing by transportation what in England was known as Sedition. This law officer had the indiscretion to say that, Mr. Adam having talked of assimilating the law of Scotland to the law of England, and of calling the attention of the Scotch judges to the milder punishments of England for the same offence, "he saw no reason for this; on the contrary he saw many strong reasons for bringing the law of England up to that of Scotland." The indignation of Mr. Fox was withering. "If that day should ever arrive which the lord advocate seems so anxiously to

* Twiss—"Life of lord Eldon," vol. i. p. 230.

wish for—if the tyrannical laws of Scotland should ever be introduced in opposition to the humane laws of England, it would then be high time for my honourable friends and myself to settle our affairs, and retire to some happier clime, where we might at least enjoy those rights which are given to man, and which his nature tells him he has a right to demand." Mr. Pitt had on this occasion, as in many other instances, to endure the reproach of departing from the principles he once professed, in now sanctioning the execution of the sentences upon these men; "whose offence," said Mr. Adam, "might perhaps be traced to the doctrines formerly inculcated by some of those who now held distinguished situations in the Cabinet." *

On the 12th of May a Message from the king was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in which it was stated that upon information of seditious practices carried on by certain Societies in London, their books and papers had been seized; and that his majesty had ordered them to be laid before the House. A Committee of Secresy was appointed by ballot to examine these papers, and on the 16th they presented their first Report. The Societies whose papers were thus examined were "The Society for Constitutional Information" and "The London Corresponding Society."† On the presentation of the Report, Mr. Pitt dwelt upon the various allegations of the Committee; and particularly upon their conclusion that a Convention was contemplated, which might take upon itself the character of a general representative of the people; a Convention evidently designed, said Mr. Pitt, "to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the Parliament that power which the people and the constitution had lodged in their hands." He then moved "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government." The proposed measure was a Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; ‡ and its necessity was grounded upon the recital of the Bill, "that a treacherous and detestable conspiracy had been formed for subverting the existing laws and constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which had lately prevailed in France." It was opposed strenuously by the usual small minority, but was rapidly carried through the Commons; and was passed at three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 18th. On the 23rd it passed the House of Lords. On the 19th, after examinations before the Privy Council, six persons were committed to the Tower, charged with high-treason; amongst whom were the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to earl Stanhope, Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall. The State Trials arising out of these arrests, and of the arrests of others also charged with the highest offence known to the law, are amongst the most interesting proceedings in our constitutional history. Five months were employed by the government in preparation for the arraignment of thirteen persons to be charged with "compassing the death of our Lord the King." This resort to the law of Constructive Treason can scarcely now find a defender, except a remnant be left of the alarmists who regarded the long struggle against popular rights as

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1490 to 1576.

† See *ante*, p. 247. ‡ See Vol. IV. p. 344.

the saving of the monarchy. Most men agree with the eminent lawyer who now holds the highest office under the Crown, that if the ministerial measure had succeeded, "all political agitation must have been extinguished in England; as there would have been a precedent for holding that the effort to carry a measure by influencing public opinion through the means openly resorted to in our days is a compassing of the death of the sovereign. The only chance of escaping servitude would have been civil war." *

The Grand Jury of Middlesex having found an indictment against twelve persons for high-treason, and a Special Commission having been appointed for their trials, this memorable proceeding commenced at the Session House in the Old Bailey, on the 28th of October, with the trial of Thomas Hardy. One who was amongst the twelve accused has described this crisis with some pomp of words which sounds like exaggeration, but which is scarcely an overstrained estimate of the popular feeling. Thomas Holcroft says, "Perhaps this country never witnessed a moment more portentous. The hearts and countenances of men seemed pregnant with doubt and terror. They waited, in something like a stupor of amazement, for the fearful sentence on which their deliverance or their destruction seemed to depend. Never surely was the public mind more profoundly agitated. The whole power of government was directed against Thomas Hardy; in his fate seemed involved the fate of the nation." † Erskine and Gibbs were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. Sir John Scott, Attorney-General, opened the case for the prosecution in a speech of nine hours. He maintained that the evidence would establish the fact of a conspiracy to depose the king, which, in point of law, is an overt act of compassing his death; that this overt act was included in the still wider design of subverting the entire monarchy, and substituting a commonwealth, which was the real object aimed at, under colour of a full and fair representation of the people; that the Convention which the persons thus charged conspired to establish, was a Convention to alter the whole form of the sovereign power of this country, by vesting in a body formed upon universal suffrage and the rights of man, all the legislative and executive government of the country; and, contemplating the destruction of the regal office in the constitution of the state, was an overt act of high treason. The evidence to establish this statement occupied five days, from an early hour of each morning till midnight. "In the annals of English criminal jurisprudence there had not yet been an instance of a trial for high treason that had not been finished in a single day," says lord Campbell. This evidence embraced copious extracts of the voluminous publications issued by the reforming Societies—resolutions and speeches all over the country—toasts at public dinners—a vast variety of matters which Erskine, in his reply, described as not the peculiar transactions of the prisoners, but of immense bodies of the king's subjects in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve. "Not a syllable have we heard read," said he, "in the week's imprisonment that we have suffered, that we had not all of us read for months and months before the prosecution was heard of." ‡ This reply of the great advocate occupied seven hours in the delivery. No one,

* Lord Campbell—"Lives of the Lord Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 470.
† "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 180.
‡ "Erskine's Speeches," vol. iii. p. 393.

even at this distance of time, can read it without emotion; for assuredly in the whole compass of forensic eloquence is not to be found a nobler display of impressive reasoning, of constitutional learning, of earnestness in the assertion of the great principles of liberty, of fearlessness in the exposure of the tendencies towards arbitrary government. Men must then have acknowledged the force of the great truth which he uttered, as we now regard it from the historical point of view, when he said, "We are in a crisis of our affairs, which, putting justice out of the question, calls in sound policy for the greatest prudence and moderation. At a time when other nations are disposed to subvert their establishments, let it be our wisdom to make the subject feel the practical benefits of our own: let us seek to bring good out of evil: the distracted inhabitants of the world will fly to us for sanctuary, driven out of their countries from the dreadful consequences of not attending to seasonable reforms in government,—victims to the folly of suffering corruptions to continue, till the whole fabric of society is dissolved and tumbles into ruin. Landing upon our shores, they will feel the blessing of security, and they will discover in what it consists: they will read this trial, and their hearts will palpitate at your decision: they will say to one another, and their voices will reach to the ends of the earth, May the constitution of England endure for ever—the sacred and yet remaining sanctuary for the oppressed." This confident anticipation of their verdict was not too bold. Although the House of Commons had made an *ex parte* declaration of guilt in the recital to the Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus—although "the protesting Commons was itself the accuser, and acted as a solicitor to prepare the very briefs for the prosecution" *—the orator's belief was fully realised. After nine days close confinement, the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

The advisers of the Crown now desperately resolved to cast the die for another chance of success. Upon the same charge, and with the same evidence, John Horne Tooke was arraigned. He took much of the conduct

Horne Tooke.

of the defence into his own hands, by cross-examining the witnesses for the prosecution. His coolness and readiness, his repartees and quaint questions,

* Speech on the Trial of Horne Tooke—"Erskine's Speeches," vol. iv. p. 7.

appeared to betoken a levity inconsistent with his serious position on a trial for life or death. But he had the discretion to leave the speech for his defence in the hands of Erskine. It was bolder and more confident than the speech for Hardy. Mr. Pitt was examined by Tooke as a witness for the defence; and he was subjected to a life-enduring mortification in having to say that he "did not recollect" having been present at a meeting of delegates previous to one of his motions in Parliament on the subject of Reform. There were others who did recollect. The trial of Tooke lasted three days. The jury, without retiring, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. A third prisoner was put to the bar, John Thelwall. He was also defended by Erskine; and the same verdict of Not Guilty was returned upon the third day. The service which Erskine rendered to his country, by his wonderful efforts on these trials, has been estimated by one of the most eminent of the orators of our own age: "If there be yet amongst us the power of freely discussing the acts of our rulers; if there be yet the privilege of meeting for the promotion of needful reforms; if he who desires wholesome changes in our Constitution be still recognized as a patriot, and not doomed to die the death of a traitor; let us acknowledge with gratitude that to this great man, under Heaven, we owe this felicity of the times." * Lord Campbell affirms that lord Loughborough was a principal adviser of these trials; and he adds a remarkable anecdote: "To the credit of George III., when the whole subject was understood by him, he rejoiced in the acquittals, and laying all the blame on the Chancellor, he said, 'You have got us into the wrong box, my lord, you have got us into the wrong box. Constructive treason won't do, my lord, constructive treason won't do.'" †

A sagacious observer of the public temper of this period—one who had lost all his original enthusiasm for the French Revolution, and dreaded that the French would "preserve nothing of civilized life but its vices"—writes in October, "There are many persons here who wish a total overthrow of our constitution, and many more who desire great changes in it." Romilly thus separates the smaller class of republicans from the larger class of reformers. There was a far more numerous class than either of these—"the majority of the nation," who are "most ardent zealots for maintaining our constitution as it is, and disposed to think the reform of the most palpable abuse, which has been of long continuance, as a species of sacrilege." ‡ We may be sure, therefore, that to "the majority of the nation" the determination of the government to resist every species of innovation offered no ground for alarm or solicitude. They thought there were greater dangers than abridgment of public liberty. Nevertheless, the confiding Englishman who believed himself free, at a time when the political spy was everywhere dodging his footsteps, had no desire again to look upon heads on Temple Bar, and was not sorry when Hardy, the shoemaker, and Parson Horne, and Thelwall, the lecturer, and nine other men of various grades in society, returned to their homes. Whatever might have been the general apathy, this was, indeed, a period of

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen."

† "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 267. Lord Campbell has no reference to an authority for this anecdote.

‡ "Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly," Letter ciii.

real danger—a period in which the rashness of impracticable theorists, and the terrors of party lawgivers, might have plunged the country into a contest which would have ended in anarchy or despotism. But the quiescent state of the bulk of the people was their safety. The rallying cry of Liberty at the beginning of the reign of George III. was no longer heard; but the principle was not dead. There is a noble passage in Erskine's Speech for Hardy, the truth of which is as fresh now as on the day of its utterance, and whose value may even be better estimated at the present day, after the experience of the last quarter of a century: "In reviewing the history of this highly favoured island, it is most beautiful, and at the same time highly encouraging, to observe, by what an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, under the superintendence of a benevolent Providence, the liberties of our country have been established. Amidst the convulsions arising from the maddest ambition and injustice, and whilst the State was alternately departing from its poise, on one side and on the other, the great rights of mankind were insensibly taking root and flourishing. Though sometimes monarchy threatened to lay them prostrate, though aristocracy occasionally undermined them, and democracy in her turn rashly trampled on them, yet they have ever come safely round at last. This awful and sublime contemplation should teach us to bear with one another, when our opinions do not quite coincide; extracting final harmony from the inevitable differences which ever did, and ever must, exist amongst men." *

From the commencement of the war, the spirit of Reform in England was abundantly neutralized by the spirit of Patriotism. The French government at the beginning of 1794 threatened invasion. The English government not only increased the regular forces, but advocated the formation of bodies of Volunteers in every county. On the 17th of April an Act was passed, "for encouraging and disciplining such corps, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves, for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war." This arming of the people was principally confined to corps of yeomanry cavalry. Lord Grenville, writing to his brother, says, "I think the natural defence of this country against an enemy once landed, is by the immense irregular cavalry that might be collected, and formed round small bodies of disciplined horse. This, of course, does not exclude the necessity of some infantry to oppose the enemy in front." † Lord Grenville's notions of national defence seem to have been as crude as the plans of the ministry for carrying on the war abroad. In the naval administration there was less to be deplored. A great writer has said, "The English navy no mismanagement could ruin. But during a long period whatever mismanagement could do was done." ‡ A great naval commander, on the contrary, says of the period at which he first joined the service (June 1793), "The energy of the government kept pace with the patriotism of the nation. That fearful system of naval jobbery,—which unhappily characterized the subsequent progress of the war, crowding the seas with worthless vessels, purchased into the service

* "Erskine's Speeches," vol. iii. p. 347.
† "Court, &c. of George III." vol. ii. p. 255.
‡ Macaulay—"Life of Pitt."

in exchange for borough influence,—had not as yet begun to thwart the unity of purpose and action." * A system different to that of the present time seems to have been then pursued. "Dockyards in those days were secondary objects. At Sheerness, the people lived like rabbits in a warren, in old hulks, hauled up high and dry; yet everything was well done, and the supervision perfect. . . . . The service now seems to savour too much of the dockyard, and too little of the seaman. Formerly, both officers and men had to lend a hand in everything; and few were the operations which, unaided by artificers, they could not perfectly accomplish." † There was no false economy in the supply of means for manning the navy; although the want of men was sensibly felt. The number of 85,000 seamen and marines, voted by Parliament for the year, could only be obtained by the wretched system of impressment. Heavy guns, known as carronades, were being gradually introduced in a few ships of the line. Invention was busy in the arts of war as well as in those of peace. The French had invented the Telegraph; and they had applied the hitherto useless Balloon to observations of the nature of a country, and the position of an enemy. Steam-navigation for warlike purposes had even been dreamt of. Experiments upon the application of the steam-engine to the propulsion of mercantile vessels had been tried, at great cost, and with small results. It is stated that Fulton had, in 1793, submitted some drawings of an apparatus for steam-navigation to lord Stanhope. This

Earl Stanhope.

ingenious nobleman, as ardent as a projector as he was violent as a politician, in 1794 believed in the immediate practicability of that extraordinary application of mechanical power which, half a century afterwards, was to revolutionize the entire system of naval warfare. He thus writes to Wilberforce: "I know, and in a few weeks shall prove, that ships of any size, and for certain reasons the larger the better, may be navigated in any narrow or other sea, without sails, though occasionally with, but so as to go without wind, and even directly against both wind and waves." The earl did construct such a paddle vessel, but its speed did not go beyond three miles an hour. Nevertheless, he saw with remarkable clearness the final results of

* Earl of Dundonald—"Autobiography of a Seaman," vol. i. p. 53. † *Ibid.*, p. 60.

what he terms a "stupendous fact;" that it would "render all the existing navies of the world—that is, military navies—no better than lumber. For what can ships do that are dependent upon wind and weather, against fleets wholly independent of either. Therefore the boasted superiority of the English navy is no more. We must have a new one." *

The old fashioned naval battles of the war of the French Revolution,—when adverse winds baffled many an attempt to bring an enemy to action; when admirals manœuvred for days to get the weather-gage, if they came in sight of their adversary; when "a short range was ever the chosen distance,"†—these yard-arm to yard-arm contests may seem of inferior importance to those who may hereafter have to read of a great sea-fight between fleets of screw-steamers, armed with rifled-cannon whose range is estimated by miles. But they can never be without their interest to a nation whose "home is on the deep"—whose safety will be insecure when its young men read with indifference of the victories achieved by Howe, and Jervis, and Duncan, and Nelson. In the first ten years of these momentous wars, the signal triumphs of the British fleets were the counterbalance to the long series of disasters and mistakes in the employment of the British armies. The earliest in the series of great naval victories was that of earl Howe, on the first of June. The veteran who had been a midshipman under Anson in 1740 was in command of the Channel fleet in 1794, waiting at Portsmouth for intelligence from his cruisers that the Brest fleet had put to sea. That fleet was declared by the French journalists to be the most formidable that had ever anchored in Brest harbour; and they proclaimed that "all burn with desire to fight the enemies of their country to the very banks of the Thames, and under the walls of London." The French Convention had sent its commissioner, Jean Bon St. André, to watch over the movements of its admiral, Villaret Joyeuse; and to remind the crews of a decree which he had himself proposed to the Convention, that every officer should be adjudged a traitor who struck his colours to a superior force, until his ship was in danger of sinking before the crew could be saved. Admiral Howe sailed from St. Helen's, on the 2nd of May, with thirty-four sail of the line, of which eight were detached to protect two convoys of merchant vessels clear of the Channel. The French fleet had also to look out for a convoy expected to be returning from the United States and the West India Islands. With twenty-six sail of the line, and five frigates, lord Howe cruised for many days off Ushant, in foggy weather. At last it was ascertained that the Brest fleet had left the harbour. It was not descried till the 28th of May. In the number of line of battle ships the French were equal to the English; in size, and in the weight of metal and the number of men, they were superior. On the evening of the 28th there was a partial engagement, in which the English 74, the Audacious, was so shattered, as to be obliged to separate, and make for Plymouth; and the Revolutionnaire, a French ship of 110 guns, was towed into Rochefort, both ships having been separated from their respective fleets. There was much firing between the English van and the French rear on the following day. On the 30th and 31st inst., a heavy fog prevented

* "Wilberforce Correspondence," vol. i. p. 109.

† James's "Naval History."

any decisive movement. On the morning of the 1st of June, the sky was bright; and the French were seen under easy sail, in order of battle. Then began one of the most desperate actions in our maritime records. The close fighting lasted little more than an hour; when the French admiral, who had been engaged with Howe's own ship, the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, followed by all who could carry sail, leaving half his dismasted fleet behind him. French historians, not satisfied with the tribute which the British admiral paid to the "customary resolution" of his enemy,* detail this battle with the grossest exaggerations; and adopt the falsehoods long since exploded. "The French had only twenty-six ships, whilst their enemies had thirty-six," says Thiers.† He glances, without contradicting it, at the narrative which Carlyle describes as "the fable of Le Vengeur," ‡ which fable Lamartine boldly repeats. Surrounded by three enemy's ships, the historian of the Girondins says, she still fought. The English kept clear of her as of a body whose last convulsions might be dangerous. The crew carried the pride of the flag even to suicide *en masse;* obstinately refusing all quarter, waiting whilst the water, from minute to minute, was increasing in the hold, until they gradually submerged; continuing to fire till the last gun was covered with the waves; and then going down with the ship amidst cries of *Vive la Republique.* The fable was exposed in 1802 by Mr. W. S. Rose; but it having been repeated by English writers, admiral Griffiths came forward in 1838, to declare that the whole story was a ridiculous piece of nonsense; that at the moment when the Vengeur sank the action had ceased some time; that a hundred and twenty-seven of her crew were prisoners on board the Culloden (of which ship admiral Griffiths was then fourth lieutenant), besides about a hundred in the Alfred, the Vengeur having been taken possession of by the boats of those ships, and the British ensign hoisted. "Seven ships," says lord Howe in his despatch, "remained in our possession; one of which, however, sank before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved." Lamartine tells us that "the victorious shipwreck of the Vengeur became one of the popular songs of the country." The whole story was an invention of Barère. "It may be regarded as Barère's masterpiece; the largest, most inspiring piece of *blague* manufactured, for some centuries, by any man or nation."§ The French lost their seven ships of the line; but their convoy from America arrived safely in port. The battle of the first of June was useful to us beyond its immediate results. It gave confidence to the nation. But it was a lesson to our rulers not to believe too implicitly that at sea we were so infinitely superior to any enemy; that inexperienced captains and impressed crews were invincible. Seven ships were taken; but the others that had been dismasted were suffered to escape. It was afterwards said, that if Nelson had been in the place of Howe the probability is that the French would not have saved a single ship. The biographer of Howe, Sir John Barrow, asks "what could lord Nelson or any other commander effect, if his whole plan was deranged by the bad qualities of his ships, and the inexperience and incapacity of many of their commanders?"

* Howe's Despatch, June 2.
† "Histoire de la Révolution," tom. vi. p. 78—ed. 1846—Paris.
‡ Carlyle, in 2nd edit. § *Ibid.*

The Parliament and the people were satisfied with the results of the first of June. Mr. Dundas especially pointed out "the national humanity" that had been evinced in saving the lives of drowning enemies; and he said, "Let any man contrast this conduct with the decree of another nation, the object of which was that no quarter should be shown." * Five days before the first of June, the National Convention, upon the motion of Barère, had thus resolved: "The National Convention decrees that no Englishman or Hanoverian shall be made prisoner."

The system of terror, of the theory of which this odious decree was the exponent, was approaching its termination. Fortunately for the honour of the French soldiers the decree was for them only a theory. No respect was paid to the order of the Convention. The army of France in Holland must have been ashamed of their government, when the duke of York, in his general orders of the 7th of June, announced this decree to the troops under him, reminding them that "mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character," and exhorting them "not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world." He truly said, "in all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies." † The system of terror was coming to an end. But in France it was not a theory as long as Robespierre was the real ruler of

Robespierre.

the unhappy country. In the months of June and July fifteen hundred and seven persons were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and were carted every day to the guillotine—every day, with the exception during these two months of five décadi, the décadi being the public holiday substituted for Sunday. In July, the décadi fell on the 8th; and the suspension for twenty-four hours of the work of blood was compensated by the execution of sixty-seven on the 7th, and sixty on the 9th. The work went on, although the Convention had deposed the Goddess of Reason and decreed "the existence

* "Parliamentary History," June 13.
† "Annual Register," 1794—State Papers, p. 168.

of the Supreme Being." Robespierre, on the first décadi of June, the 8th, officiated as High Priest to this newly discovered Divinity of the Revolution. On that wonderful fête day, the sound of cannon summoned the people to the garden of the Tuileries. Beautiful processions of mothers with bouquets of roses, maidens with baskets of flowers, and of citizens with branches of oak, spoke of joy and love, such as should celebrate the festival of the Author of Nature! A mound has been raised, on which as many members of the Convention stand as can be crowded round four pasteboard mawkins, of hideous aspect, representing Atheism, Egotism, Discord, Ambition. Robespierre, in a sky-blue coat, takes a torch from the hand of David the painter, who prepared this Mystery, and he sets fire to the turpentine-anointed images. As they blaze and crumble into ashes a figure slowly rises out of the trap-door of the mound. It is the statue of Wisdom. Unhappily the face of Wisdom "appeared entirely blackened by the flame, which was regarded as a sinister omen." * Other processions succeeded; and the people sang a hymn to the Eternal, composed for the occasion; and there were discoursings and embracings most touching to hear and to see. "The instrument of punishment had disappeared under a covering of rich hangings."† Two days after this festival, which was to be the herald of gladness for all the earth, it was decreed in the Convention that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be divided into four Tribunals, so as to do its work more expeditiously. The rich hangings were taken down. The "instrument of punishment" shows its face again without any false shame. The Tricoteuses again sit upon its steps; and the passing red-caps speak out the name of their faithful servant, with a gratitude that scorns the euphemism of modern republicans.

Robespierre, after this miserable extravaganza of the festival of the Supreme Being had been performed, kept aloof from the Convention and from the Committee of Public Safety. In his House of Lords, the Jacobin Club, he placed his chief reliance to carry him through the dangers that were gathering around him. During this term of his absence from the immediate direction of affairs, the guillotine was working at its most furious rate; and it has been surmised that he was therefore not directly responsible for the executions of that horrible period. His two ferocious colleagues, Couthon and St. Just, were in full activity, and were in constant communication with him. The triumvirate worked together, and happily they fell together. Other members of the Committee of Public Safety began to tremble for their own lives. Rumours were afloat that lists of the proscribed had been seen whose destruction was to prepare the way for the rule of a supreme Dictator, when he had dealt with the Convention *en coupe réglée*—as a forest marked out in patches to be cut down in succession. On the 26th of July Robespierre entered the hall of the Convention. The speech which he delivered from the tribune, calling, in the old terms, for vengeance upon traitors, was received with no applause; and a motion that the speech should be printed having been passed, was after a violent debate rescinded. It is decidedly a crisis. Robespierre in the evening seeks the solace of his Jacobin Club, where there is no mutiny; and his myrmidons shout for revolt against Convention and Committee of Public Safety. That night, members of the

* Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 457.

† *Ibid.*, p. 454.

Convention begin to fear that they shall meet no more. But they do meet. Insurrection has not yet organized itself. St. Just begins to read a Report, Robespierre standing by. He is interrupted by many voices. Tallien draws a dagger, exclaiming "If the Convention dare not strike the tyrant, I dare." Loud rise the shouts of fury against the tyrant—against the Triumvirs. The President rings his bell in vain, whilst Robespierre cries, "Will you hear me, President of Assassins?" "Decree of Accusation" is roared out on all sides. Robespierre and his brother Augustin, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas—are decreed. But the struggle is not yet over. The Municipality will resist the Convention. The accused are sent off to prison; but the gaolers have orders not to admit any brought in custody. They are taken to the town hall. Paris is in tumult through the afternoon and night. The Convention have decreed Robespierre and his adherents out of law. They have given the command of troops to Barras, who goes forth to encounter the troops of the Municipality under Henriot. They stand face to face in the Place de Grève. "Hear the decree of the Convention," is the voice on one side—"Robespierre and all rebels out of law." The lighted matches are not applied to the loaded cannon. The armed men of each party unite to uphold the decree. Henriot rushes into the Hôtel de Ville to say all is lost. Robespierre puts a pistol in his mouth, and blows off his under jaw. Henriot and Augustin Robespierre throw themselves out of the window. St. Just, Couthon, Lebas, think of suicide, but attempt it not, or fail in the attempt. At four in the afternoon of the 28th of July, Robespierre, his jaw bound up, his mangled brother lying beside him, with Henriot in the same wretched condition, are carried on a tumbril to the guillotine, other tumbrils following with other condemned. From the time when the Dictator attempted self-destruction he spake no word. He opens his eyes as he is lifted upon the scaffold, and looks for an instant on the bloody knife. The executioner's work is done, and Paris sends forth its universal shout of joy.

The character of Robespierre is one of the unsolved problems of history. His crimes are upon the surface; his motives are not so manifest. Coleridge, in 1795, anticipated the substance of a great deal that has been written about him: "Robespierre possessed a glowing ardour that still remembered the end, and a cool ferocity that never either overlooked or scrupled the means. What that end was is not known; that it was a wicked one has by no means been proved."* Most persons—however some may be bewildered by the manifold speculations afloat in the world as to the objects which he proposed to himself in his difficult career—will agree that, if "he was, beyond most men that ever lived, hateful, selfish, unprincipled, cruel, unscrupulous," it may also be affirmed "that he was not the worst of the Jacobin group." †

The vicissitudes of parties in France were no interruption to the success of the French armies. After the fall of Robespierre, lord Cornwallis very justly described this remarkable state of things:—"The French, although they have neither security of person or property, although the streets of Paris and all their principal towns are daily streaming with blood, and their government, if such it can be called, is the most tyrannical and cruel that

* "The Friend," Essay xii.

† Lord Brougham, "Statesmen"—Robespierre.

ever existed, still carry on the war with a vigour and energy that is scarcely to be conceived; and when one set of butchers are themselves slaughtered at Paris, the army pays the same deference to their murderers as they had before done to the villains whose heads they had cut off." * To understand this apparent anomaly, it must not be forgotten that the French army was directed by one prevailing mind, that of Carnot; and that it had one great idea to fight for, the liberty and independence of the country. The armies of the Coalition were distracted by the rivalries and jealousies of sovereigns and generals. The incapacity of the leaders was as notorious as the selfishness of the crowned heads who appointed them.

Before the close of 1793, the rottenness of the Coalition against France was understood by the English government—understood, but still sought to be remedied by golden props. Lord Malmesbury is sent upon a special mission to Berlin. It was in vain that lord Grenville desired the ambassador to say to his Prussian majesty that the king of England "never will submit to purchase by a subsidy that assistance to which he is entitled by treaty." † It was in vain that he was instructed "that the utmost jealousy prevails between the two courts of Vienna and Berlin." The English Cabinet was divided in opinion. Loughborough was "for giving a large subsidy to the king of Prussia, but Pitt and Grenville think otherwise." ‡ Lord Malmesbury at Berlin found that "the necessity of pecuniary relief was still the constant theme of the Prussian ministers." And so at last a treaty was signed, by which his Prussian majesty agreed, upon 300,000*l.* being paid as a subsidy, to furnish an army of sixty-two thousand men, under a Prussian commander-in-chief, at the further rate of 50,000*l.* per month; 1*l.* 12*s.* per head for bread and forage each month during the term of its service; and 100,000*l.* when the army was to return home. The despatches of lord Malmesbury detail, at wearisome length, the progress of these pitiful bargains. The same system was pursued by Austria. Mr. Thomas Grenville is negotiating with the Court of Vienna. They had required, "as indispensable conditions, that their loan must be completely satisfied in England to enable them to answer the demands of this year, and that they must receive from England a considerable subsidy for next campaign, if it is expected that they should act vigorously in the prosecution of the war." § Mr. Grenville wrote that it was his confident belief that if the English Cabinet expected to purchase energy and activity at this dear rate from the government of the emperor, the experiment would fail. "There is no soul in the bodies of these men." He was perfectly right. We want no key beyond the rapacity and heartlessness of the Prussian and Austrian governments to explain the series of calamities which befel the Allied armies in the campaign of 1794. The military details have little interest for the general reader of the present day. The duke of York defeated Pichegru on the 10th of May. Charleroi, besieged by the French, had been relieved by the hereditary prince of Orange on the 14th of May, after a severe battle, when the enemy was driven across the Sambre. Jourdan, having given some offence to the

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 267.
† "Diaries, &c. of the earl of Malmesbury," vol. ii. p. 3.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
§ "Court, &c. of George III." vol. ii. p. 262.

Committee of Public Safety, had left the army, and was again a shopkeeper at Limoges. He was summoned from his obscurity to take the command of the army of the Moselle. The choice of Carnot was amply justified. After defeating the Austrian general at Arlon, he captured Charleroi on the 25th of June; and on the 29th won the battle of Fleurus,—the greatest victory of the revolutionary arms before the career of Napoleon. This battle decided the fate of the Netherlands. His operations were a succession of triumphs over the Austrians; and led to the necessity of the duke of York retreating from Tournay and Oudenarde upon Antwerp. There was little chance now of preserving Holland. Confident supporters of Mr. Pitt's policy began to despair. One of these supporters, lord Mornington, saw very clearly what would be the probable result. In a letter to Mr. Addington, on the 27th of July, he says,—"I am full of despondency upon the subject of the war. I think it is too probable Holland will fall." Then, he thought that the resources of France would receive an enormous accession from this conquest; that the fleets of Denmark and Sweden would join hers; that she would add the plunder of the Netherlands and of all the countries on the banks of the Rhine; that Switzerland and Italy would be at her mercy. "I expect," he says, "to see the whole of this realized, having, after a good deal of reflection, entirely renounced all confidence in our allies, and all hopes of any internal convulsion in France."* The successes of the French may also in a great degree be attributed to the extraordinary military capacity of the men who were leaders of her troops, even in that early period of the great war. In the army under Jourdan were serving Moreau, Bernadotte, Kleber, Ney, and Soult. They had one purpose,—to make the Republic victorious. They had the certainty that the humblest in the army might rise to the highest command if he successfully performed his duty,—for success was a test of merit, however imperfect and occasionally unjust was the criterion. The British army, with some exceptions, presented a deplorable contrast; and there was no cordiality between the British commander-in-chief and the Austrian generals. Lord Cornwallis was sent out to arrange a system of co-operation that might remove these jealousies. It was thought by the British government not unlikely that the Austrian government might entrust the general command to one so experienced as Cornwallis himself; and that the duke of York might be persuaded to retire from a post for which he was manifestly incompetent. The letters of lord Cornwallis show the progress of these negotiations, which were utterly fruitless. Mr. Windham went out to smooth the difficulties in the way of the duke of York's resignation, to which difficulties he appears too readily to have yielded. These might have ultimately been overcome; but nothing could counteract what Windham describes as "the dreadful duplicity of the Austrians, and the unfeeling and unprincipled indifference with which they sacrifice the greatest public interests to their private emoluments and animosities."† The king, however, stood in the way of the desire of his Cabinet that lord Cornwallis should have the command of the allied armies. He objected to the supercession of his son by an English-

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 123.
† "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 234.

man. He would not object to the command being entrusted to general Clairfait. * Cornwallis was unwilling to be placed in a position of such delicacy; but he saw the necessity of a change by which the public good might be consulted instead of private feelings, even those of royalty. At last the necessity became so obvious that, although there was an end to the notion of appointing Cornwallis to the command, Mr. Dundas informed him on the 27th of November that, "Mr. Pitt wrote a very long and dutiful letter, but at the same time a very honest and firm one, to the king, stating the necessity of putting an end to the duke of York's command of the army on the continent." His royal highness was on that day requested to return home.†

The previous disasters of the army under the command of the duke had been very serious. When Windham was at the British head-quarters, at Bois-le-Duc, on the 13th of September, he saw that the army of 30,000 British, Hessians, and Hanoverians, was left to act alone, without any hope of co-operation, against an enemy who menaced an immediate attack with an army of 50,000. He blamed himself for not having pressed the resignation of the duke with greater pertinacity; for he could not but wish, "when strong immediate interest forces away every other consideration, that a person of more experience and authority had the command, first to decide whether the battle ought to be fought, and then to conduct the fighting it."‡ Bois-le-Duc was surrendered by the Dutch after a brief siege. The duke of York then moved to cover Nimeguen, the possession of which by the French would facilitate their advance into Holland. He was attacked on the 19th of October, and again on the 27th, and compelled to withdraw. Nimeguen was surrendered very shortly after this retreat. Maestricht also surrendered to Kleber. The road into Holland was open to the Republicans. The command of the army, now wretchedly reduced in number, was left to a Hanoverian nobleman, count Walmoden. The winter had set in with severity. The

Pichegru.

Hanoverian general appears to have believed that in winter an army could do nothing but rest in its quarters. Pichegru, the French commander, thought otherwise. He crossed the river Waal on the ice in the middle of December.

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 263. † *Ibid.*, p. 276. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

Then the British troops, 8000 in number, who were commanded by general Dundas under Walmoden, made a desperate attack upon the French, and drove them back over the Waal. But the bravery of our troops was exerted in vain. They were suffering great privations from a wretchedly managed commissariat; and when Pichegru again crossed the Waal with an immense army, there was no chance but that of a speedy retreat to save the remnant of the British. After terrible losses from a pursuing enemy, and from the inclement weather, two or three thousand of our countrymen fought their way to the mouth of the Elbe, and embarked at Bremen for England. Holland was lost.

"Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." France was alive, and dangerous. Poland was prostrate—"the sick man" of that time; and the eagles were at hand to hasten the death, and divide the carcase. But there was an awakening before the death. When Poland, in 1792, saw her liberal Constitution put down by the armies of Russia, and had called in vain upon Prussia to support her in a resistance to aggression,* the national spirit of independence was embodied under prince Poniatowski, and Kosciusko showed his countrymen that a great leader would not be wanting if the prospect of deliverance was sufficiently clear for a protracted conflict. The oppressors were too powerful. Russia appropriated a large share of the sick man's possessions, and chucked a smaller share to Prussia. Poniatowski, Kosciusko, and many others who had fought against Russia, left their country. In 1794 the time appeared favourable for another attempt at independence. In the north of Poland there was an insurrection. An army was quickly organized. Kosciusko returned to Poland, and was

Kosciusko.

appointed the leader of his countrymen. He published a manifesto against the Russians; and obtained a signal victory on the 4th of April. The people at Warsaw then rose, and expelled the Russians from their city. Aid from all sides came to the patriotic cause. Kosciusko was advancing to meet the Russian intruders; when Frederic William of Prussia, having received his pay from England for effectual assistance in the war against France, turned his

* *Ante*, p. 216.

thoughts to a more advantageous prospect than a hearty and honest fulfilment of his engagements would have afforded. He advanced into Poland at the head of forty thousand men; and was boldly met by Kosciusko with a force not one third of that number. Kosciusko was obliged to retreat towards Warsaw; but he effectually covered that capital for two months. Austria now considered it expedient to take a hand in this royal game, which promised great gains to those who made their stakes in time. Whilst she was bargaining for loans and subsidies with England, and leaving the duke of York to bear the brunt of the French attacks in the Netherlands, she marched an army into Little Poland. On the 10th of October, in an unsuccessful battle against the Russians under Suwaroff, Kosciusko was wounded. As he fell, he exclaimed "*Finis Poloniæ.*" The struggle was continued for a little while, and then Warsaw capitulated; after Suwaroff had put to the sword twenty thousand wretched inhabitants of the suburb of Praga,—a massacre as horrid as that of Ismaïl, which, four years before, had signalized the triumph of this semi-barbarian.

There was one achievement of this year, memorable as an example of British daring; though it was a success without any permanent advantages. At the commencement of the French Revolution, the island of Corsica had been recognized as a department of France. But Paoli, who had been many years an exile from his country, returned; and finally organized a revolt against the French authorities. He entered into communication with lord Hood, after the evacuation of Toulon; and it was determined that the republican occupiers of Fiorenzo should be besieged. Troops were landed; and the French, being unable to maintain the post, concentrated their forces at Bastia. The British general, Dundas, thought the place too strong to be taken, without a reinforcement. Horatio Nelson, one of lord Hood's captains, said he would be ready to attack it with five hundred men, and the crew of his own ship, the Agamemnon. With his usual firm reliance upon the bravery and endurance of his sailors, and unbounded confidence in his own powers, Nelson effected for his admiral the reduction of this strong place without the help of general Dundas, taking the command of the soldiers, seamen, and marines. Four thousand troops capitulated to a force not exceeding twelve hundred men. Corsica, for a short period, was annexed to Great Britain. The people had a free Constitution offered to them; and they testified their desire to be under British protection. It was an union of very short duration, for it had no natural principles of cohesion. Corsica very soon came again under the dominion of France; and certainly this island, with its fierce and ignorant population, was not a possession that would have been easy to retain under a system of regulated liberty, even if it had been worth retaining for any higher object than the assertion of national pride.

Attack on the Convention, 13th Vendémiaire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Accessions to the Ministry—Opening of the Session—Mr. Canning—Opposition to the Address by Mr. Wilberforce—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Session closed—Expedition to Quiberon—Insurrections in Paris—Revolt of the Sections suppressed by Bonaparte—Opening of Parliament—Attack upon the king—Coercive policy of the Government—Dread of Mr. Fox of approaching absolutism—Bonaparte chief of the army of Italy—Territorial divisions of Italy—Bonaparte's first Italian Campaign—Austrian successes in Germany—Lord Malmesbury negociates for peace, at Paris—Death of the Empress Catherine II.—Retirement of Washington—French fleet in Bantry Bay.

BEFORE the meeting of parliament on the 30th of December, 1794, the ministry of Mr. Pitt had received some important accessions from that section of the Whig party which had already given him their support in debates and in divisions. The duke of Portland was appointed third Secretary of State; Mr. Windham, Secretary at War; and earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty. Earl Fitzwilliam went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in December; but he was recalled in the following March.

Whatever was the amount of national gloom at the prospect of the war, there was one man who never lost heart or hope. The royal speech on the 30th of December was the anticipation of the sentiments, which William Pitt would again and again utter in majestic periods, to which his disciples would listen with unfeigned admiration. Disappointments and reverses were acknowledged, but security was only to be found in firmness and perseverance.

Everything showed the rapid decay of the enemy's resources, and the instability of every part of their system. The United Provinces had entered into négociations for peace, but no established government could derive real security from such negociations. Forces were to be augmented; large additional burdens were to be imposed; and operations for another campaign were to be concerted with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same sense of the necessity for vigour and exertion.

In the House of Commons, on that 30th of December, the speeches of two of the members excited more attention than even the stately harangue of the prime minister himself. George Canning, who had taken his seat in the previous session, seconded the motion for the Address. He had spoken three times during the session which preceded, and had been reproved for a slight exercise of his sarcastic power, being described by sir Philip Francis as "the young gentleman who had just escaped from his school and his classics, and was not yet conversant in the laws and constitution of his country." Sheridan had somewhat rashly proclaimed to the House at the end of 1792, when Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards earl of Liverpool) made his first speech on the side of the Government, that his own party was about to receive a great accession in the companion and friend of the young orator who had then distinguished himself. Canning disappointed the hopes of Sheridan, and became the most devoted as well as the most able supporter of Pitt. Of his adhesion to the great minister's policy, there is a wild story told by sir Walter Scott: "Canning's conversion from popular opinions was strangely brought round. While he was studying in the Temple, and rather entertaining revolutionary opinions, Godwin sent to say that he was coming to breakfast with him, to speak on a subject of the highest importance. Canning knew little of him, but received his visit, and learned to his astonishment, that in expectation of a new order of things, the English Jacobins designed to place him, Canning, at the head of their revolution. He was much struck, and asked time to think what course he should take; and having thought the matter over, he went to Mr. Pitt, and made the anti-Jacobin confession of faith." Scott tells this story upon the authority of sir W. Knighton.* A more improbable story was never told. That Godwin, a man of ripe age; singularly, cautious in his actions, however bold were his political theories; studiously keeping aloof from all the Societies of that troubled time,—should have made this extraordinary proposal to a lad, whose abilities might have been exhibited in some British Forum, but were only known to the general world by his clever papers in "The Microcosm";† moreover that Pitt should at once have gladly snatched the young democrat out of the dangerous embraces of the English Jacobins, to become his own bosom friend and companion in power—this is indeed a pretty romance, but one which we may leave for any historical value to the adornment of an eloquent biographer.‡ Canning's uncompromising speech on the 30th of December, 1794, for a vigorous continuance of the war, excited the admiration of the ministerial

* "Diary," April 17, 1828.

† Published in 1787, in which year Canning, at the age of seventeen and a half, was entered at Christchurch, Oxford.

‡ See Robert Bell's "Life of Canning," p. 85.

party, but it had an effect little anticipated by the minister. It called up Wilberforce, to move an Amendment to the Address—Wilberforce, the warmest and most disinterested friend of Pitt. The conscientious man had a hard struggle to bring his mind to oppose the statesman whom he loved and revered. But he became convinced that his duty lay in recommending an attempt to negociate with the French republic for peace on equitable terms. Pitt felt this difference very acutely. "There were but two events in the public life of Mr. Pitt, which were able to disturb his sleep—the mutiny at the Nore, and the first open opposition of Mr. Wilberforce."* The natures of the two friends were too genial to allow of a permanent rupture. Pitt showed no resentment. The more violent of the ministerial party looked upon the unexpected opposition as something not much short of treason. "When I first went to the levee," says Wilberforce, "after moving my Amendment, the king cut me." But Wilberforce was not shaken by the taunts of the warlike party in the government, or by the frowns of the sovereign. He subsequently brought forward a specific motion to recommend overtures for peace, which, of course, was rejected by a large majority. He argued with Pitt in the old confidence of friendship, that he was under a delusion in his abiding belief that "the French were in a gulf of bankruptcy, and that he could almost calculate the time by which their resources would be consumed." At Wilberforce's own table a clever Frenchman had said, "I should like to know who was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Attila."†

During this session the resistance to the policy of the Government was very ineffectual. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was continued. A loan of four millions to the emperor was voted. The trial of Warren Hastings, which had dragged on for seven years, then came to an end, the Lord Chancellor declaring him, upon the votes of the peers, to be acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against him.

The great domestic event of the year was the marriage of the prince of Wales—an event whose unhappy consequences were not to be measured solely by the miseries and disgraces of the ill-assorted pair themselves. Lord Malmesbury—who was about to return home from his mission at Berlin, where he had unsuccessfully struggled against the selfish dishonour of the Prussian court—was commanded by George III. to proceed to Brunswick, to demand the princess Caroline in marriage for the prince of Wales. The Diary of lord Malmesbury is indeed a most instructive revelation of the dangers that might have been expected from an alliance forced on for state reasons—an alliance between a reckless voluptuary, anxious only to have his debts paid by the nation on the occasion of his marriage, and a giddy, coarse, ill-educated woman, who was dazzled with the glittering prospect of quitting a petty principality to intermarry with the heir-apparent of one of the most splendid of European crowns. Lord Malmesbury had his instructions from the king himself, "with no discretionary power to give advice or information to his majesty or the government on the principal subject of this mission." He saw the princess, "vastly happy with her future expectations." A mes-

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 71.

† *Ibid.*, p. 92. Macaulay has paraphrased the Frenchman's *mot*, see ante, p. 211

senger from England "brings the prince's picture, and a letter from him to me, urging me vehemently to set out with the princess Caroline immediately." The duke of Brunswick told the ambassador that his daughter was not silly —(*Elle n'est pas bête*)—but that she wanted judgment—had been brought up severely, which was quite necessary. The father saw the trouble that was in store—"he dreaded the prince's habits." The poor princess said to Malmesbury, "I am determined never to appear jealous. I know the prince is *leger*, and am prepared on this point." The sagacious ambassador very soon perceived the impending danger. He regretted the apparent facility of the princess's character—her want of reflection and *substance*—"with a steady man she would do vastly well, but with one of a different description there were great risks." He came to the conclusion that "she has no governing powers, although her mind is physically strong." Malmesbury did his duty in offering her advice and sometimes remonstrance—especially "on the toilette, on cleanliness, and on delicacy in speaking"—strange subjects of discussion with a lady who might be queen of England. The destined bride and the ambassador set out at last for the court of St. James's. On the 5th of April their arrival was notified to the king and the prince of Wales. The princess was introduced to the prince, who came alone to receive her. She attempted to kneel, as she was instructed. "He raised her gracefully enough, and embraced her; said barely one word; turned round; retired to a distant part of the apartment, and, calling me to him, said, 'Harris, I am not well; pray get me a glass of brandy.'" Harris recommended a glass of water, and the prince, exclaiming "No," with an oath, rushed away to the queen. Well might Caroline of Brunswick be "in a state of astonishment," and inquire, "is the prince always like that?" The marriage took place on the 8th. Parliament voted a large income, but determined that out of this income the prince's debts should be paid without a separate grant.*

On the prorogation of Parliament on the 27th of June, the royal speech expressed a hope, derived from "the internal situation of the enemy," "that the present circumstances of France may, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers." Fox interpreted this sentence as indicating the views of that party in the Cabinet who could anticipate no "state of order and regular government" but in the return of the Bourbons to power. He describes these expressions as "that foolish paragraph in the king's speech at the prorogation, in which they made him foretell the restoration of monarchy in France."† There were "other powers" whose prudence or whose fears led them to preserve or to seek "amity and peace" with the Republic. The United States had preserved peace both with France and England, chiefly through the firmness and moderation of Washington. Prussia had made peace with France on the 5th of April. Spain, at this very time, was negociating for peace, and a treaty was ratified in less than a month after this prorogation of Parliament. But on the very day that the royal speech pointed, as Fox believed, to a return to the old order of things as the only security for peace, a landing

* See Malmesbury's "Diary," &c. vol. iii. p. 147 to p. 210.
† "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 119.

of emigrants and British marines was effected in Brittany, for the purpose of assisting a projected insurrection of the Chouan royalists. Its results were most disastrous. This unfortunate expedition, it is affirmed, "was known to be peculiarly the measure of the Burke part of the Cabinet, and to have been undertaken on the sole responsibility of their ministerial organ, Mr. Windham." * A pacification with the Vendéan chiefs had been effected by

Windham.

the commissioners of the Convention on the 12th of February, 1795. There was still a smouldering fire of disaffection; and Puisaye, an agent of the French princes, led the warlike members of the English Cabinet to believe that the whole country could be again roused, if the means were afforded of landing a body of emigrant volunteers, and of supplying arms to the peasantry. A squadron of nine ships of war, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, convoyed fifty transports, having on board the royalists and their stores. On the 27th of June they landed near Carnac. On the 3rd of July they occupied the peninsula of Quiberon. The emissaries of the Royalists again stirred up a civil war throughout Brittany. Charette, Stofflet, and other insurgent chiefs, who had submitted in February, resumed their arms. But Hoche was at hand with fourteen thousand men. He made a night attack upon Fort Penthièvre; poured his thousands into the peninsula; and by day-break he was driving the wretched emigrants into the sea, or taking them prisoners, to be doomed to death as traitors to the Republic. The Comte d'Artois came with another expedition. He looked upon La Vendée, and consulted his safety by a return to England. On the 8th of June, the unhappy son of Louis XVI. had died a prisoner in the Temple, in the twelfth year of his age. Physicians who examined the body declared that his death was caused by scrofulous disease. The poor boy had been subjected to the most shameful treatment, even when the Jacobin reign of terror was at an end. He was confined in a small room; was left without change of linen;

* Moore, "Life of Sheridan," p. 522.

was devoured by vermin. His uncle Monsieur was now Louis XVIII. But neither of the uncles of the child who is registered in the annals of France as Louis XVII. could have revived such a feeling of royalism as the continued existence of this suffering prisoner of the Temple might have commanded—if the spirit of royalism, indeed, had not been almost extinct, and incapable of being revived by any rallying cry. The daughter of Louis XVI., who was called by Napoleon "the only man of the family," was released from her confinement, after the death of her brother.

The chaos of the French Revolution was slowly resolving itself into something like order. After the fall of Robespierre there was a progressive reaction against the system of terror of which he had been the most conspicuous mover. The instruments of bloodshed, before whom all France had trembled, were now to live in dread, not only of a loss of power, but of retributive justice. In May, 1795, Fouquier Tinville, and fifteen of the old Revolutionary Tribunal, were brought before a new Revolutionary Tribunal, were condemned to death, and were executed. The charge against Fouquier Tinville was, specially, that of causing the destruction, under the guise of trial, of a countless number of French of all ages and of both sexes, by inventing schemes of conspiracies.* But the reaction against the Jacobins too often involved as much injustice and cruelty as had marked their supremacy. The struggle against the power of the Convention by the sans-culottes of Paris, crying for bread, and led on by a remnant of the chiefs of the days of terror, broke out in three insurrections. The first was that of the Twelfth of Germinal (April 1), which was put down by Pichegru without bloodshed—by the mere boom of unshotted cannon. The second revolt was that of the First of Prairial (May 20). The cry now is, "Bread and Constitution." Saint Antoine pours out its citizenesses into the hall of the Convention. Its citizens murder one of the deputies, Férand. Sixty of the old deputies of the Mountain retain their seats in the hall, all others having gone away to look for safety. The purged Assembly now decrees whatever sans-culottism demands. But the Jacobin deputies and their rabble are soon swept out by charge of bayonet; and the guillotine, suicide, and deportation leave the Convention for a little while in quiet. Its business is now to make a new Constitution. Sièyes has his plans ready for a Constitution far less democratic than that of 1793. There is to be a money qualification for electors; there are to be two Chambers; two-thirds of the existing Convention must be re-elected; there is to be a Directory of five members. It was determined to submit this new Constitution for the acceptance of the people in their primary assemblies on the 6th of September. As might have been anticipated, a violent opposition, especially to that portion of the scheme which gave the citizens only the privilege of electing one-third of the new representatives, broke out. The Constitution was accepted by a very large majority of the people, and it was declared to be the fundamental law of the State. The Sections of Paris were, however, in a ferment. The Convention saw that a third revolt was at hand. It had five or six thousand troops for its defence, and Menou had their command, as general-in-chief of the army of the interior. On the 4th of October Menou is sent to disarm the Section Lepelletier which

* See *ante*, p. 273.

is sitting with loaded guns in a convent in the Rue Vivienne. He proceeds to enforce their obedience with his artillery and his battalions, demanding the surrender of their arms. He returns to the Convention to say that he has summoned Lepelletier in vain; the Section has shown too formidable an array. Some more determined leader must be found. Barras is named to the command in the place of Menou; but Barras is only to be a vicarial

Barras.

commander. There was a young man known to Barras as having done good service at Toulon, but who had been unemployed for some time; had been suspected as an adherent of Robespierre; and was now in very straitened circumstances. He was the man for a dash at the insurgents, whose numbers had increased to forty or fifty thousand after the retreat of Menou. These insurgents were of all classes of the discontented—Jacobins and royalists, republicans and constitutional monarchists, the starving and the restless. Napoleon Bonaparte was placed at the head of the troops of the line, as second in command to Barras. He had hesitated about accepting this command; as any less scrupulous man might have hesitated when he was selected to war against his fellow-citizens as against a foreign enemy. But having chosen his course, he lost no time in adopting the means of success. Murat, then an officer of cavalry, was despatched by Bonaparte, that night, to bring away from Sablons the cannon which had been deposited there during the insurrection of May, when the National Guards wished to show their fidelity to the Convention. The Section Lepelletier had also despatched its officers to bring away the cannon. Murat was beforehand with them, and arrived early in the morning of the 5th at the Tuileries with the park of artillery. Bonaparte distributed his cannon and his troops at every point where the Convention was open to attack. The Section Lepelletier was joined by other Sections. Generals were chosen. A plan of attack upon the Tuileries was arranged. Bonaparte ordered that no aggressive movement should be made, but that his troops should remain on the defensive. The members of the Convention took their seats, arms having been provided, which they were themselves to use in case of attack. The day wore on till half-past four, all the streets surrounding the Tuileries being filled with the troops of the Sections. The insurrectionary columns then moved up the Rue St. Honoré, and along

the quays, and when they came where Bonaparte's men were posted, instead of dispersing, as they were summoned to do, they discharged their muskets. The young general of the Convention thought the time was at last come for decisive action. A great body of insurgents had taken up a commanding position on the steps leading to the Church of St. Roch. Bonaparte opened a heavy fire of grape-shot upon them; and they were quickly dislodged. He brought his cannon into the street of St. Honoré, and swept it with his *mitraille* from one end to the other. The insurgents fled from this quarter; but at other points of the city the same contest was going on between disciplined troops, most skilfully disposed, and a rash multitude without efficient leaders. Bonaparte, says Thiers, "shewed a merciless energy, and fired upon the population of Paris as upon Austrian batallions." The captive at St. Helena himself said, "It is false that we fired first with blank shot; it had been a waste of life to do that." At six o'clock all was over, and the victorious general of the Convention fired his cannon loaded with powder only, to terrify those who had still a wish to fight. The fortunes of Bonaparte were in the ascendant; and from that day the history of Europe becomes in a great degree merged in the history of one man. The time is not yet ripe for the supreme power of this man. There will be an Executive, composed of five Directors; Council of Ancients; Council of Five hundred. The French people will feel that the days of anarchy and insurrection are over—that the volcano of the Revolution is burnt out. But other nations will feel, for twenty years, that the strong arm of military power, which has striven with and conquered the spirit of revolt in Paris, will become an organized ambition, as dangerous to the repose of the world as the outbreaks of that democracy against which kings vainly confederated.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 29th of October, under very inauspicious circumstances. On the 26th, a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society was held in St. George's Fields, when some bold speeches were addressed to a vast multitude. Provisions at this period were excessively dear. The same privations that moved the people of Paris to assail the Convention with "Bread and the Constitution," moved the people of London to assail the king on his way to Parliament with cries of "Bread! bread! Peace! peace!" One of the windows of the state carriage was broken by a stone, or by a shot from an air-gun. The king manifested his wonted courage, amidst the groans and hisses of an excited mob. An Address to his majesty was voted in both Houses before the royal speech was taken into consideration. The government, as was for many years its policy, whenever popular discontent assumed the form of violence and outrage, was ready with its measures of coercion. In the House of Lords, lord Grenville brought in a bill "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts." In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." The Treasonable Attempts Bill was an extension of the provisions of the statute of Edward III., as to compassing and imagining the death of the king, by connecting that compassing and imagining with the publication of any printing or writing. The parliamentary opposition to the Bill was as strong as to that against Seditious Meetings. The one measure still forms part of our code of

law; the other was totally unfitted for any permanent condition of constitutional liberty. By this second Bill, every public meeting for the purpose of preparing any petition or remonstrance, or for deliberating upon any grievance in Church or State, was forbidden to be held, except under certain regulations, by which the individuals calling the meeting could be identified: it further gave power to any justice of the peace to disperse the meeting, if the language of the speakers was calculated to bring the government into contempt; and if twelve persons remained together one hour after being so ordered to disperse, the offenders were to be adjudged felons, without benefit of clergy. The public reprobation of these measures was expressed in the most unequivocal manner. The indignation of Mr. Fox carried him beyond the verge of discretion, however just and courageous we may now consider the words which he uttered: "If ministers were determined, by means of the corrupt influence which they possessed in the two Houses of Parliament, to pass the bills in direct opposition to the declared sense of a great majority of the nation, and they should be put in force with all their rigorous provisions, if his opinion were asked by the people as to their obedience, he should tell them it was no longer a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence." Mr. Pitt expressed his horror and disgust at the words of Mr. Fox, which, he said, openly advised an appeal to the sword. Mr. Fox declared that he would not retract one word of what he had said: "Strong measures require strong words." The country had never been more agitated than at this crisis. Pitt expected "a civil broil," and said, "If I were to resign, my head would be off in six months."* The bills passed. There was no civil broil. But it was very long before Englishmen could cease to feel that they had lost some portion of the freedom which their ancestors had won. It was no merely rhetorical art that led Fox to declare himself so strongly against these enactments. He expressed his deliberate conviction in a letter to lord Holland: "There appears to me no chance at present, but between an absolute surrender of the liberties of the people, and a vigorous exertion, attended, I admit, with considerable hazard, at a time like the present. My view of things is, I own, very gloomy; and I am convinced that in a very few years the government will become completely absolute, or that confusion will arise of a nature almost as much to be deprecated as despotism itself." † With a prolonged suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; with an Attorney-General who boasted that "in the last two years there had been more prosecutions for libels than in any twenty years before;" ‡ with a new law to attach the penalty of treason to certain libels, and a new law to give one magistrate the power of dispersing any assembly, under the penalty of death to those who demurred to his will—we can scarcely think that the view of things taken by Mr. Fox was too gloomy, or that his resistance was unpatriotic and factious. In a review of "Gifford's Life of Pitt," written by Mr. Canning, in 1810, remarkable as much for its ability as its moderation, there is the following defence of, or rather apology for, these measures: "In other times, indeed, we should have condemned the coercive policy of Mr.

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 114.
† "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 124.
‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxii. col. 488.

Pitt. That policy is always to be judged of as being intended for a *crisis;* and, whatever may be thought of its merits, there can be no doubt that, on the one hand, the proselyting dexterity which characterized the prevailing spirit of the French Revolution, and, on the other, the general agitation, or disquietude, of the popular mind in our own country, concurred to form at that period, a moral crisis of a very peculiar nature."* We have no more right to assume that Pitt was resolved upon establishing a despotism, than that Fox desired to witness the overthrow of the monarchy.

In the year 1796 the military operations in Germany and Italy were carried on upon a scale which had not been witnessed since the days of Marlborough. The French Directory had resolved to attack the forces of the emperor upon two points at one and the same time. The command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse was given to Jourdan; the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle was given to Moreau. At the end of November, 1795, the army of Italy had obtained some successes under Schérer, but his defeat of the Austrians had not been followed up in a manner to satisfy the Directory. During the winter, the pale, thin, reserved Corsican who had cannonaded the Sections into submission, remained in Paris, raised out of his poverty into what was then termed good society by the democrats who had grown luxurious, but which society, Burke, in one of his fiercest moods, describes as "a set of abandoned wretches, squandering in insolent riot the spoils of their bleeding country." † In the saloons of Barras and of Madame Tallien, Bonaparte met Josephine Beauharnois, the widow of the viscount Beauharnois, who had taken the side of the revolutionists, but was guillotined in the days of terror. The young general was married to Josephine in March. But his duties as chief of the army of Paris, and his devotion to an amiable and attractive woman, did not divert his thoughts from objects of high import. He had devised a plan for the invasion of Italy, which he submitted to Carnot, then one of the Directory. To obtain a permanent footing beyond the Alps; to hold the small Italian provinces in sovereignty or in subjection; perhaps to conquer the whole territory, and to make one subject people in that land of antique glory; this was the traditional policy of France, and any scheme for its realization was now peculiarly acceptable to the French Government. Bonaparte was appointed chief of the army in Italy; and on the 27th of March he entered upon his command at Nice.

Before we proceed to relate the events of this campaign, we must very briefly notice the territorial divisions of Italy at the period when the French Republic was established in 1792, and its political condition at the beginning of 1796. The kingdom of Sardinia—consisting of Savoy, Nice, Piedmont, and the island of Sardinia—was under Victor Amadeus III. This prince had joined the Coalition against France, and Savoy and Nice, lying convenient to the revolutionists, were very soon seized. But he continued to resist, although little able to struggle against his dangerous neighbour. The republic of Genoa was neutral; but an Anti-Gallican party had given offence to the Directory, and the Genoese oligarchy were not likely to be treated with kindness. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, under Ferdinand III., had

* "Quarterly Review," vol. iv. p. 230.
† "Regicide Peace," Letter III.

recognized the French Republic at an early period. The small republic of Lucca was independent of Tuscany. The States of the Church, under Pope Pius VI., were so wretchedly administered—the people were so servile and degraded—that the anathemas of the sovereign pontiff against the Revolution were not likely to divert the French armies from plundering Rome, and devastating the provinces. The Kingdom of Naples, including Sicily, was under Ferdinand IV., a weak Bourbon prince, married to the sister of Marie Antoinette. The Duchy of Modena was governed by Ercole Renaldo, a descendant of the house of Este. The Duchy of Parma was ruled by a Spanish prince, Don Ferdinand. The two Duchies of Milan and Mantua, forming Lombardy, were under the emperor of Germany, Francis II. The Republic of Venice had declared against France in 1793; but had subsequently adopted a neutral policy, and had compelled the head of the French Bourbon family to quit Verona. Such were the various Italian States to which the French armies carried their promises and their threats—whose people they harassed with confiscations, and deluded with the prospect of Italian unity and freedom.

The French army was posted on the Riviera, west of Genoa. It numbered about 40,000 men, who were in a very wretched condition, badly clothed, without pay. Bonaparte brought them a little money; but he also brought something more efficient even than money—the principle that war should support war, and that whatever was wanting should be supplied by the people with whom they came to fraternize. He had able generals and an active staff—Massena, Augereau, Serurier, Berthier. Opposed to the French were the Austrian general Beaulieu, with 30,000 men, and the Austro-Sardinian force of 22,000 men, under Colli. Bonaparte was received by the army with little enthusiasm, but the French troops soon recognized a general to their mind—"You are ill-fed and almost naked; the government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fertile plains of the world—to grand towns and wealthy provinces, where you will find glory and riches."* On the 12th of April, Bonaparte attacked the Austrian centre, consisting of 10,000 men under D'Argenteau, and routing them at Montenotte, cut off the communication between Beaulieu and Colli. He defeated in succession these two generals. The king of Sardinia was terrified, and demanded an armistice; which the French general agreed to conclude upon being put in possession of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, the keys of Piedmont. The court of Turin also sent ambassadors to Paris to negociate a peace, which was signed on the 15th of May upon the humiliating conditions of resigning to France eight frontier fortresses till a general peace, and confirming to France the possession of Savoy and Nice in perpetuity. General Beaulieu now gave up Piedmont as lost; crossed the Po; and applied himself to the defence of the Austrian possessions in Lombardy. The French followed him; and compelled his army to retire to the Adda. On the 9th of May, the French were before Lodi. The famous passage of the bridge was accomplished by a rapid and daring movement, which set at nought the twenty pieces of cannon by which it was defended. Beaulieu retreated beyond the Mincio; and the French entered Milan on the 15th of

* Thiers, "Revolution," livre xxxiii.

May. There was now a little spare time to gather some of the spoils of five weeks' fighting. The eulogistic historian, Thiers, tells us that the exactions of Bonaparte were indispensable. He levied a contribution of twenty million francs on the Milanese. He granted an armistice to the duke of Modena upon the payment of ten millions. Salicette, the commissioner of the Directory, and their politic general, robbed the Monte di Pietà of Milan of the valuables deposited there as pledges for money lent. These measures were very grievous to the tender heart of Bonaparte, "for they retarded the march of public spirit," says M. Thiers. He sent millions to the Directory, much of which was intercepted in its way into the public coffers. He had always ample means for corrupting those in the employ of the Italian governments. It is only justice to say that a very small share of the Italian spoils went into Bonaparte's own pocket. The exactions of the French led to resistance amongst the oppressed people of Milan and of Pavia. In Pavia there was a serious revolt, and some of the French were killed. Bonaparte hurried there with a sufficient force; broke down the gates with cannon; and gave the city up to pillage—"for three hours," says M. Thiers; for twenty-four hours, say more reliable authorities. "There were only a thousand men," writes the candid historian, "and this small number could cause no serious disasters in a town so considerable as Pavia." No doubt these thousand brigands did their spiriting gently—the very Claude Duvals of robbers. Ladies would gladly yield their jewels to the polite strangers; and would accept their caresses as a signal honour. Bonaparte, after the sack of Pavia, sent his cavalry into the neighbouring country, who sabred a large number of the revolted peasantry. A novel species of contribution was now insisted upon, as the French armies marched from city to city, and dictated the terms upon which their forbearance might be purchased. It was not sufficient that the duke of Parma should obtain an armistice by large money payments and supplies of horses and stores, but he must give twenty of his choicest paintings to be sent to Paris. The duke of Modena had to purchase a temporary respite of the seizure of his dominions, by contributing not only millions of livres, but treasures of art which no money could buy. Bonaparte thus early saw his way to flatter the national vanity of the French, by gathering for the Parisians those works of genius which lost half their interest when taken away from the lands which had produced them, and from the people who inherited them. Send me artists and scholars, wrote Bonaparte to the Directory, to assist me in choosing from the galleries, museums, libraries, and churches of Italy, the best paintings, sculptures, and manuscripts for our *Musée* of the Louvre.

The Austrian general, Beaulieu, having arranged for the defence of Mantua, retreated into the mountains of the Tyrol. His army had temporarily occupied the Venetian town of Peschiera; which occupation was an excuse for Bonaparte seizing the place upon its being abandoned by Beaulieu; and subsequently for demanding admittance to the Venetian city of Verona, thus treating Venice as a hostile power. He then turned his arms against the Pope, who was terrified into an armistice, which was bought by money contributions, and by precious works of art and rare manuscripts. Tuscany was at peace with the French. But the warehouses of Leghorn were full of English merchandize, and thither Bonaparte rapidly marched, seized

all the goods belonging to "the enemies of the republic" who had fled to their ships; and levied a contribution of five millions of francs upon the native merchants as the permission for them to keep the other property which had been entrusted to them by English and Portuguese houses. In these odious transactions Bonaparte was the instrument of the Directory; and he sometimes remonstrated against the impolicy of their violence and rapacity, but never against the iniquity. The Austrian government superseded Beaulieu, and sent a gallant veteran, Wurmser, to take the chief command of a new army in Italy. With the old traditional strategical mistake of dividing their forces, whilst the young French general invariably concentrated all his power for attack or defence, the Austrians moved towards Mantua in two separate divisions. Bonaparte attacked and routed the army under general Quosdanowich, and the army under general Wurmser.

But the Austrians were not yet disposed to give up the great struggle. The French main army under Bonaparte was weakened by the necessity of maintaining divisions to blockade Mantua, to occupy Verona and Legnano, and to guard some of the passes of the Tyrol. Another Austrian army of sixty thousand men advanced in two divisions, one under general Alvinzy, the other under general Davidowich. On the 12th of November Bonaparte attacked Alvinzy at Caldiero; but he sustained very heavy loss, and was compelled to retire into Verona. He wrote a desponding letter to the Directory; but that mood was not of long duration. He was one of that order of minds who "out of the nettle, danger, can pluck the flower, safety." On the night of the 14th he marched in silence out of Verona, as if retreating. He moved rapidly by the right bank of the Adige, which he crossed at Ronco, where he had made a temporary bridge. He was now in a marshy tract, between the Adige and the Alpone; which river it was necessary to cross before he could reach Villanova, where the Austrian baggage and stores were stationed, in the rear of Alvinzy's army. One of the causeways of the morass led to the bridge of Arcole. Three times the passage of this bridge was obstinately contested on the 15th of November, Bonaparte himself leading his grenadiers in one of the desperate attempts to contend against the Austrian batteries. For three days this battle of Arcole, the most severe of the Italian war, went on. The third day concluded the terrible conflict, when Alvinzy retreated towards Vicenza. Bonaparte had prevented the junction of the two Austrian armies. The battle of Arcole made a profound impression upon Europe. It ought to have shown the continental powers where their safety lay. It should have taught them a lesson which they too often forgot in a long series of fruitless endeavours: "Matched against a competitor of such extraordinary activity, it was incumbent on them to lay aside the embarrassments of ancient forms and ancient prejudices; and to gird up the skirts of their luxurious and effeminate magnificence."*

The combined operations upon the Rhine of the French generals, Jourdan and Moreau, were not favourable to the Republic. The archduke Charles encountered Jourdan when he had crossed the Rhine in June, and had advanced to Lahn. The French army was driven back, and recrossed the Rhine. Moreau carried his army over the Rhine at Strasbourg,

* Canning, in "Quarterly Review," vol. iv. p. 253.

and defeated the Austrian general Latour. The archduke fell back to the Danube. Jourdan, reassured by the operations of Moreau, again advanced towards Bohemia. The archduke fought a battle with Moreau; crossed the Danube; and drove back Jourdan in a series of well-concerted attacks. Moreau, separated by a long interval from Jourdan, and exposed to the assaults of the archduke on his front, and to those of Latour on his rear, ascended the Danube, and accomplished his retreat through the Black Forest. This celebrated movement saved his army from an imminent danger. After fighting several battles, Moreau finally reached Strasbourg. The wonderful success of Bonaparte in Italy is partly to be attributed to the contempt in which he held the orders of the Directory. The plan of the German campaign was laid down in Paris, and hence its failure.

The successes of the Austrians in Germany appeared to the English government more important than the career of Bonaparte in Italy. Lord Grenville thought in September, that if Moreau were "dispatched, and that quickly, there will be time and means to make Bonaparte suffer severely for his late advanced move." Our situation, he considered, was very much improved.* The moment was deemed favourable to open negotiations with the French Directory for peace; although some previous overtures had been contemptuously received. Lord Malmesbury was appointed as plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majesty, and he arrived in Paris on the 22nd of October. Burke held that any attempt to negotiate for "a Regicide Peace" was a disgrace and a humiliation for England. He wrote under the full influence of his own enthusiasm, and of the passions of the emigrants by whom he was surrounded. M. Thiers, half a century after 1796, when national prejudices ought to have been softened down by historical truth, adopts as insolent a tone in relating the progress of this negotiation as if the mantle of Barras had descended upon his shoulders. Pitt, he says, demanded passports for an envoy to be sent on the part of Great Britain. Pitt had no real wish for peace; he only wanted to satisfy public opinion; he knew that his terms would not be accepted; but to obtain sixty thousand militia, and fifteen thousand sailors, he would pretend that he had done all he could for peace—"*son possible pour traiter.*" Without the hope of obtaining peace, he made an advance towards the Directory. Thus M. Thiers repeats, in almost the same words, the mean insinuations with which the Directory announced to the Council of Five Hundred the proposal of Great Britain to negotiate. He adds, "this surprising step of the most implacable enemy of our republic was a glory for her. The English aristocracy was thus *reduced* to demand peace from the regicide republic."† The historian of "the Revolution" has taken as little pains to look at the authentic relations of this episode of diplomacy, as he has taken to understand the family name of the negotiator chosen by Pitt, when he calls him "*lord Malmesbury, autrefois sir Harry.*" ‡

For nearly four years the condition of France, as exhibited in the appearance of the country, had been as little known to the English as Japan. Lord Malmesbury had his eyes open, and Mr. Talbot, a gentleman connected with

* "Court and Cabinets of George III.," vol. iii. p. 351.

† Thiers, livre xxxiv,

‡ Sir James *Harris* was raised to the peerage as Earl of Malmesbury.

the embassy, has left a very interesting account of what he observed. Many of the houses on the road from Calais to Paris were shut up; very few of the churches appeared to be open; but the land throughout was in a state of high cultivation, though there were comparatively few men at work. The farmers had become wealthy proprietors, by receiving depreciated assignats for their produce, and buying estates—national domains—with that paper money, at the sum which it represented. In Paris the streets were crowded, the shops tolerably well supplied, the theatres well attended, some private carriages, and a great number of public vehicles: "All this," says the sensible attaché, "brought to my reflection how very difficult a matter it must be to destroy a great country."*

It would be tedious to follow the course of this negotiation. Lord Malmesbury arrived at Paris on the 22nd of October; he left Paris on the 21st of December. The points of difference between the two governments were too serious to be overcome by any anxiety of the prime minister of Great Britain for peace, even if the French Directory, rendered more warlike than ever by the successes of Bonaparte, could have regarded the real welfare of France more than its false glories. Lord Malmesbury required, as a *sine quâ non*, that the Netherlands should not be annexed to France. M. Delacroix, the French minister for Foreign Affairs, held that the banks of the Rhine were the natural limits of France. It was in vain to diplomatize. Mr. Pitt had to call upon his country for new sacrifices, and the French Directory had to send new armies to seize the means of subsistence in the lands which Bonaparte was revolutionizing.

At a period of less public excitement than was occasioned by other events which marked the close of the year 1796, the death of Catharine II., Empress of Russia, on the 10th of November, and the retirement of Washington from the Presidency of the United States, in December, would have been fruitful sources of political speculation. The sudden decease of Catharine, who for thirty-six years had been the autocrat of all the Russias, was in some degree a triumph for the French republic; and that event probably decided the Directory in suddenly breaking off the negotiation for peace with England. She was preparing to take part in the coalition against France. Her successor, Paul, was inclining to the French interests. The retirement of Washington interrupted the continuance of that system of neutrality by which he had preserved the American republic from the dangers attendant upon the extreme opinions of the federalist and the democratic parties—the one disposed, however timidly, to take part with England in the great European crisis; the other, of which Jefferson was the head, manifesting hostility to the mother-country and favour to France, in a manner that savoured more of evil passions than of wise statesmanship. Washington regarded with alarm the Societies, modelled upon the Jacobin clubs, which had sprung up in the United States; and his expression of this feeling produced in the democratic party a violent hostility to the treaty which had been concluded under his auspices with Great Britain in 1795. Washington's retirement was preceded by manifestations of party spirit against the policy

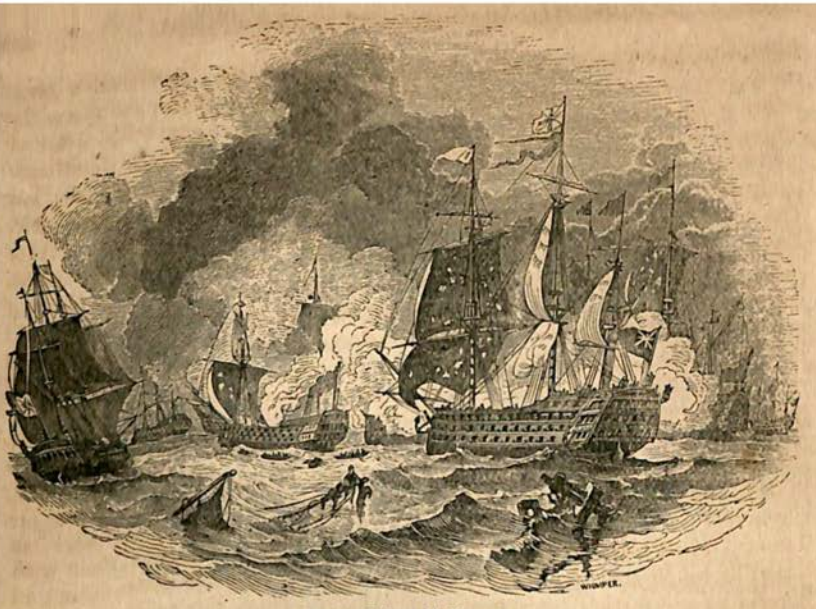
* "Court, &c., of George III.," vol. iii. p. 355.

of the great founder and preserver of the republic. Had his nature been different—had his ambition been less under the control of his virtue,—he might have taken up the sword, and, sweeping away his enemies, have raised himself to supreme power upon the ruins of his country's liberty. He retired to his estate of Mount Vernon, to pass the rest of his days as a private citizen. At this period, the young conqueror of Italy was meditating upon plans of rising to what some would deem the pinnacle of human greatness. His scheme of glory was accomplished. He founded a military despotism. Washington's scheme of glory was also realized. He had been a ruler of free men—ruling by the power of law. He laid down his authority when he had done the work to which he was called, most happy in this, that ambition of a selfish order could never be justified by his example.

On the 17th of December, two days before lord Malmesbury left Paris, an expedition went out from Brest, consisting of seventeen sail of the line and thirteen frigates. Its destination was Ireland, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Hoche, who had succeeded in the pacification of La Vendée. A great storm dispersed this formidable fleet. A portion of the squadron entered Bantry Bay on the 24th of December. It consisted of seven sail of the line and ten smaller vessels. The general who was to advance with the troops into the interior—who was to support the disaffected, and revolutionize the government—had been separated from the rest of the armament. The officers who were with the troops in Bantry Bay were desirous to effect a landing. The admiral refused to comply with their requisition, and sailed back to Brest. The other divisions of the French fleet also sought to return. Several ships were captured, and others reached the French ports in a shattered condition. Some amongst our statesmen knew the danger, if such a landing as that contemplated by the Directory had been effected. Lord Mornington wrote, in September, "My great fear is a blow in Ireland, before sufficient preparation has been made for our defence in that most vulnerable, and at the same time mortal, part."* Lord Malmesbury, in the middle of November, gave an intimation to lord Grenville that an expedition was meditated against Ireland; that the troops were encouraged to embark by the most exaggerated reports of the temper of the country. Loyal Irishmen were grateful that "the goodness of Providence to us has exhibited a second armada." But even loyal men inquired why the coast had been left wholly unprotected by our fleet for seventeen days; why admiral Colpoys could not follow the French fleet, for want of water and provisions; why lord Bridport was lying at Spithead, not even ready for sea, instead of being off Ushant?" †

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 474.

† *Ibid.* p. 181.



Battle off Cape St. Vincent.

CHAPTER XIX.

Landing of French in Pembrokeshire—Commercial Distrust—Run upon the Banks—Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank of England—Extension of the National Industry—War with Spain—Battle of St. Vincent—Nelson boards and takes two ships—Discontent in the Navy—Mutiny at Spithead—Mutiny at the Nore—Proceedings in Parliament—Negotiations at Lisle for Peace—Bonaparte's triumphs in Italy—Revolution at Paris of the Eighteenth Fructidor—End of the Negotiations at Lisle—The "Anti-Jacobin."

The public expectation of a peace, as the result of the negotiations at Paris, passed into an apprehension of an invasion by France, for which the Directory had been making preparations whilst these negotiations were lingering on. The descent upon Ireland failed, as we have seen. But the fact that a large fleet could cross the Channel from Brest, and a portion of the armament prepare to land on the south-west coast of Cork, shook the national confidence in the power of our navy to protect our shores. On Saturday, the 25th of February, the Secretary of State informed the Lord Mayor of London that four French ships had appeared in the Bristol Channel, and had anchored in the harbour of Ilfracombe; that on the 23rd about twelve hundred men had been landed on the east coast of Pembrokeshire; and that a strong force having been collected by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the invaders had surrendered at discretion. This absurd

enterprize, although the ready spirit of our countrymen furnished a great cause for exultation, was also calculated to produce additional alarm by showing how accessible were these islands to an invading army, whether large or small. The popular fears took the usual course of producing commercial distrust. The currency of the country was in a condition that was likely to render a general panic, and a wide-spread ruin, almost unavoidable. The circulation of the kingdom mainly rested upon the notes of the Bank of England, and upon the bills of about two hundred and thirty country banks. Both these were payable to the bearer on demand. From the beginning of the year there had been an extraordinary run upon the northern banks; and many of them had been compelled to postpone payment in gold, till, as the banks of Newcastle announced, "they could obtain a supply adequate to the occasion." The expectations of the country bankers rested upon the assistance to be rendered by the Bank of England, through the agency of the London bankers. This pressure upon the Bank of England had been progressively increasing for weeks; and it was becoming doubled, day by day, in the third week of February. But there was another large seeker for accommodation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as far back as January, 1795, had been told by the Bank Directors that it was their wish "that he would arrange his finance for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them." Thus, the prudent banker always addresses the sanguine private speculator. Mr. Pitt was a speculator upon the greatest scale. He speculated upon having the means always at hand for loans and subsidies to our Allies. Another loan to the emperor of Germany "would go nigh to ruin the country," said the Directors of the Bank. Ireland, at the beginning of 1797, required, under her separate Treasury, financial assistance, and Mr. Pitt asked it of the Bank of England. On the 9th of February he was informed by the Governor, that "a further advance of a million and a half as a loan to Ireland would threaten ruin to the Bank, and most probably bring the Directors to shut up their doors."

On Saturday evening, the 25th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having one afternoon's relief from parliamentary duties,—perhaps finding some solace for his public anxieties in a mode of producing pleasant thoughts which his real friends deplored,—was startled by a message from the Directors of the Bank of England that they could pay in specie no longer. So low was their stock of bullion that, it is stated, they had been compelled to pay their notes in sixpences. Pitt at once roused himself to meet the emergency. A messenger was sent to the king at Windsor; and on Sunday morning his Majesty was presiding at a Council, at which eight members of the Cabinet were present. On that Sunday night, Wilberforce writes to lord Muncaster, "Elliot has just been with me to inform me that the Bank is to stop payment, by command of government, to-morrow morning." He records in his Diary that the Cabinet were very averse to take upon themselves the responsibility of the measure; that the Chancellor said, "No—this will never do." * Lord Campbell states that the Chancellor held that the order forbidding the Bank to make any further payments in cash, "although contrary to law, would be in accordance with the constitu-

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 194.

tion." Lord Loughborough concluded that as in this case, if the Executive Government abstained from interfering, the opinion of Parliament could not be taken till irremediable evils were brought upon the nation, the Executive Government was bound to interfere.* The Order in Council was notified to the Bank on the Sunday night. On the Monday morning the Directors of the Bank published the Order, with a notification that the general concerns of the Bank were in the most affluent and prosperous condition, and that they would continue their usual discounts, paying in bank-notes. There was a great meeting at noon of merchants at the Mansion House, when an unanimous resolution was passed, that "we will not refuse to receive bank-notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to us, and will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner." The Stocks immediately rose. A weight was suddenly taken off the springs of industry. There was no lack of a due supply of provisions for the capital, as Wilberforce apprehended might be the case. There were no riots; and the prophecy of lord Auckland that "this was the beginning of the throat-cutting" was altogether a delusion. There was no fever in the State resulting from this stimulant. But a chronic malady was induced which lasted during a generation—a malady which defied every attempt at cure till the principle of a convertible paper currency was again firmly established. Of the lasting effects of this measure, which was only intended to be temporary, the government of 1797 could have had no conception. For twenty-four years bank-paper stood in the place of gold, and ministerial financiers were hardy enough to maintain that bank-paper was as good as gold. The benefits and the evils of this measure have probably been each exaggerated. It is not clear that the industry of the country was thus chiefly stimulated to the gain of the capitalist. It is not clear that prices were in consequence raised, to the loss of the labourer. It is not clear that we could not have carried on the war without inconvertible paper. It is not clear that the inconvertible paper added hundreds of millions to the national debt. One thing is clear—that Mr. Pitt was relieved from an immediate difficulty; and had not to contemplate a national bankruptcy, in addition to the other perils of the great contest with France.

The measures that ministers carried through Parliament, in consequence of this suspension of cash-payments, were of a nature to continue the restriction upon the issue of specie without absolutely making bank-notes a legal tender. But as bank-notes were to be received in payment for every branch of the revenue, and as the tender of bank-notes in payment of a demand would protect the person of the debtor from legal process, the transition from gold to paper soon became speedy and certain. For all purposes of retail trade the guinea was quickly supplanted by the twenty-shilling note—a currency first resorted to by the Bank of England on the 4th of March. The door was now opened to a most extensive system of forgery, which the fear of conviction, and of punishment without mercy, was wholly inefficient to repress. By Reports of Committees of both Houses the solvency of the Bank of England was perfectly established; and the demand for a circulating capital proportioned to the political engagements of the government, and the

* Lord Campbell; "Chancellors," vol. vi. p. 277.

expenditure by the people upon national improvements and the extension of profitable industry, was adequately shown. Contracted as the circulation had been during the years of war, there was no suspension of great public works. In the four years preceding the war the inclosure bills passed were a hundred and thirty-eight. In the four years of the war their number was two hundred and eighty-three. In the first of these periods, the sums authorized to be borrowed under bills for navigation and canals was nearly two millions and a half. In the second period they amounted to nearly seven millions and a half. This was profitable expenditure. By facilitating the commercial intercourse of the country it gave an impulse to those manufacturing enterprizes which had now begun to assume some of those proportions which were vast in comparison with their former magnitude. It is to be noted that the exports were actually one third more in 1796 than the average of the years of peace previous to 1792. These were circumstances that contributed to foster the delusion that a state of war was favourable to the extension of British commerce—that the nation flourished because it was at war. The industry of the nation was developed in spite of the war, at a period when scientific invention and discovery had rendered the labour of man of tenfold efficiency. The expenditure of Mr. Pitt during the first four years of the war, in loans and subsidies; in remittances abroad for the payment of British troops or foreign troops in British pay; were sufficient to account for a considerable portion of the drain of specie. But that expenditure could be doubled and quadrupled before the war was at an end, without the nation sinking under the load. The industry of the people was the mine of wealth which could sustain an outlay the most extravagant, without any real disturbance of the national credit. In the Speech from the throne on the 2nd of November of this year, the king said, "During the period of hostilities, and under the unavoidable pressure of accumulated burthens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits." The French Directory interpreted this as a declaration that Great Britain exulted in the war as the great source of her prosperity. In a Proclamation of the President, La Réveillière Lépaux, he says, "If the king of England has told the truth, what a terrible lesson is this for you, ye other powers of Europe! Of what description is that power which is interested in your discords, which derives an interest from your calamities, which prospers by your distress, and which fattens on the tears, the blood, and the spoil of other nations?"

It was on the 6th of October, 1796, that war against Great Britain was declared by Spain. Three great naval powers were now combined to resist that maritime ascendancy of England which the French regarded as the despotism of the seas. We have seen how a powerful French fleet crossed the Channel in December, and was only prevented by adverse weather from making a descent upon Ireland. There was a Dutch fleet in the Texel, which was ready to unite with France in any joint project for the invasion of our shores. There was a fleet in Carthagena,—the grand Spanish fleet—numbering twenty-seven sail of the line, and ten frigates, whose admiral was prepared on the first favourable opportunity to sail forth, and, by effecting a junction with the French and Dutch, form an invincible Armada, to overpower any fleet that Great Britain might have in the narrow seas. On the

1st of February, this fleet sailed from Carthagena, its first destination being Cadiz. Sir John Jervis, with ten sail of the line was stationed off Cape St. Vincent: and he was joined on the 6th of February by five sail of the line, detached from the Channel fleet. On the morning of the 13th Commodore Nelson also joined in the Minerve frigate, having at the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar fallen in with the Spanish fleet. Nelson was ordered to shift his broad pendant to the Captain. On the evening of that day, it having been ascertained that the Spanish fleet was not more than four or five leagues distant, signals were made for the British fleet to prepare for battle, and to keep in close order. During that night the signal guns of the Spaniards told of their near approach. The morning of the 14th was dark, and for several hours a fog concealed the relative strength of each fleet. The Spaniards had been told that the English had only nine sail of the line, and they were confident of an easy victory. As the fog cleared off fifteen sail were seen advancing, in two close lines, purposing to cut off a portion of the Spanish fleet that had been allowed to separate from the main body. Jervis could now ascertain the exact numerical force with which he would have to fight. In his despatch he says, "By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half-past eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle." 'There was no hesitation about superiority of numbers. "I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system," he writes. If "the regular system" was that a British admiral should not engage a greatly superior force, that system was wisely abandoned on this eventful 14th of February. The real inequality consisted, not in the fact that twenty-five sail of the line were opposed to fifteen; not that some of these twenty-five were of enormous bulk and corresponding weight of metal; but that the fifteen ships were manned by able seamen, whilst the twenty-five were encumbered with pressed landsmen and newly-levied soldiers. The determination of the British admiral to disregard the numerical superiority of the enemy was worthy of all praise. But there was one under his command to whom it became the habit of his life to depart from "the regular system"—to think nothing impossible to high courage and sound judgment. Nelson, on this day, as on subsequent occasions, saw that an implicit regard to the orders of his superior officer would prevent the accomplishment of a great object. The signal was given to tack. He saw that by disobeying the signal he could prevent a junction between some of the separated ships, who were manœuvring for that purpose. He instantly wore; and was consequently brought into action with seven of the largest vessels of the Spanish fleet. Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, joined Nelson, and these two for nearly an hour sustained the unequal fire—unequal indeed, if skill and discipline were not always a match for unwieldy and ill-directed strength. The Blenheim and the Excellent came up to the support of the Captain and the Culloden. Collingwood commanded the Excellent. He describes how he succoured his friend in this perilous conflict: "Making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the San Nicolas, of 80 guns, which happened at that time to be abreast of the San Josef, of 112 guns. We did not touch sides, but you could not have put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and in attempting to extricate themselves they got on board each other. My good

friend, the commodore, had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled."* Nelson's ship was almost wholly disabled. Her fore-topmast had fallen over her side; her wheel was struck away. The Culloden was crippled; the Blenheim was far a-head. Nelson, at a distance of twenty yards, was firing upon the San Nicolas, of 80 guns, which returned the fire with great spirit. He suddenly ordered the helm of the Captain to be put a-starboard. The two ships were hooked together; and Nelson gave the order to board. The rest of this wonderful story has been told by himself. He describes the alacrity of the soldiers of the 69th regiment, who were amongst the foremost in this service; his direction to the commander of the Captain not to leave; and the exploit of his late first lieutenant, captain Berry, in being the first to jump into the enemy's mizen chains, "supported from our sprit-sail-yard, which hooked in the mizen rigging." He thus continues: "A soldier of the 69th regiment having broke the upper quarter-gallery window, I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin-doors fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols: but, having broke open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier fell, as retreating to the quarter-deck. I pushed immediately onwards for the quarter-deck, where I found captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and lieutenant Pearson, on the larboard gangway, to the forecastle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen: they delivered me their swords." But the Spanish admiral's ship, the San Josef, of 112 guns, opened a fire of small arms upon the San Nicolas, from the stern gallery. The daring determination was now taken to board this first-rate, which was done in an instant, captain Berry assisting Nelson into the main-chains. "At this moment, a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence, it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He declared she was: on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company, and tell them of it; which he did:—and, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of vanquished Spaniards; which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen; who put them, with the greatest *sang froid*, under his arm."

The battle of St. Vincent was concluded, without that complete destruction of an enemy's fleet, or the surrender of the greater number of ships, such as marked other successes before the close of the war. The two most remarkable trophies of victory were the two ships that were taken, as it were, by Nelson's own hand. Sir John Jervis, on the quarter-deck, embraced the commodore (who, before the events of the 14th of February were known, had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral); but Nelson's name is not found in his commander's despatches. On a previous occasion, when little public notice was taken of his exploits, he said, "I will have a Gazette of my own some day." Two other ships were captured; but the Spanish admiral

* Collingwood's "Correspondence," p. 30.

was enabled to sail away without a renewal of the action. Many of the British ships were so injured in their masts and rigging as to be incapable of pursuing the victory to any greater material advantage. Three thousand prisoners were taken in the four prizes. The reward of Sir John Jervis was an earldom. Nelson was made a Knight of the Bath.

The news of the battle of St. Vincent arrived in London on the 3rd of March. That evening the thanks of the House of Commons were voted to admiral Jervis, to his captains and officers, and to the crews of the respective ships for their gallant behaviour. It was well for these crews that they were actively engaged, after the victory, in the chace or blockade of the enemy. It was well that the commander of the Mediterranean fleet knew how to put down a dissatisfied spirit by firmness; for the crews of Lord St. Vincent, in the enthusiasm of glory had not forgotten grievances of which the British navy had to complain. In stations at home, and in the Channel, there was a spirit of discontent which somewhat disturbed the repose of the official mind, but which excited no desire to remove the causes of dissatisfaction. At the end of March, lord Bridport, with fifteen sail of the line, had returned to Spithead from a cruise off Brest. Previous to his cruise, the seamen at Portsmouth had addressed petitions to lord Howe, praying for an increase of wages. These petitions bore no signatures, and appeared to have been mostly written by one person. They were sent to the Admiralty, after lord Howe had caused inquiries to be made as to the temper of the fleet; which inquiries, being answered by the officers in command at Portsmouth, could furnish no better solution of the complaints than that they did not express the real mind of the crews, but were to be attributed to the evil designs of some mischievous enemy of the government. The correspondence was duly tied up and labelled; the Admiralty had more pressing business than that of redressing the crying wrongs of a hundred thousand seamen.

On the 15th of April, lord Bridport, who had taken the command of the Channel fleet, made the signal to prepare for sea. The sailors of his flag-ship, the Royal George, instead of weighing anchor, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers. The shouts were echoed from every ship in the fleet lying at Spithead. Those cheers, so often the prelude of victory, were sounds well calculated to strike terror into the heart of the boldest captain. They were the signals of mutiny. The mutiny of a single ship might be suppressed; but the general mutiny of a fleet—where was that peril to end? On board those ships there were officers beloved by their crews, who had some consideration for their comforts and some respect for their feelings—officers who did not resort to the lash for every petty offence, and who could make their men believe them to be in earnest without accompanying every command with a volley of oaths. There were others whose tyranny was as disgusting as it was subversive of every just principle of discipline,—who governed by fear alone, regarding the sailor as a being not capable of a milder rule than the negro of a slave plantation. The wrongs of the naval service were essentially connected with the wicked system of impressment—a system which the legislators of that day might well believe essential to the very existence of our naval power, when we have been told again and again in very recent times that the exercise of impressment "is considered by every officer of experience as essentially necessary for the manning of the fleet, and of vital importance

to the British navy."* Impressment in 1797 filled the ships with men who had suffered grievous injustice—who were torn from peaceful occupations because they had once served at sea, or carried off from more lucrative employment in merchant vessels, to be subjected to the severe punishments, the small pay, the bad provisions, the neglect in sickness, all the manifold frauds of the purser, and all the neglects of the Victualling Office. There was the temptation of prize-money, at a time when there was little respect for private property in the operations of warfare; but the distribution of prize-money was so grossly unequal that the capture even of a Spanish galleon was more an occasion of envy than of satisfaction to the common sailor. The seamen of our day have no such wrongs to complain of. Impressment has died out; the use of the lash is so restricted, that the man who does his duty has no fear of being the victim of a petty officer's caprice; pay is not disproportionate to the rate of wages in other occupations; food is ample. In almost every particular the seaman of 1797 was ill-treated. The belief of the Admiralty was the popular belief—that

"Jack dances and sings and is always content;"

knew nothing of the value of money; and could put up with every hardship if he had plenty of grog. Little did the statesmen of England think that the easy fool who, as Dibdin painted him

"Pays his score,
With spirit on shore,
And that's all the use of a guinea,"

was the man to strike for wages. What would have been a Strike in a factory was a Mutiny in a fleet—a terrible danger far more formidable than an economic mistake.

In the sixteen men-of-war lying at Spithead, although the commands of the admiral to put to sea were set at nought—although every officer saw that his power of compelling obedience was gone—not a hand was raised in offence, not a voice was heard of disrespect. A new power had suddenly arisen, greater than that of admiral or captains—the authority of thirty-two Delegates. In lord Howe's cabin these chosen men held their deliberations, each ship sending two invested with full powers. On the 17th an oath was administered to every man in the fleet, to uphold the common cause in which they were engaged. Two petitions were drawn up, one to the House of Commons and one to the Admiralty, which were signed by these Delegates. Never were just demands set forth with more temper and discretion. But although the consciousness of power did not display itself in angry words, there was evidence of a settled determination which might have awful results. On the fore-yard-arms of every ship, ropes were reeved, ready for the execution of summary punishment upon any deserter from their cause. Officers whose oppressions had exceeded the ordinary bounds were sent on shore, to tell their tale of the rough justice that had overtaken them. The wages of seamen, as these petitioners truly alleged, had been settled by Parliament in the reign of Charles II., and remained unaltered. The House of Commons was

* Lord Campbell; "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxvii. p. 399.

requested to revise these regulations. The pay and pensions of the army had been increased, whilst the seamen continued neglected. To the Lords of the Admiralty the petitioners further alleged the grievance which sailors endured in receiving only fourteen ounces to the pound in the provisions served out to them. The two ounces were retained as the perquisite of the purser, who received no other pay. They had short quantities in every article served out by measure. Their food was bad. The necessaries supplied to the sick were embezzled. When they had completed the duty of their ship after their return from sea, they claimed the opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore. If a man was wounded in action they required that his pay should be continued until he was cured and discharged. The crisis was too serious to allow of hesitation on the part of the naval authorities. The Board of Admiralty assembled at Portsmouth, and gave an immediate answer, promising to recommend to his majesty to propose to parliament an immediate increase of the wages of seamen in certain proportions, and to redress the grievance of withholding pay from seamen wounded in action. The other allegations of the petition remained unnoticed; and the seamen reiterated their demands, declaring that until an Act of Parliament was passed, and pardon granted to them, they would not lift an anchor. Three admirals went on board the Queen Charlotte, and had a conference with the Delegates. One gave way to passion, seized a Delegate by the collar, swore he would hang them all, and narrowly escaped with his own life. Then was hoisted the terrible signal of the red flag—the pirates' signal, which implied that no quarter would be given. After two or three days' suspense, lord Bridport came on board his flag-ship, and promised complete redress and full pardon. Meanwhile, no official notice had been taken of these proceedings by the ministry or the parliament; and the seamen were persuaded that they were betrayed. For a fortnight a silence which was considered politic, but which was truly dangerous, had been maintained; and the mutiny again broke out on the 7th of May. Blood was then shed, and for another week the country was held in terror. It was time to act vigorously. A Bill was rapidly carried through both Houses for an increase of pay and allowance to the seamen and marines. On the 14th lord Howe, with the Act of Parliament in his hand, and the king's proclamation of pardon, met the Delegates at Portsmouth. The presence of this veteran, the hero of the first of June, touched the hearts of the Delegates. The bloody flag was struck. Subordination was wholly restored; and on the 17th the fleet put to sea. The example of tranquillity at Spithead was sufficient to quell a similar mutiny at Plymouth.

But the danger was not yet overpast—the greatest danger, perhaps, that England had encountered since the Spanish Armada sailed into the Channel, and the guns of the Dutch told of their presence in the Medway. On the 22nd of May, after some previous symptoms of disaffection, that revolt broke out which is known in history as the Mutiny at the Nore. On that day the crews took possession of the ships; elected Delegates; and prepared petitions that in their demands went far beyond those of the previous mutineers. The redress of grievances alleged by the fleet at Spithead applied to the whole British navy. The mutineers at the Nore repeated these complaints as if they had not been redressed, and assumed an attitude which made conciliation impossible. Some of their demands might be just, others were wholly

extravagant. The Delegates of the fleet at Spithead had said in their first petition, "we agree in opinion that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by any power in the world." Very different was the view of their duty taken by the crews of four men of war, and a sloop, who had deserted from the fleet blockading the Texel under admiral Duncan, and had sailed to join the mutineers at the Nore. Duncan called his own ship's crew together, and amongst many other earnest words said, "It has often been my pride with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us: my pride is now humbled indeed." But the brave commander maintained his blockade with those who were faithful to him. At the Nore the acts of the fleet were as those of a foreign enemy. The Delegates had chosen a daring man as their President—Richard Parker—who signed the demands of his associates as if he were invested with supreme powers. Conferences between the Lords of the Admiralty and the Delegates had no result beyond embittering the dispute. The red flag was hoisted. The mutineers moored their ships in a line across the river, and intercepted every merchant-vessel. Pitt had his sleep broken; but he took the most decisive mode to sleep securely in future. He brought in bills to provide for the more effectual punishment of those who should excite mutiny and sedition in the navy; and to prevent all communication with the ships that should remain in a state of mutiny. The bills were quickly passed, amidst some party opposition, to which the patriotic conduct of Sheridan was a signal exception. The mutineers quickly discovered that the government was too strong for them; that they had not the support of the other fleets; and that they were not united amongst themselves. On the 9th of June, two of the ships concerned in the mutiny abandoned the fleet, and were fired upon by those remaining at the Nore. On the 13th five more vessels left the insurgents, and took refuge under the batteries of Sheerness. On the 15th all the ships at anchor struck the red flag. Obedience was soon completely re-established. Parker and the more prominent of his associates were found guilty, after a solemn trial. Parker had been a small shop-keeper in Scotland; was confined for debt in Perth gaol when he accepted the parochial bounty of thirty pounds to volunteer into the navy; had served two years, and was promoted to be a petty officer, but was disrated and turned before the mast about three months before the mutiny broke out. He was executed on board the Sandwich on the 30th of June.

The alarm inspired by these mutinies may be gathered from the expressions of public men. Sheridan said in the House of Commons, "If there was, indeed, a rot in the wooden walls of Old England, our decay could not be very distant." Lord Mornington could see no way out of these troubles. "How discipline and subordination are ever again to be restored, on any permanent basis, surpasses my understanding to conceive." * On the 9th of May, lord Cornwallis wrote, "Unless the business of the fleet can be speedily adjusted, a few days must place a French army in Ireland." The alarm of the moneyed and commercial interests was sufficiently expressed by the fall in the funds. Throughout the four years of war, indeed, the price of

* "Court and Cabinets of Geo. III." vol. ii. p. 373.

stocks may be taken as the index of public confidence. In January, 1793, the three per cents were at 79; in January, 1796, they were at 67; in January, 1797, they were at 57; and in April, May, and June, of that year, they had fallen to 47. The crisis was indeed alarming. Public bodies, including the Common Council of London, called for the dismission of the king's ministers, as the most likely means of securing a speedy and permanent peace. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother at the end of April, "The panic here is so disgraceful that the country will not allow us to do them justice." He thought how pleasant it were for the nation "to be quiet and suffer themselves to be saved." He looks at "the good people of England" from a point of view which sees much, but does not see all, and which sees many things "through a glass darkly." There is truth in what he says, but not the whole truth: "To desire war without reflection, to be unreasonably elated with success, to be still more unreasonably depressed by difficulties, and to call out for peace with an impatience which makes suitable terms unattainable, are the established maxims and the regular progress of the popular mind in this country." * Pitt, with all his sanguine hopes of success in a prolonged resistance to France, had far more respect for "the popular mind in this country" than the cold and haughty Grenville. There was a war party in the Cabinet and a pacific party. Pitt, encouraged by his attached disciple Canning, was resolved to brave the hostility of Grenville, Windham, and the war party, and once more to open negotiations for peace with France. Lord Malmesbury, after the mutiny in the fleet had been suppressed, was again appointed to conduct negotiations; with the assurance from Pitt that "he would stifle every feeling of pride to the utmost to produce the desired results." † Malmesbury met the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic at Lisle, in the beginning of July. On the 9th of July, the great seer, who would have again raised his voice to cry "No Peace with Regicide," ceased to live. On the 14th, Canning wrote to his friend Ellis, who formed one of the suite of this embassy, "I ought to tell you something of what has been passing here since you left us. There is but one event, but that is an event for the world,—Burke is dead. . . . . It is of a piece with the peddling sense of these days, that it should be determined to be imprudent for the House of Commons to vote him a monument. He is the man that will mark this age, marked as it is in itself by events, to all times." ‡

The British government, in entering upon the negotiations at Lisle, was not embarrassed, as in the previous negotiations at Paris, by its engagements with other powers. Our sole ally was Portugal. The court of Vienna, under the pressure of the victorious arms of Bonaparte, had on the 18th of April signed at Leoben the preliminaries of peace with the French Republic. At the beginning of the year Mantua, continuing to hold out against its besiegers, Alvinzi advanced to its relief with a new Austrian army of fifty thousand men. He crossed the Adige, and having attacked the French general, Joubert, compelled him to retreat to Rivoli. Bonaparte, who had

* "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 376.
† Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 355.
‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 383.

waited at Verona till he had ascertained the direction in which the Austrian general would advance, now moved with his wonted rapidity to the aid of Joubert. The battle of Rivoli began on the morning of the 14th of January. The Austrians fought with a determination which rendered the issue for a long time doubtful. Rivoli was taken by the Austrians, and retaken by the French, twice in that day of carnage. A judicious movement of Alvinzi on the left of Rivoli might have changed the fortunes of that field; but the effort was an hour too late. The Austrians, said Bonaparte, did not sufficiently calculate the value of time. Alvinzi retired to the Tyrol, pursued by the victorious republicans. Meanwhile Provera had marched to the relief of Mantua. On the field of Rivoli Bonaparte heard that this Austrian general was before the place on the 15th. He at once took his resolution. He left Joubert to pursue the fugitive troops of Alvinzi, and by a march of thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours, was engaged with Provera on the morning of the 16th, and compelled him to surrender with five thousand men. Mantua capitulated on the 2d of February. Bonaparte treated his aged antagonist, Wurmser, who had gallantly defended Mantua, with a delicacy almost chivalrous. In the interval between the surrender of Provera and the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte had marched into the Papal States, and when within forty miles of Rome had granted peace to the terrified Pope. Another Austrian army had been collected under the Archduke Charles, against which the French marched in three divisions. Bonaparte advanced on the 10th of March to encounter the Archduke, who had formed his line of defence on the Tagliamento. Bernadotte joined him with twenty thousand men from the army of the Rhine. On the 16th of March the French forced their way across the Tagliamento, the Austrians retreating before them. The retreat of the Archduke continued through March, as if it were a pre-determined plan of operations to draw the French on to the hereditary States of the Emperor, where a battle might be fought with advantage; whilst Hungarians, and Tyrolese, and Venetians were gathering round the invaders. Bonaparte on the 31st of March wrote to the Archduke Charles, to implore him to induce the Emperor to listen to the terms of peace which the French Directory had offered. The Archduke returned for answer that he would communicate with Vienna. Bonaparte continued to advance; and on the 2d of April defeated the Archduke at Neumarkt. Alarm and despondency now prevailed in the imperial counsels, instead of a determination to hazard a battle under the walls of Vienna. A suspension of arms proposed by the Emperor was agreed to on the 7th of April. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th. The interval in the greater operations of the Italian campaign gave the indefatigable general of the French the opportunity of avenging himself upon the republic of Venice, which, of all the Italian States, had displayed the greatest disinclination to fraternize with France. When Bonaparte was supposed to be in danger in the Austrian provinces, the hatred of the Venetians displayed itself in acts of cruelty and outrage towards the French who remained amongst them, particularly at Verona. On the 3rd of May Bonaparte issued a manifesto declaring war against the Venetian Republic. The French troops overran all the Venetian territory; took a signal vengeance on the Veronese; finally entered Venice on the 16th of May, and put an end to that famous government which had

maintained its independence and its power during centuries of change. The last and greatest convulsion of Europe made the Queen of the Adriatic, first a prize to a revolutionary democracy, and then the slave of an unteachable absolutism.

Such was the position of Europe when lord Malmesbury opened his negotiation at Lisle. As the French Directory was then constituted, there was a partial disposition to meet with an equal sincerity the evident desire of the British government to put an end to this desolating conflict. The demands first put forth by the French plenipotentiaries were extravagant —that Great Britain should relinquish all her conquests, whether of French, Dutch, or Spanish possessions, and that France should retain all she had acquired by the war. It was the opinion of the British negotiators that these demands would be gradually reduced; that Carnot and Barthelemi, two of the five Directors who were decidedly advocates for peace, would win over Barras; and that the majority would be disposed to accept the conditions resolved upon by the British government, namely, to give up all the conquests made from France, and to retain the Spanish possession of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. Lord Malmesbury had a channel of private information which he could trust; and he wrote to lord Grenville on the 25th of July, "The fate of the negotiation will depend much less on what passes in our conferences here than on what may happen very shortly in Paris." * Another revolutionary crisis was approaching. Barras, Reubell, and La Réveillière Lépaux, were preparing to eject Carnot and Barthelemi, and to purge the two Legislative Councils of members who were suspected of royalist designs, and of those who, without desiring the restoration of the monarchy, were opposed to the venality and abuse of power by the majority of the Directors. Bonaparte was cognizant of the dangers of the Triumviri,—Barras, Reubell, and Lépaux,—and was ready to support them by his soldiery. The military arm, which was soon to supersede every other authority in France, was now to be the instrument of accomplishing one of those acts of violence with which we have become familiar under the name of a *coup-d'état*. General Augereau was sent by Bonaparte to Paris to do the bidding of the majority of the Directors. On the morning of the 4th of September, Augereau surrounded the Tuileries with troops, and arrested about sixty members of the Legislative Councils, with orders also to arrest Carnot and Barthelemi. Carnot escaped; but his brother Director, the members of the Councils who had been seized, and many journalists and other writers, were banished to Guiana. Amongst the number was Pichegru. This was the Revolution of the Eighteenth Fructidor. It was decisive as to the issue of the negotiations at Lisle. Lord Malmesbury wrote to Mr. Pitt on the 9th of September, "The violent revolution which has taken place at Paris has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reckonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened. We were certainly very near obtaining the great object of our wishes, and I fear we are now more driven out to sea again than ever." † Mr. Pitt was inclined "to believe and hope that the party now predominant will think the enjoyment of their triumph more likely to be both complete and secure in peace than in war." ‡ He was grievously mistaken.

* "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 406. † Ibid. p. 520. ‡ Ibid. p. 532.

New plenipotentiaries were sent by the Directory to Lisle. They required that Great Britain should surrender all the conquests she had made, not only the colonies taken from France but from her allies, without any equivalent; intimating that if this peremptory condition was not acceded to, lord Malmesbury must depart in twenty-four hours. When Malmesbury said that he had no powers which would enable him to accede to such a proposal, he was insolently answered, "then go and fetch them." The embassy quitted Lille on the 18th of September. Truly did Canning write to a friend, "It was not any question of terms, of giving up this, or retaining that. It was a settled determination to get rid of the chance of peace on the part of the three scoundrelly Directors, that put an end to the negotiation." *

During these conferences no one was more sanguine than Canning. In his position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs he laboured incessantly, in concert with Pitt and Malmesbury, to neutralize the opposition made by some members of the Cabinet to a pacific policy. His disappointment was proportionately bitter. He started the "Anti-Jacobin," the first number of which appeared on the 20th of November, 1797. William Gifford and John Hookham Frere were his principal coadjutors. It came, with new armoury, to fight the battle which Burke had fought for seven years. A pacification with France appearing hopeless, it came to denounce the principles and the policy of her government with a determined hatred. To make the literary eulogists of French triumphs odious, and the sentimental declaimers against social wrongs ridiculous, was to be accomplished by witty personalities rather than by impassioned eloquence. Amidst much that is scurrilous and much that is dull, the "Anti-Jacobin" sent forth brilliant satire; not in the vain endeavour to "cut blocks with a razor," but to pierce through the sensitive skins of the poetical enthusiasts who still clung to their first hopes of a regenerated world that should arise out of the darkness of the French revolution. The somewhat profane parody of the *Benedicite*, with which this remarkable publication was wound up after seven months' existence, is a sort of catalogue of the public instructors that Canning and his friends had gibbeted either in fear or in contempt.† It was awkward when the more illustrious of their victims became converts to Anti-Jacobinism, and had long to endure the reproach of being apostates from the cause of freedom. They were all huddled together,—the men of genius and the hack journalists; those whose names have lived and those who are forgotten—in one common invocation to join in the praise of "the Sovereign Priest" amongst "the Anointed Five" of the Directory—"Lépaux, whom Atheists worship":—"Couriers and Stars,"—"Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,"—"five wandering Bards" led by "Coleridge and Southey"—"Priestley and Wakefield"—"Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go"—"each Jacobin, or fool, or knave"—

> "All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
> Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lépaux."

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* Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 570.
† "Anti-Jacobin," vol. ii. p. 635.

Battle of the Pyramids.

CHAPTER XX.

Preliminaries of Leoben—Transfer of Venice to Austria—Peace of Campo Formio—Victory of Admiral Duncan off Camperdown—Bonaparte arrives in Paris—Is appointed to the command of the Army of England—Preparations for invasion—The scheme postponed—An expedition to Egypt prepared at Toulon—Nelson appointed to command a squadron in the Mediterranean—The expedition sails—Malta seized—Bonaparte lands at Alexandria—Nelson had returned to Naples—Alexandria taken by assault—Battle of the Pyramids—The French at Cairo—Nelson returns to Alexandria—The Battle of the Nile—Rejoicings in England, and new hopes—An income-tax first imposed—Volunteers—Ireland.

ENGLAND has to bear many unjust reproaches when her children are not "kind and natural." Byron reproaches his country with the humiliation of Venice:

> "Thy lot
> Is shameful to the nations,—most of all,
> Albion, to thee."

Albion in 1814 left Venice to the tender mercies of Austria; but it was the French Republic that in 1797 betrayed the sister Republic into the hands of the Emperor, as the bribe to the preliminaries of Leoben and the peace of Campo Formio. The history of nations exhibits no example of greater baseness than this act of Bonaparte—for it was his sole act, contrary to the

instructions of the Directory. By a treaty with the democratic party in Venice, made on the 16th of May, the French had abolished the ancient oligarchical government; had filled the city with troops; had exacted contributions in money, in ships, and in works of art. They carried off the famous horses of St. Mark, to be placed on the triumphal arch of the Tuileries. These were common proceedings. Bonaparte during the summer was negotiating with the cabinet of Vienna for exchanges of territories and for transfers of populations, in a spirit quite as despotic as that of the absolute governments which had partitioned Poland. He had stirred up the revolutionary party in the Venetian States to insurrection, on the assurance that he would establish a democratic Republic. The Doge, and the Council of Ten, and the Senate had fallen, to give place to an executive body chosen by the suffrages of the people. Venice, after these changes, believed that the Republic, as newly modelled, was under the protection of France, whose mission was to bestow liberty upon the nations. On the 26th of May, Bonaparte wrote to the municipality of the city, "In every circumstance I shall do what lies in my power to give you proof of my desire to consolidate your liberties, and to see unhappy Italy at length assume the place to which it is entitled in the theatre of the world, free and independent of all strangers." Six weeks before this declaration he had agreed in the secret preliminaries of Leoben to cede Venice to the Emperor. After the Eighteenth Fructidor, Bonaparte was instructed by the Directory not to cede Venice to the Emperor; and Bonaparte returned for answer that if that was their resolve, peace was impracticable. He was determined that a peace should be made; and he gave very sufficient reasons for making it at any sacrifice of principle. The reasons were such as he repeated to the secretary of the French legation at Venice, after the peace had been concluded. "Never has France adopted the maxim of making war for the sake of other nations: I should like to see the principle of philosophy or morality which should command us to sacrifice forty thousand Frenchmen." He wished that the declaimers who raved about the establishment of republics everywhere, "would make a winter campaign." The Austrian Plenipotentiary, Cobentzel, with three assistant negotiators,—according to a story which is in agreement with Bonaparte's melo-dramatic propensities,—were terrified, by a display of well-timed passion, into the terms proposed by the French. On the 16th of October a final conference took place at Udine. The four Austrian negotiators sat on one side of a long table; Bonaparte sat alone on the other side. They had agreed that France should have Flanders and the line of the Rhine; the islands of Corfu, Zante and Cephalonia, and the Venetian districts of Albania: that the Emperor should have Dalmatia, Istria, and the other Venetian territory as far as the Adige and the Po, with the city of Venice. Lombardy was to form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte had organized: and which was also to include the duchy of Reggio and other small Italian States. The great point in dispute was whether Mantua should belong to this Republic or to the Emperor. Cobentzel maintained, that as the Emperor had consented to give up Mayence, he ought to retain Mantua; and in a lengthened argument he hinted that a negotiator was forgetful of his duty when he sought to sacrifice the repose of his country to his military ambition. A costly tea service, presented to Cobentzel by the Empress Catharine, was upon a stand near Bonaparte. He took the tray in his hands, saying, "If to keep Mantua is

your ultimatum, war is declared; but mind you, in three months I will break your monarchy in pieces, as I now break this porcelain," dashing the service upon the floor. He was a great actor, and needed not the future lessons of Talma.* The peace of Campo Formio was concluded the next day. Amongst the reasons for peace with Austria which the conqueror of Italy assigned to the Directory was this,—"The war with England will open to us a new field for active operations more vast and splendid." On the day when the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio was known at Paris, the Directory created an army to be called "The army of England," and appointed Bonaparte to its command. In a Proclamation signed by Lépaux it was announced that "the army of England is about to dictate peace in London, and there, republicans, you shall find your auxiliaries. . . . Conducted by the hero who has so long led you in the path of victory, you will be followed by the applause of every just and virtuous mind." Parliamentary reformers; artizans reduced to wretchedness by the war; Irish bearing the chain of a court fed by their blood—these, according to the Directory, were to fraternize with the hero of Italy. He had given the world a noble evidence of his aspirations for the liberty and happiness of revolutionized States, when he delivered Venice, bound hand and foot, to be trodden upon by Austria.

There was something of bravado in the threat of the Directory to make an immediate descent upon England or upon Ireland; for their means of invasion had been signally crippled by the great victory over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of October, off Camperdown. Admiral Duncan had been half a century in the navy when he fought this battle. He had sustained the deep mortification of having been deserted by the greater portion of his fleet, and left in his own ship, the Venerable, in company only with the Adamant, to keep up the blockade of the Texel. By making repeated signals, as if to a fleet in the offing, he deceived the Dutch as to the real amount of his force. When the mutiny was suppressed, ships gradually joined him. But at the beginning of October, the Venerable, and other vessels which had suffered from heavy gales, and were in want of stores, put into Yarmouth Roads, leaving the Dutch to be watched by a small squadron of observation. The fleet had been busied for several days in victualling and refitting, when early in the morning of the 9th a lugger appeared at the back of Yarmouth sands and gave the signal for an enemy. Before noon Duncan was at sea with eleven sail of the line. He directed his course straight across to his old station. He was joined by three ships; and on the 11th he got sight of the squadron of observation, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward. In less than an hour he came up with the enemy. The land between Egmont and Camperdown was about nine miles to leeward. Duncan took the bold resolve to pass through the Dutch line, and thus to place himself between the enemy and their own shores, to which they were fast approaching. Soon after noon every ship of the British fleet had broken the enemy's line and was hotly engaged. The coast was covered for miles with thousands of spectators. Duncan's ship, the Venerable, was engaged for three hours with the Vryheid, the flag-ship of admiral De Winter. The brave Dutchman did not strike till

* Bourienne, the secretary of Bonaparte, denies the truth of this story. Thiers gives it without any qualification.

all his masts had gone overboard and half his crew were killed or wounded. Admiral Onslow was engaged in a similar close fight with the Dutch vice-admiral, who did not yield till he was equally crippled. By four in the afternoon the victory was clearly decided. But during the fight the British squadron had drifted so near the land as to be only in five fathoms water. It required the greatest exertion to prevent the ships from getting into the shallows; and this necessity favoured the escape of some of the Dutchmen. Eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates, were captured. The carnage on both sides was very great. The Dutch fired at the hulls of our ships, instead of at the masts and rigging, which was the practice of the French and Spaniards; and this mode of assault involved a severe loss of our men. The prizes with difficulty reached the English shores, with tottering masts and hulls full of shot-holes. Duncan made sail to the Nore; where the presence of a triumphant fleet excited feelings in many official visitors very different from those with which the mutinous fleet of the previous June had been regarded. Mr. Addington, the Speaker, went on board the Venerable; conversed with De Winter and the other Dutch admiral who were prisoners; admired the noble stature and manly bearing of Duncan; and visited the wounded in their hammocks. "We hope, sir," said some of the brave fellows to the Speaker, "we have now made atonement for our late offence." *

The conqueror of Italy arrived in Paris on the 5th of December. He had a difficult part to play. He despised the Directory, who were jealous and afraid of him. His policy was to be quiet. To make a dash at supreme power was as yet too hazardous. He was received with all the magnificence of those theatrical displays which had been so attractive during the horrors of the Revolution, when on the 10th of December he presented the treaty of Campo Formio to the Directors at their palace of the Luxembourg. His demeanour was modest and unassuming. Barras extolled him beyond all the heroes of the antique world; and invited him to proceed upon a new career of glory—to hoist the tri-coloured flag on the Tower of London. Bonaparte accepted the command of the army of England. The Directory were in earnest in their hostility to the persevering enemy whose desire for peace they had rudely repelled. To an absolute government, as that of the French Republic then was in reality, no measure, however injurious to its own subjects, stands in the way of its political calculations. English merchandize could not be kept out of France, however severe were the penalties against its introduction. On the 4th of January, throughout the whole French territory, domiciliary visits were made for the purpose of seizing the woven fabrics and the hardware that English industry could produce cheaply, and which no custom-house vigilance could keep out. Bonaparte made a few rapid visits to the ports bordering the British channel; saw their arsenals and their gun-boats; and appeared to take a great interest in the mighty preparations which the Directory believed would place England at their feet. Bonaparte took a more sober view of the difficulties of the enterprize. On his return from his journey to the coast, he said to Bourienne—"It would be too great a risk; I will not run it. I will not sport thus with the fate of France."

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 194.

The winter passed away, the spring came on, and still the cry of invasion was echoed in every port from Antwerp to Toulon; and Frenchmen asked impatiently when the great attempt would be made. On the 20th of April a royal message was delivered to Parliament, that "from various advices received by his majesty it appears that the preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores are carried on with considerable and increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of attempting the invasion of his majesty's dominions." On this occasion Sheridan expressed his own feelings, and the feelings of the country, in a burst of patriotism which soared far above party objects: "It is not glory the French seek for; they are already gorged with it: it is not territory they grasp at; they are already encumbered with the extent they have acquired. What, then, is their object? They come for what they really want: they come for ships, for commerce, for credit, and for capital. They come for the sinews, the bones, the marrow, the very heart's blood of Britain." Sheridan at the same time declared that his political enmity to his majesty's present ministers was irreconcileable; that his attachment to his right honourable friend (Fox), and to his political principles, was unaltered and unalterable. Fox, some months previous, had seceded from Parliament. There was no general secession of the Whig party; but in a letter to lord Holland, Fox expressed his strong dislike to attend again himself.* In a subsequent letter he says, "A seceder I will be, till I see a very different state of things from the present; and indeed if they were to alter more materially than can be expected, it would be with more reluctance than I can describe, or than is perhaps reasonable, that I should return to politics."† As the head of a great party he had lost his power. Whether he was wise, or true to his duty as a patriot, to retire at a season of such danger to his pleasant studies at St. Anne's Hill, may be doubtful. It is delightful, however, to contemplate a great orator and a man of the world so easily surrendering the excitements of his former life; reading the Iliad; writing of Prior, and Ariosto, and Dryden, and La Fontaine; going through Lucretius regularly; and taking up Chaucer upon his nephew's suggestion. It is pleasant to see how literature can fill up an aching void, however created.

The "avowed design" of the invasion of our country was a feint. Bonaparte had persuaded the Directory to agree to an enterprize which, if successful, would be more permanently injurious to England than a landing in Kent and a march upon London, with the certainty that the country could not be held, and that not an invader would return to exhibit his booty. The vast preparations in the ports of the Mediterranean for a great enterprize were given out by the French government to be in connection with the armaments in the ports of the Channel. Large bodies of troops were collected at Toulon, at Genoa, at Ajaccio, at Civita Vecchia; and this army was called the left wing of the army of England. Bonaparte had with great difficulty persuaded the Directory to postpone their scheme for the invasion of the British islands, and to permit him to embark an army for Egypt, the possession of which country, he maintained, would open to France the commerce of the East, and prepare the way for the conquest of India. Having subdued Egypt,

* "Correspondence." vol. iii. p. 144. † *Ibid.* p. 246.

he would return before another winter to plant the tricolour on the Tower of London. In April, Bonaparte was appointed general-in-chief of the Army of the East. The secret had been well kept. The means of furnishing this armament had been supplied by the appropriation of three millions of treasure which had been seized at Berne, and by forced contributions levied at Genoa and at Rome. The French government, at the beginning of January, had stirred up the democratic party in some of the Swiss Cantons, and had sent their troops to attack those Cantons which resisted the demand of the fraternizing French republicans that the ancient constitution of the republic of Switzerland should be abolished, and a republic created after the new model. The internal dissensions in some of the Cantons favoured this attempt to introduce the theories of liberty and equality in this ancient stronghold of freedom. The principal object of the French commander was plunder. After a brave resistance on the part of the Bernese, Berne was entered by the French on the 5th of March. Bonaparte was very quickly in communication with the French commissioners, directing them how to forward the spoil of the Bernese treasury to Toulon. At Rome, which the French army had entered at the end of January, with a pre-concerted determination to overturn the papal government, the pillage, conducted under the orders of the superior officers, was more unsparing than that which followed the entrance of Alaric, when at the hour of midnight "the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Unlike the king of the Goths, Massena, who commanded the French, did not massacre the people; unlike Alaric also in this, that whilst the barbarian exhorted his troops "to respect the churches of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul as holy and inviolable sanctuaries," * the French carried off the priestly vestments, the sacred vessels, and the famous altar-pieces of modern Rome, little of such spoils being reserved for public uses, but sold to the Jews who followed the camp. Some of the francs and piastres that the Jews paid for the supply of their melting-pots found their way to Napoleon at Toulon. A larger portion went into the bags of Massena and his rapacious staff.

The French fleet under admiral Brueys was in the harbour of Toulon, ready to sail upon its secret destination. Something different from the invasion of England was in contemplation; for on board the admiral's ship, l'Orient, were a hundred literary men and artists, mathematicians and naturalists, who were certainly not required to enlighten the French upon the native productions or the antiquities of the British isles. Bonaparte arrived at Toulon on the 9th of May, and issued one of his grandiloquent proclamations to his troops. The armament consisted of thirteen ships of the line, many frigates and corvettes, and four hundred transports. The army which it was to carry to some unknown shore consisted of forty thousand men. On the 19th of May this formidable expedition left the great French harbour of the Mediterranean. On the day when Bonaparte arrived at Toulon, Nelson had sailed from Gibraltar, with three seventy-fours, four frigates, and a sloop, to watch the movements of the enemy. Since the most daring of British naval commanders had fought in the battle of St. Vincent, he had lost an arm in an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Teneriffe. For some time his

* See Gibbon, A.D. 410, chap. xxxi.

spirit was depressed, and he thought that a left-handed admiral could never again be useful. He had lost also his right eye, and was severely wounded in his body. But he had not lost that indomitable spirit which rose superior to wounds and weakness of constitution. He rested some time at home; and then, early in 1798, sailed in the Vanguard to join the fleet under lord St. Vincent. The Admiralty had suggested, and lord St. Vincent had previously determined, that a detachment of the squadron blockading the Spanish fleet should sail to the Mediterranean, under the command of Nelson. The seniors of the fleet were offended at this preference of a junior officer; and men of routine at home shrugged their shoulders, and feared, with the cold lord Grenville, that Nelson "will do something *too* desperate."* He was not stinted in his means, being finally reinforced with ten of the best ships of St. Vincent's fleet.

The first operation of Bonaparte was the seizure of Malta. His fleet was in sight of the island on the 9th of June. He had other weapons than his

Malta

cannon for the reduction of a place deemed impregnable. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem had held the real sovereignty of the island since 1530. These Knights of Malta, powerful at sea, had formed one of the bulwarks of Christendom against the Ottomans. They had gradually lost their warlike prowess, as well as their religious austerity; and Malta, protected by its fortifications, became the seat of luxury for this last of the monastic military orders, whose occupation was gone. Bonaparte had confiscated their property in Italy; and he had sent a skilful agent to the island to sow dissensions amongst the Knights, and thus to prepare the way for the fall of the community. There were many French Knights among them, to whom the principal military

* "Court, &c., of George III.," vol. ii. p. 406.

commands had been entrusted by the Grand Master, a weak German. Bonaparte, on the 9th of June, sent a demand to the Grand Master, that his whole fleet should be permitted to enter the great harbour for the purpose of taking in water. The reply was that, according to the rules of the Order, only two ships, or at most four, could be allowed to enter the port at one time. The answer was interpreted as equivalent to a declaration of hostility; and Bonaparte issued orders that the army should disembark the next morning on the coasts of the island wherever a landing could be effected. The island was taken almost without opposition; the French Knights declaring that they would not fight against their countrymen. On the 13th of June, the French were put in possession of La Valletta and the surrounding forts. Bonaparte made all sorts of promises of compensation to the recreant Knights, which the Directory were not very careful to keep. He landed to examine his prize; when general Caffarelli, who accompanied him, said, "We are very lucky that there was somebody in the place to open the doors for us." Leaving a garrison to occupy the new possession, the French sailed away on the 20th, with all the gold and silver of the treasury, and all the plate of the churches and religious houses. "The essential point now," says Thiers, "was not to encounter the English fleet;" nevertheless, he adds, "nobody was afraid of the encounter." Nelson was at Naples on the day when Bonaparte quitted Malta. He immediately sailed. On the 22nd, at night, the two fleets crossed each other's track unperceived, between Cape Mesurata and the mouth of the Adriatic. The frigates of the British fleet had been separated from the main body, and thus Nelson had no certain intelligence. His sagacity made him conjecture that the destination of the armament was Egypt. He made the most direct course to Alexandria, which he reached on the 28th. No enemy was there, and no tidings could be obtained of them. On the morning of the 1st of July, admiral Brueys was off the same port, and learnt that Nelson had sailed away in search of him. Bonaparte demanded that he should be landed at some distance from Alexandria, for preparations appeared for the defence of the ancient city. As he and several thousand troops who followed him reached the shore in boats, a vessel appeared in sight, and the cry went forth that it was an English sail. "Fortune," he exclaimed, "dost thou abandon me? Give me only five days!" A French frigate was the cause of the momentary alarm. Nelson had returned to Sicily.

The Sultan was at peace with France; a French minister was at Constantinople. Such trifling formalities in the laws of nations were little respected by the man who told his soldiers that "the genius of Liberty having rendered the Republic the arbiter of Europe, had assigned to her the same power over the seas and over the most distant nations." * Four thousand of the French army were landed, and marched in three columns to the attack of Alexandria. It was quickly taken by assault. Bonaparte announced that he came neither to ravage the country, nor to question the authority of the Grand Seignor, but to put down the domination of the Mamlooks, who tyrannized over the people by the authority of the Beys. He proclaimed to the population of Egypt, in magnificent language that he caused to be translated into Arabic, that he came not to destroy their religion. We Frenchmen are true

* Proclamation at Toulon.

Mussulmans. Have not we destroyed the Pope, who called upon Europe to make war upon Mussulmans? Have not we destroyed the Knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that God had called them to make war upon Mussulmans?* Leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Alexandria, the main army commenced its march to Cairo. Bonaparte was anxious to arrive there before the periodical inundation of the Nile. The fleet of Brueys remained at anchor in the road of Aboukir. Bonaparte chose the shorter route to Cairo through the desert of Damanhour, leading thirty thousand men,—to each of whom he had promised to grant seven acres of fertile land in the conquered territories,—through plains of sand without a drop of water. They murmured, and almost mutinied, but they endured, and at length reached the banks of the Nile, at Rahmameh, where a flotilla, laden with provisions, baggage, and artillery, awaited them. The Mamlooks, with Mourad Bey at their head, were around the French. The invaders had to fight with enemies who came upon them in detachments; gave a fierce assault; and then fled. As they approached the great Pyramids of Jizeh, they found an enemy more formidable than these scattered bands. Mourad Bey was encamped with twelve thousand Mamlooks and eight thousand mounted Bedouins, on the west bank of the Nile, and opposite Cairo. The French looked upon the great entrepôt, where the soldiers expected to find the gorgeous palaces and the rich bazaars of which some had read in Galland's "Arabian Nights," whose tales they had recounted to their comrades on their dreary march under a burning sun. They had to sustain the attack of Mourad Bey and his Mamlooks, who came upon them with the fury of a tempest. In the East, Bonaparte was ever in his altitudes; and he now pointed to the Pyramids, and exclaimed to his soldiers, "Forty centuries look down upon you." The chief attack of the Mamlooks was upon a square which Desaix commanded. In spite of the desperate courage of this formidable cavalry, the steadiness of the disciplined soldiery of the army of Italy repelled every assault; and after a tremendous loss Mourad Bey retreated towards Upper Egypt. His intrenched camp was forced, amidst a fearful carnage. The conquerors had no difficulty in obtaining possession of Cairo. Ibrahim Bey evacuated the city, which on the 25th of July Bonaparte entered. His policy now was to conciliate the people instead of oppressing them. He addressed himself to the principal scheiks, and obtained from them a declaration in favour of the French. It went forth with the same authority amongst the Mussulmans as a brief of the Pope addressed to Roman Catholics. In the grand mosque a litany was sung to the glory of "the Favourite of Victory, who at the head of the valiant of the West has destroyed the infantry and the horse of the Mamlooks." A few weeks later "the Favourite of Victory" was seated in the grand mosque at the Feast of the Prophets, sitting cross-legged as he repeated the words of the Koran, and edifying the sacred college by his piety.†

From the beginning to the end of July, Mr. Pitt was waiting with anxious expectation for news from the Mediterranean. During this suspense he wrote to the Speaker that he "could not be quite sure of keeping any engagement he might make." It was not till the 26th of September that the English government knew the actual result of the toils and disappointments to which

* Thiers, livre xxxix. † Thiers, livre xxxix. (August, 1798.)

Nelson had been subjected. When it was known in England that he had been to Egypt and had returned to Sicily, the journalists talked of naval mismanagement; and worn-out captains who were hanging about the Admiralty asking for employ marvelled at the rashness of lord St. Vincent in sending so young a commander upon so great an enterprize. The Neapolitan ministry, dreading to offend the French Directory, refused Nelson the supplies of provisions and water which he required before he again started in pursuit of the fleet which "Cæsar and his fortune bare at once." Sir William Hamilton was our minister at Naples; his wife was the favourite of the queen of Naples, and one of the most attractive of the ladies of that luxurious court. Nelson had a slight acquaintance with lady Hamilton; and upon his representations of the urgent necessity for victualling his fleet, secret instructions were given that he should be supplied with all he required. In 1805, Nelson requested Mr. Rose to urge upon Mr. Pitt the claims of lady Hamilton upon the national gratitude, because "it was through her interposition exclusively he obtained provisions and water for the English ships at Syracuse, in the summer of 1798; by which he was enabled to return to Egypt in quest of the enemy's fleet;—to which, therefore, the success of his brilliant action of the Nile was owing, as he must otherwise have gone down to Gibraltar to refit, and the enemy would have escaped." * On the 25th of July Nelson sailed from Syracuse. It was three days before he gained any intelligence of the French fleet, and he then learned that they had been seen about four weeks before, steering to the S.E. from Candia. He was again convinced that their destination was Egypt; and he made all sail for Alexandria. On the 1st of August he beheld the tri-coloured flag flying upon its walls. His anxiety was at an end. For a week he had scarcely taken food or slept. The signal was made for the enemy's fleet; and he now ordered dinner to be served, and when his officers rose to prepare for battle, he exclaimed that before the morrow his fate would be a peerage or Westminster Abbey.

The fleet of admiral Brueys was at anchor in the bay of Aboukir. The transports and other small vessels were within the harbour. Bonaparte told O'Meara that he had sent an officer from Cairo with peremptory orders that Brueys should enter the harbour, but that the officer was killed by the Arabs on the way.† Brueys had taken measures to ascertain the practicability of entering the harbour with his larger ships, and had found that the depth of water was insufficient. He was unwilling to sail away to Corfu—as Bonaparte affirmed that he had ordered him to do, if to enter the harbour were impracticable—until he knew that the army was securely established at Cairo. The French admiral moored his fleet in what he judged the best position; a position described by Nelson himself as "a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars." ‡ The French ships were placed "at a distance from each other of about a hundred and sixty yards, with the van-ship close to a shoal in the north-west, and the whole of the line just outside a four-fathom sand-bank; so

* Rose—"Diaries," &c., vol. i. p. 254.
† "Voice from St. Helena," vol. ii.; Diary, May 16.
‡ "Gazette," October 2.

that an enemy, it was considered, could not turn either flank." * Nelson, with the rapidity of genius, at once grasped his plan of attack. Where there was room for a French ship to swing, there was room for an English ship to anchor. He would place half his ships on the inner side of the French line, and half on the outer side. The number of ships in the two fleets was nearly equal, but four of the French were of larger size. At three o'clock in the afternoon the British squadron was approaching the bay, with a manifest intention of giving battle. Admiral Brueys had thought that the attack would be deferred to the next morning. Nelson had no intention of permitting the enemy to weigh anchor, and get to sea in the darkness. By six o'clock Nelson's line was formed, without any precise regard to the succession of the vessels according to established forms. The shoal at the western extremity of the bay was rounded by eleven of the British squadron. The Goliath led the way, and when her commander, Foley, reached the enemy's van, he steered between the outermost ship and the shoal. The Zealous (captain Hood) instantly followed. At twenty minutes past six the two van-ships of the French opened their fire upon these vessels, but they were soon disabled. Four other British ships also took their stations inside the French line. Nelson, in the Vanguard, followed by five of his seventy-fours, anchored on the outer side of the enemy. Nine of the French fleet were thus placed between the two fires of eleven of the British ships. The Leander had not been engaged, having been occupied in the endeavour to assist the Culloden, which, coming up after dark, ran aground.

Before the sun went down the shore was crowded with the people of the country gazing upon this terrible conflict. When darkness fell, the flashes of the guns faintly indicated the positions of the contending fleets. Each British ship was ordered to carry four lanterns at her mizen-peak, and these were lighted at seven o'clock. Each ship also went into action with the white ensign of St. George, of which the red cross in the centre rendered it easily distinguishable in the darkest night at sea. But there was another illumination, more awful than the flashes of two thousand cannon, which was that night to strike unwonted dismay into the bravest of the combatants of either nation. Five of the French ships had surrendered. The Vanguard had been engaged with the Spartiate and the Aquilon. Her loss was severe. A splinter had struck Nelson on the head, cutting a large piece of the flesh and skin from his forehead, which fell over his remaining eye. He was carried down to the cockpit, and the effusion of blood being very great, his wound was held to be dangerous, if not mortal, by the anxious shipmates around him. He was carried where his men were also carried, without regard to rank, to be tended by the busy surgeons. These left their wounded, to bestow their care upon the first man of the fleet. "No," said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Sidney, in the field of Zutphen, taking the cup of water from his lips to give to the dying soldier, with the memorable words, "This man's necessity is more than mine," was a parallel example of heroism. The admiral did wait his turn; and meanwhile, in the belief that his career was ended, called to his chaplain to deliver a last token of affection to his wife.

* James—"Naval History," vol. ii. p. 142.

The wound was found to be superficial. He was carried to his cabin, and left alone, amidst the din of the battle. Suddenly the cry was heard that l'Orient, the French flag-ship of 120 guns, was on fire. Nelson groped his way to the deck, to the astonishment of the crew, who heard their beloved commander giving his orders that the boats should be lowered to proceed to the help of the burning vessel. The Bellerophon had been overpowered by the weight of metal of l'Orient, and had lost her masts. The Swiftsure had also been engaged with this formidable vessel. Both had maintained an unremitting fire upon the French flag-ship. Admiral Brueys had fallen, and had died the death of a brave man on his deck. The ship was in flames; at ten o'clock she blew up, the conflagration having lasted for nearly an hour. When the explosion came, there was an awful silence. For ten minutes not a gun was fired on either side. The instinct of self-preservation, as well as the sudden awe on this sublime event, produced this pause in the battle. Some of the French, endeavouring to get out of the vicinity of the burning wreck, had slipped their cables.* The nearest of the English took every precaution to prevent the combustible materials doing them injury. The shock of the explosion shook the Alexander, Swiftsure, and Orion to their kelsons, and materially injured them. None of our ships, however, took fire. About seventy only of the crew of l'Orient were saved by the English boats. The battle was resumed by the French ship, the Franklin; and it went on, at intervals, till daybreak. The contest was sustained by four French line-of-battle ships, and four of the English. Finally, two of the French line-of-battle ships and two frigates escaped. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, two were burned. Of the British about nine hundred men were killed and wounded. No accurate account was obtained of the French loss. The estimate which represented that loss at five thousand was evidently exaggerated. About three thousand French prisoners were sent on shore. Kleber, the French general, wrote to Napoleon, "The English have had the disinterestedness to restore everything to their prisoners."

After the victory of the Nile, Nelson returned to Naples. He required rest; and in the ease and luxury, the flattery and the honours, which there awaited him, he forgot his quiet home, and after a time was involved in public acts which reflect discredit upon his previous spotless name. At Palermo, lord Cochrane had opportunities of conversation with him. He says, "To one of his frequent injunctions, 'Never mind manœuvres, always go at them,' I subsequently had reason to consider myself indebted for successful attacks under apparently difficult circumstances." Cochrane considered Nelson "an embodiment of dashing courage, which would not take much trouble to circumvent an enemy, but being confronted with one would regard victory so much a matter of course as hardly to deem the chance of defeat worth consideration."* This opinion is borne out by a letter which Nelson wrote to his old friend, admiral Locker, from Palermo:—"It is you who always said, 'Lay a Frenchman close and you will beat him;' and my only merit in my profession is being a good scholar."† Nelson was himself a master who made many good scholars.

* Lord Dundonald—"Autobiography," vol. i. p. 88.

† "Plain Englishman," vol. iv. p. 563; a periodical work for popular instruction, conducted, in 1821, by the son of admiral Locker and by the author of this History.

M. Thiers, having described the great naval battle of Aboukir with tolerable fairness, admits that it was the most disastrous that the French navy had yet experienced—one from which the most fatal military consequences might be apprehended. The news of the disaster caused a momentary despair in the French army. Bonaparte received the intelligence with calmness. "Well," he exclaimed, "we must die here; or go forth, great, as were the ancients." He wrote to Kleber, "We must do great things;" and Kleber replied, "Yes, we must do great things: I prepare my faculties." It would have been

Battle of the Nile.

fortunate for the fame of Bonaparte, if he had abstained from doing some of "the great things" which he accomplished whilst he remained in the East.

The victory of Nelson formed the great subject of congratulation in the royal speech, when the Session was opened on the 20th of November. "By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance had fixed the attention of the world, and was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors." Out of this victory new hopes were to arise—vain hopes which statesmen formed in the enthusiasm of success: "The blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening, which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe." What the king said from his throne, men "in the secret" had previously whispered in confidence to their friends: "It seems quite certain," writes Mr. Addington, "that the war on the continent will be renewed; and I have no doubt that Prussia will concur in the prosecution of it. Lord Nelson

has electrified Europe." Magnificent were the anticipations of the sanguine Speaker. The Swiss were to throw off their yoke; Prussia would keep France at bay on the Rhine. The emperor Paul would recover Mentz and Manheim. The Austrians, in conjunction with the king of Naples, would be sufficient for the deliverance of Italy. Holland, the Netherlands, Brabant, even France herself, would surely not remain inactive.* These prodigious anticipations lead one to remember a certain Arabian story of a man who, calculating in his day-dream the vast profits he was to acquire by turning again and again the capital he had expended upon articles of glass, kicked over the tray upon which his store was placed. The waking Alnaschar cried out and said, "All this is the result of my pride;" and he slapped his face and tore his clothes. A bitter reproach against England—in many respects an unjust reproach—had been embodied in the exaggerations of one who justified the extravagances of poetical imagery, as "the product of his own seething imagination, and therefore impregnated with that pleasurable exaltation which is experienced in all energetic exertion of intellectual power." † England at the end of 1796 was thus painted:—

> "Abandoned of Heaven! mad avarice thy guide,
> At cowardly distance, yet kindling with pride,
> Mid thy herds and thy corn-fields secure thou hast stood,
> And joined the wild yelling of famine and blood."

The reproach was more pithily expressed by the French in ascribing every hostile movement of Europe to "the gold of Pitt." Five years of fatal experience had, in 1798, shown how hollow were the alliances that were bought. The system was to be renewed again and again. On the 29th of December, 1798, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia. Russia was, of course, to be subsidized. The vein of gold was far from being exhausted, however vigorously it had been worked. A new vein was now to be opened. On the 3rd of December Mr. Pitt gave an estimate of the amount of Supply required. The total was upwards of twenty-nine millions. The estimate for 1793 was sixteen millions. To meet this ever-increasing expenditure all sorts of devices of direct taxation had been resorted to—devices described by the marquis of Lansdowne as "irksome, petty, and unproductive exactions which fret and disturb men's minds." ‡ Mr. Pitt now proposed, for the first time in the history of British finance, an Income-Tax. He estimated the total income of Great Britain at 102,000,000*l.*, which he proposed to tax, upon a graduated scale, at 10 per cent.; to commence with incomes above 60*l.* a-year, but in a reduced ratio from 60*l.* to 200*l.* He assumed that this tax would produce an annual revenue of ten millions. In 1859-60, the Income-Tax was 9*d.* in the pound, which also produced very nearly ten millions. The great financial measure of the minister of 1798 was called by Mr. Tierney "indiscriminate rapine;" and he and others urged the objections which have been so often ineffectually urged, however impossible to be refuted. Mr. Tierney asked, "Does the minister mean to say, that a person possessing an income for life of a certain sum, and another person of the same income which he derives from the interest of his own capital, can

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 215.
† Coleridge—Apologetic Preface to "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter."
‡ Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiii. col. 1538.

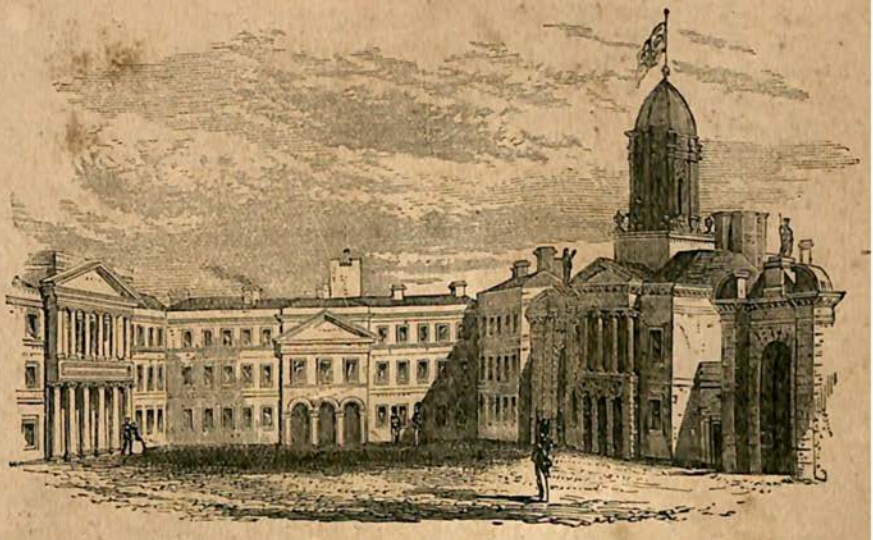
equally bear the same taxes?" A more obvious objection was put by Mr. Hobhouse: "The man who had an income of 1000*l.* per annum arising from capital, and the man who gained the same annual sum by a profession or business, surely ought not to be assessed in the same degree." * In the House of Lords, the argument, which left out of view the pressure upon industry, was used by lord Holland,—that a direct tax of this nature would be oppressive to the landed interest. "Could their lordships look forward to the prospect of their posterity becoming titled beggars? Their property was easily known, and they could not, if they were inclined, evade the tax. The whole weight of the tax must fall on those who should not be able to escape—in fact, on land-owners—on those who had ostensible possessions." † The measure of an Income-Tax was passed without any division in either House.

In the royal speech of the 20th of November, there were two references to the internal condition of Great Britain and Ireland which are of more than temporary importance: "The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstrations of zeal and spirit among all ranks of my subjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom." The "demonstrations of zeal and spirit" had chiefly reference to the formation of Volunteer corps throughout the country. How imperfectly the zeal of the people was then seconded by the aid of the government may be collected from a letter of lord Cornwallis, in May, 1798. He was then Master-General of the Ordnance: "The only means by which the innumerable local corps in all parts of the country can be armed, is by providing balls for fowling-pieces." ‡

The other noticeable passage in the royal speech is this: "In Ireland the rebellion which they [the enemy] had instigated has been curbed and repressed; the troops which they landed for its support have been compelled to surrender; and the armaments since destined for the same purpose have, by the vigilance and activity of my squadrons, been captured or dispersed." The policy of curbing and repressing rebellion was now to be associated with a higher ambition in the British government. The first proposal to the British Parliament of a legislative union with Ireland, was conveyed in a passage of the King's message on the 22nd of January, recommending to the "Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection, essential for their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire."

During the progress of our narrative, from the year 1795, we have deferred any detailed notice of the condition of Ireland. In the next Chapter we shall endeavour to present a connected view of the circumstances which preceded the Rebellion; of the progress of that calamitous struggle; and of its final issue in the measure which has been a never-ceasing source of bitterness to Irish factions, but of the benefits of which to both countries no wise or honest politician can now doubt.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. cols. 23 and 25. † *Ibid.* col. 185.
‡ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 337.



The Castle—Dublin.

CHAPTER XXI.*

Ireland—Comparative tranquillity after 1783—Recall of lord Fitzwilliam—United Irishmen—Irish Directory—Commencement of the Rebellion—Suppression of the Rebellion—Marquis Cornwallis Lord-Lieutenant—Landing of a French force under Humbert—Surrender of the French—Napper Tandy—The Union proposed—Desire of the government for the relief of the Catholics—Debates on the Union in the British and Irish Parliaments—Lord Castlereagh—Corruption of the Irish Parliament—Grattan returns to his seat in the Irish House of Commons—Articles of the Union proposed—Arguments for and against the Union—The Union completed.

The great legislative measures for the relief of Ireland, which were passed in the period from 1779 to 1783, were succeeded by an interval of comparative quiet.† The question of Parliamentary Reform was indeed agitated in 1784 and in 1790, but without any approach to success in the divisions of the Lords and Commons who sat at Dublin. The general evils of the Representation were similar in principle to those of England. "Of three hundred members," said Mr. Grattan, "above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of the boroughs have no resident elector at all; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than one hundred persons.‡ But previous to 1793 there was an especial evil in the Representation of Ireland. Three-fourths of the people

* The last Chapter, commencing at page 346, was erroneously headed XXI. instead of XX.

† See *ante*, vol. vi. p. 443.

‡ Grattan's speech, Feb. 11, 1793.

were Roman Catholics, paying their proportion of taxes, without any share in the representation or any control of the expenditure. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Irish Parliament by an English Act of 1691, the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary. By the Act of the first year of George II. they were deprived of the right of voting at elections. In 1793 Roman Catholics were admitted, by an Act of the Irish Parliament, to the exercise of the elective franchise. That the agitation for the removal of other civil disabilities would cease was scarcely to be expected. In 1795 Mr. Fox wrote, "To suppose it possible that now that they are electors they will long submit to be ineligible to Parliament, appears to me to be absurd beyond measure." * There were other particulars in which Roman Catholics laboured under serious disadvantages. The laws of exclusion from many offices in great part remained.

There was a partial change in the English cabinet in 1794, by the introduction of three important statesmen, who, formerly attached to the party of Mr. Fox, seceded from him on questions connected with the French Revolution.† Earl Fitzwilliam became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Before his actual appointment it was a complaint against him that "he has pledged himself too far to recede, with respect to a total new system both of men and measures." ‡ Great is the consternation when lord Fitzwilliam enters upon his office. Loud is "the creaking which some of the old worm-eaten furniture makes at its removal." § Lord Fitzwilliam, who arrived in Dublin on the 4th of January, 1795, immediately displaced, with compensation, some of the holders of office who were the most hostile to the plan which he contemplated for the government of Ireland. He entered upon his functions in the belief that the ministry would impose no restrictions upon him in carrying forward a full measure of Catholic emancipation. On the 12th of February, Grattan obtained leave, in the Irish House of Commons, to bring in a bill for the repeal of all the remaining disqualifications of Catholics. A fortnight later, earl Fitzwilliam was recalled, and earl Camden appointed in his place. The moderate Catholics anticipated the most disastrous results from a measure so decided on the part of the British cabinet. Dr. Hussey, the friend and correspondent of Burke, wrote to him on the 26th of February:—"The disastrous news of earl Fitzwilliam's recall is come, and Ireland is now on the brink of a civil war." ‖ He adds, with a temper as admirable as it was rare, "Every man that has anything to lose, or who loves peace and quiet, must now exert himself for the salvation of the country, and to keep the turbulent in order."

Although disappointed in their hopes, the Catholics, as a body, were not those whose turbulence most required to be kept down. A most formidable association, under the denomination of United Irishmen, was now being organized. Burke describes them as "those who, without any regard to religion, club all kinds of discontents together, in order to produce all kinds of disorders." ¶ By the end of 1796, this organization was becoming truly

* Fox—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 100.
† *Ante*, p. 316.
‡ Lord Grenville to Thomas Grenville—"Court and Cabinets," vol. iii. p. 314.
§ Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 271—Letter to Dr. Hussey, Feb. 4, 1795.
‖ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 282. ¶ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 314.

dangerous. "Many thousands, I am assured," writes Dr. Hussey to Burke, "are weekly sworn through the country, in such a secret manner and form as to evade all the law in those cases."* In connection with some of the leaders of the United Irishmen, the expedition to Bantry Bay, in December, 1796, was undertaken. Through 1797 the northern districts were in a disturbed state. Houses were broken into and arms seized by bands of nightly marauders. At funerals, and at gatherings for football and other games, large numbers collected and marched in military array. The government was alarmed; the passions of those who professed sentiments of loyalty were roused; severity and intimidation, the dangerous remedies for discontent, were alone resorted to; martial law took the place of civil justice. The administrators of martial law were undisciplined troops of yeomanry, headed by ignorant and reckless officers. They made the government odious by their cruel oppressions. The remedy for disturbance was the stimulant to insurrection. From the couch from which he never expected to rise, Burke dictated the great lesson of true statesmanship at such a crisis: "The first duty of a State is to provide for its own conservation. Until that point is secured, it can preserve and protect nothing else. But, if possible, it has greater interest in acting according to strict law than even the subject himself. For, if the people see that the law is violated to crush them, they will certainly despise the law. They, or their party, will be easily led to violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power. Except in cases of direct war, whenever government abandons law, it proclaims anarchy."†

In August, 1797, the military severities of the north of Ireland were discontinued. The disturbances had there ceased. The schemes of rebellion, to be seconded by the landing of a French army, received a great discomfiture by the victory of Duncan, off Camperdown. But the efforts of the United Irishmen contemplated a wider field than the province of Ulster. The executive power of this extensive organization was a Directory. Its five members were Arthur O'Connor, lord Edward Fitzgerald (brother to the duke of Leinster), Oliver Bond, a merchant, Dr. Mac Nevin, a Catholic gentleman, and Thomas Addis Emmett, a barrister. The plans of a general insurrection were disclosed to the Irish government, and arrests of the Leinster delegates, and of Bond, Mac Nevin, and Emmett were effected in March, at the house of Bond, in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was absent from the meeting. O'Connor and O'Coigley, a priest, were in England, discussing plans of sedition with "The London Corresponding Society." They were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were tried at Maidstone on the 21st of May, when O'Connor was acquitted, and O'Coigley was convicted, and was executed. The vacancies in the Irish Directory were filled up, and a general rising on the 23rd of May was determined upon. The government had, on the 30th of March, issued a declaration that a traitorous conspiracy had manifested itself in acts of open rebellion, and that orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces to employ them, with the utmost vigour and decision, for the suppression of the conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels, by the most summary and effectual measures.

The agitations of Ireland had gradually proceeded to such an excess, on

* Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 372. † *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 393.

either side, that they had ceased to be matter of compromise or of argument. The Whig leaders in the Irish Parliament had adopted a measure which, however rightly intended, amounted to a declaration that the contest was to be decided by physical force. On the 15th of May, 1797, Mr. Ponsonby brought forward a motion for the fundamental reform of the representation, upon the principle that all disabilities on account of religion be for ever abolished; that the privilege of returning members in the present form should cease; and that every county should be divided into districts, each consisting of 6000 houses, and each returning two members to Parliament. The government held this maxim: "You must subdue before you reform." It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan said, "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it. We deprecate yours; you will persevere. Having no hope left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons." The true leaders of the people had abdicated. They were left to be acted upon by those who would have handed over their country to the French Directory. The people, left to the guidance of frantic enthusiasts, were to be betrayed by spies, to be tortured, to be plundered and massacred by a native army, which, upon taking the field in February, 1798, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was declared by him to be "in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

Lord Edward Fitzgerald had remained concealed for two months. He might have escaped had he been less obstinate in his attempt to carry through the plan of a general insurrection. On the 19th of May, when a party of military surrounded the house in Dublin where he was hidden, and their officer exhibited the warrant for his arrest, he madly resisted; mortally wounded a magistrate who accompanied the soldier, and was himself shot by major Sirr, the town-major of Dublin. Lord Edward died of his wounds on the 5th of June. In the meantime the insurrection broke out in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. A night attack on the city was projected by the United Irishmen. Two brothers, of the name of Sheares, and other chiefs, were arrested on the 23rd of May. A large number of insurgents were collecting on the north and south of the metropolis. An immediate attack was expected. The garrison and the yeomanry were under arms during that night, stationed in the cattle-market. The scene has been described with some humour: "All the barristers, attorneys, merchants, bankers, revenue-officers, shopkeepers, students of the university, doctors, apothecaries and corporators, of an immense metropolis, in red coats, with a sprinkling of parsons, all doubled up together amidst bullock-stalls and sheep-pens, awaiting, in profound darkness, for invisible executioners to dispatch them without mercy, was not a situation to engender much hilarity." Yet in this motley assemblage there was hilarity. "The danger was considered imminent, the defence impracticable, yet there was a cheerful, thoughtless jocularity, with which the English nation, under grave circumstances, are totally unacquainted." * The rebels had learnt that the yeomanry of Dublin were ready to receive them, and had deferred their attack, after destroying the mail-

* Sir Jonah Barrington—"Historic Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 258.

coaches that were approaching the city. Skirmishes between bands of rebels and the soldiery were then taking place daily. Martial law was proclaimed. The insurrection appeared to be somewhat quelled, when it broke out with unexpected fury in the county of Wexford. It was headed by a fanatical priest, John Murphy, who, in the progress of his military career, had persuaded his followers that he was invulnerable. The rebels were generally successful when they fought in small bodies. There were great conflicts, which might be termed battles; but the system of these armed bands was little fitted for encounters with regular troops. They were in want of ammunition. Round stones and balls of hardened clay were the substitutes for bullets. They endeavoured to make their own gunpowder, which of course failed in explosive force. By a rapid onset they sometimes seized the cannon of the royal troops, which they contrived to fire with lighted wisps of straw. Armed with the pike, they were, nevertheless, very formidable. Had they submitted to any command, the rebellion might have had other results than a sanguinary struggle, in which either side was disgraced by a ferocity which had all the attributes of barbarism. They chose their stations on hills with a commanding prospect. Here they slept in the open air, both sexes intermingled, for many women were amongst them. Their commissariat was of the rudest description. When they could seize a herd of bullocks, or a solitary cow, they cut the carcase to pieces, without removing the hide, and each cooked the mangled lumps of flesh after his own fashion. Weather of unusual warmth and dryness was favourable to this rude campaigning.*

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to enter into details of the lamentable conflicts of the rebellion that commenced on the 23rd of May, and was almost entirely suppressed by the end of June in the districts where it had most raged. Wexford surrendered to the insurgents on the 30th of May; but it was retaken by sir John Moore on the 21st of June. The principal battles were those of Arklow, Ross, and Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, which town had surrendered to the rebels. On the 21st of June general Lake attacked the main body of the rebels at Vinegar Hill; dispersed them; and they never again rallied. The desolation of the districts to which this rebellion was confined, and particularly that of the county of Wexford, was excessive. The sum demanded by the loyalists as compensation for the destruction of their property was nearly a million and a quarter, of which Wexford claimed one half. The massacres, the military executions, were frightful. No quarter was given to the rebels; and when the contest assumed the sanguinary character of a religious warfare, the cry of revenge on "the bloody Orange dogs" was the signal for excesses which can better be imagined than described.

Earl Camden had been recalled, to give place to marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed to the offices of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. He found that troops had been landed from England; and that general Lake's arrangements for attacking the rebels on the 21st had rendered it unnecessary that he himself should proceed immediately to join the army. One of his first acts was to interfere to prevent the rash and often unjust severities of inferior officers of

* Gordon—"History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 443–445.

the militia and yeomanry. He issued a positive order against the infliction of punishment, under any pretence whatever, not authorized by the order of a general officer, in pursuance of the sentence of a general Court-Martial.* This order was signed by viscount Castlereagh, who was then temporarily filling the office of Secretary. Cornwallis wrote to the duke of Portland, "It shall be one of my very first objects to soften the ferocity of our troops, which I am afraid, in the Irish corps at least, is not confined to the private soldiers." † He further says, "I shall use my utmost endeavours to suppress the folly which has been too prevalent in this quarter, of substituting the word *Catholicism* instead of Jacobinism, as the foundation of the present rebellion." In another letter, about the same time, he writes, in the confidence of old intimacy, "The ardour of our friends, and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation." It is to the Irish militia that he especially applies these bitter words—a body of men that he describes in his official despatches as "contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power." ‡ They had encouragement from their superiors: "The principal persons of this country, and the members of both Houses of Parliament, are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency." Whilst himself advocating the most lenient measures, the Lord-Lieutenant writes—"Lord Castlereagh is a very able and good young man, and is of great use to me." The accusation, so long repeated by party writers, that lord Castlereagh was the supporter of the system of repression by cruel and indiscriminate punishment, has about the same truth in it as another favourite assertion of Irish declaimers, that the rebellion was encouraged by Mr. Pitt, that he might have a plausible argument for the Union of the two nations. At the end of July the overt rebellion was almost at an end; but there was no law for town or country but martial law. "The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side. . . . The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation, even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., &c.; and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company." § This is the evidence of the chief administrator of Ireland—a brave soldier and a sound statesman. It is the most impartial testimony that can be desired to show wherein the great *political* evil of Ireland consisted—"the narrow hard-heartedness of a monopoly," which had banished from the minds of the leading men of the nation, "habits of moderation, lenity, equity, and justice." ‖ But political discontents, and religious animosities, kept alive by French influence, which was denominated Jacobinism, were scarcely sufficient to have caused the revolt of several hundred thousands of the peasantry, both Catholics and Protestants, had there not been a great *social* evil which made men ready to fight for some

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 355.
† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 357.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 399.
§ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 371.
‖ Burke—"Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 272.

vague good which was to be effected under a new order of things. Of the proximate incitements to the Irish rebellion, some allege that Catholicism was the chief. Others attribute the outbreak to Jacobinism. But no writer of those days hints that *Landlordism* kept the bulk of the people in a worse than Egyptian bondage; held them in ignorance of the real sources of their misery; exacted from them the highest rent that could be obtained by the sub-division of the land; and by this multiplication of small holdings left them to multiply upon the barest amount of subsistence, and with a total absence of the ordinary decencies and comforts of the humblest life. When the bulk of the people are wholly wretched in their domestic condition—when the moral ties that unite master to servant, and landlord to tenant, rest no longer upon the principle of reciprocal need and reciprocal obligation, but upon enforced obedience and slavish use and wont, then allegiance to the state is very easily loosened, and men become rebels without knowing exactly for what object they rebel. The leaders are hanged; the multitudes are shot down; the clique that governs Ireland by "monopoly" makes way for imperial legislators; another generation comes, and civil disabilities are removed; but still disaffection is rampant. Political agitation throws its veil over the social evil; and only after the pressure of a terrible calamity is it discovered that just government cannot save a people from ruin, under a systematic violation of those economic laws through which the earth yields its abundance, and without which the rain cannot fertilize or the sun ripen.

The sound discretion which the government had evinced in placing the chief military command of Ireland in the hands of an experienced officer, was sufficiently manifested in a very dangerous crisis at the end of August. A French squadron of three frigates had sailed from Rochelle on the 4th. On the 22nd it had landed eleven hundred men in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo. Eleven hundred men formed a small force with which to venture upon invasion. The French Directory had purposed to send a second division of six thousand men, but some financial derangements prevented its embarkation; and Humbert, the general of the eleven hundred, was left without support.* He was prepared for the support of a disaffected population. He could scarcely have reckoned upon a further support in the cowardice of a large portion of a royal army—volunteers and militia—who fled before him without waiting to be assailed, and who never rested in their flight till they had put eighty miles between themselves and the enemy. General Hutchinson had assembled two or three thousand men at Castlebar. The French, with a large number of the country people, advanced to the attack; and "began a rapid charge with the bayonet in very loose order. At this moment the Galway volunteers, the Kilkenny and Longford militias, ran away." † The writer of this account expresses his opinion that there was disaffection in the two militia regiments—that they were Catholics and sworn United Irishmen. The more rational solution of the conduct of these men is, that they were enervated by the licence of tyrannizing over defenceless people, when once brought to face a regular and determined foe. In their precipitate retreat the depredations they committed on the road exceeded all description;

* Thiers, livre xl.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 393. Cooke to Wickham.

and they raised a spirit of discontent and disaffection which did not before exist in that part of the country.* Upon learning that the French had landed, lord Cornwallis immediately determined to take the command of the main army himself. Assembling troops of the line he made a rapid march from Dublin; but he so arranged his forces that he could cover the country, and afford an opportunity of rallying to any small bodies of soldiery that might be defeated. Humbert, after the affair of Castlebar, had moved into the heart of the country; and on the 8th of September had reached Ballynamuck, in the county of Longford. Here he was encountered by the troops under general Lake, and after an action of half an hour, the French surrendered at discretion. Bartholomew Teeling, formerly a member of the Irish Directory, but now aide-de-camp to Humbert, was amongst the prisoners. He said that "he conceived another column had attempted to sail, but had been prevented; that when they found themselves unsupported at Castlebar, they resolved to attempt something daring, and to march for Dublin upon speculation of insurrection." † With an infatuation which no reverses could extinguish, the leaders of the United Irishmen who had as yet escaped the executioner, were urging the French government to new attempts which might keep up the hopes of the insurgents. On the sixteenth of September a French brig landed Napper Tandy and some men on the north-west coast of Donegal. He issued manifestoes; but found that he had arrived too late. On the 11th of October, the armament that was intended to co-operate with Humbert appeared off the coast of Donegal. It had sailed from Brest on the 17th of September; the squadron consisting of a seventy-four-gun ship, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels. Sir John Borlase Warren, with a superior force, had pursued the French, and after an engagement of three hours, in which the enemy fought with a desperate bravery, the ship of the line (the Hoche) and one frigate surrendered. The remaining frigates had made all sail to escape; but they were subsequently taken, with the exception of two. On board the Hoche was captured the famous Irish leader, Wolfe Tone. He was tried by court-martial in Dublin; was sentenced to death; cut his throat in prison; and died on the 19th of November.

The rebellion was at an end; but its termination brought no wisdom to those who believed that severity was the only mode of establishing obedience to authority. Lord Cornwallis speaks with honest indignation about the nonsensical clamour against his lenity. From England, lord Castlereagh had to learn that it was "the universal persuasion that lenient measures had been carried too far." Lord Castlereagh answered the reproach by stating that exclusive of all persons tried at the assizes, lord Cornwallis had decided personally upon 400 cases; that out of 131 condemned to death, 81 had been executed; and that 418 persons had been transported or banished, in pursuance of the sentences of courts-martial, since lord Cornwallis had arrived in Ireland. ‡ On the 6th of October, an Act of General Pardon received the royal assent; its exceptions were very numerous. The exceptions were

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 396. Captain Taylor (secretary to Cornwallis) to Viscount Castlereagh.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 404.

‡ *Ib.* vol. iii. p. 90.

calculated to include nearly all the leaders who had taken an active part in the Rebellion; but the greater number of these obtained a conditional pardon, and their followers had little to apprehend from the terrors of the law. Some of those who had perished by the executioner were objects of commiseration. In several cases, as in that of the two brothers, Sheares, the determined traitor involved his weak disciple in his fate; and no pity was shown by the executive to the wretched man who said, when too late, "I will lie under any conditions the government may impose upon me. I will go to America if the government will allow me, or I will stay here and be the most zealous friend they have." * The brothers died hand in hand; and some honest tears were shed for them. For the banished, too, there was deep feeling. Many a heart responded to the sympathy of Thomas Campbell, when having met Anthony Maccan, one of the proscribed, at Altona, he wrote a lament for "The Exile of Erin" who still

"Sang the bold anthem of Erin go Bragh."

During the short period of this unhappy conflict, it is calculated that seventy thousand perished, either in the field, by military execution, or by popular vengeance. Of these it is held that fifty thousand were insurgents; and that twenty thousand were soldiers and loyalists. Of the miseries that resulted from the burning of houses; from flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and from "free quarters, which comprehended universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country," †—who can form an estimate?

In the king's message to the British parliament on the 22nd of January, 1799, the proposed measure of the Union was first formally announced. ‡ A similar announcement, though in less direct terms, was made by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish parliament, in the speech from the throne on the same 22nd of January. The question was not hastily taken up by Mr. Pitt. It formed the constant subject of correspondence between the English ministry and lord Cornwallis. In September, 1798, whilst the Rebellion still demanded the utmost vigilance of the Lord-Lieutenant, he wrote to the prime-minister, "The principal people here are so frightened that they would, I believe, readily consent to a Union, but then it must be a Protestant Union." § Cornwallis saw, from the determination of the leading persons in Ireland to resist the extension of its operation to the Catholics, that the measure would be incomplete. He determined, however, "not to submit to the insertion of any clause that shall make the exclusion of the Catholics a fundamental part of the Union." He was "convinced that until the Catholics are admitted into a general participation of rights (which when incorporated with the British government they cannot abuse), there will be no peace or safety in Ireland." ‖ However Mr. Pitt and lord Cornwallis might be anxious to connect with the Union a great and final measure of relief to the Catholics, it is clear that no pledge was given on the part of the

* See a facsimile of the letter of Henry Sheares to Barrington, written a few hours before his execution. "Historic Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 266.

† Cornwallis to Ross—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 89.

‡ *Ante*, p. 360.

§ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 416. ‖ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 417.

Irish government that disabilities for civil office on account of religion should then come to an end. Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of November—about two months before he brought the proposed measure before the British parliament—wished that in Ireland "time should be given for communication to leading individuals, and for disposing the public mind." In writing to the Lord-Lieutenant he says, "Mr. Elliott, when he brought me your letter, stated very strongly all the arguments which he thought might induce us to admit the Catholics to parliament and office; but I confess he did not satisfy me of the practicability of such a measure at this time, or of the propriety of attempting it. With respect to a provision for the Catholic clergy, and some arrangement respecting tithes, I am happy to find a uniform opinion in favour of the proposal among all the Irish I have seen; and I am more and more convinced that those measures, with some effectual mode to enforce the residence of *all* ranks of the Protestant clergy, offer the best chance of gradually putting an end to the evils most felt in Ireland." * Pitt doubted the practicability of Catholic emancipation by an Irish parliament. He feared the discontents of the Irish Protestants at such a measure. The principal Catholics themselves, as Cornwallis believed, did not wish the question of admitting Catholics to parliament to be agitated at that time. "They do not think the Irish parliament capable of entering into a cool and dispassionate consideration of their case. They trust that the United Parliament will, at a proper time, allow them every privilege that may be consistent with the Protestant establishment." † After a little while the Lord-Lieutenant thought he had been too sanguine when he looked to the good inclinations of the Catholics. They made no violent opposition to the measure; some gave it a very cold support. But, although no pledge was given by the government, the hopes which had been encouraged by the highest in office placed Mr. Pitt under a responsibility which he felt most deeply, when resistance to a measure without which the Union was a delusion arose out of the personal feelings of the sovereign. The history of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century offers a painful exhibition of the dangers and miseries that resulted from the obstinate though conscientious views of his duty entertained by George III. His example was pleaded by his successor, whose conscience was far from tender, and it always afforded a rallying point for the bigotry that called itself sound Protestantism. Mr. Pitt found himself powerless, not only to propose a general measure of Catholic relief, but even to deal as he wished with tithes and a provision for the Catholic clergy. The chief difficulty in carrying the Union in its incompleteness arose out of the necessity of propitiating the placemen and boroughmongers, whose power and influence would be abridged by a measure which, in a great degree, would take what was called "the management of the country" out of their hands. To Mr. Pitt lord Cornwallis wrote, "That every man in this most corrupt country should consider the important question before us in no other point of view than as it may be likely to promote his own private objects of ambition or avarice, will not surprise you." ‡

The debates in the parliament sitting at Westminster, and in the parlia-

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 442.
† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 8.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 8.

ment sitting at Dublin, on the question of a Legislative Union, continuing as they did through two sessions, are necessarily too diffusive to admit of any satisfactory abstract. The national character is strongly expressed in the mode in which the measure was discussed on either side of the water. In the British House of Commons, Mr. Pitt is the calm and dignified exponent of a statesman's policy. In the Irish House of Commons, Mr. Grattan is the glowing impersonation of a patriot's impulses. In the British parliament there is an almost unanimous opinion of the necessity of the proposed Union; and those who differ from the majority abstain from invective. In the Irish parliament the supporters and opposers are more evenly balanced; and the personal hostility is displayed, not only in the bitterest denunciations, but in actual or threatened appeals to the last and worst argument, the duellist's pistol. When the king's message of the 22nd of January was taken into consideration by the Commons at Westminster, the Amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Sheridan, was negatived without a division. To the Address proposed in answer to the royal speech at Dublin, Mr. Ponsonby moved an Amendment, which was carried—after a debate which continued twenty-one hours—by a majority of five. It was to declare their intention of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a free and independent legislature, resident within the kingdom. This was decisive as to the immediate result in Ireland of the ministerial proposition. But Mr. Pitt was not to be deterred from advocating the measure in the assembly where he reigned paramount. On the 31st of January, the king's message was taken into further consideration. Mr. Pitt laid before the House the general nature and outline of the plan, which in his conscience he thought would tend in the strongest manner to insure the safety and happiness of both kingdoms. If the House should agree with him in opinion, he should propose, "that its determination should remain recorded as that by which the Parliament of Great Britain is ready to abide, leaving to the Legislature of Ireland to reject or to adopt it hereafter, upon a full consideration of the subject." * The Resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt were discussed in both Houses during nearly three months, and then finally agreed to. On the 26th of April both Houses attended the king with their joint Address; and his majesty expressed the greatest satisfaction; declaring his intention of embracing the first favourable opportunity of communicating to the parliament of Ireland the propositions laid before him, as the basis of a settlement to be established by mutual consent, and founded on a sense of mutual interest and affection.

These were lofty words. The settlement "to be established by mutual consent" was really accomplished by a system of which the "mutual interest and affection" was described by lord Cornwallis in a letter of the 8th of June: "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work; and am supported only by the reflection, that without a Union the British empire must be dissolved." † On the 29th of March, lord Cornwallis deprecated, in a

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 256.
† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 102.

letter to the duke of Portland, the introduction of the measure to the Irish Parliament until another session: "I am assured that the number of parliamentary converts is not by any means as yet so numerous as to render a second discussion safe." Lord Cornwallis had to work the system of "negotiating and jobbing," by promising an Irish Peerage, or a lift in that Peerage, or even an English Peerage, to a crowd of eager competitors for honours. The other specific for making converts was not yet in complete operation. Lord Castlereagh had the plan in his portfolio—borough proprietors to be compensated; the primary and secondary interests in counties to be compensated; fifty barristers in parliament, who always considered a seat as the road to preferment, to be compensated; the purchasers of seats to be compensated; individuals connected either by residence or property with Dublin, to be compensated. "Lord Castlereagh considered that 1,500,000*l.* would be required to effect all these compensations." * The sum actually paid to the boroughmongers alone was 1,260,000*l.* Fifteen thousand pounds were allotted to each borough; and "was apportioned amongst the various patrons." The greater number of these dealers in mock-representation had only two boroughs each. Ten distinguished persons had forty-five seats amongst them. Lord Downshire had seven seats; lord Ely had six seats. These patriotic noblemen were fit patients for the infallible remedy for the cure of tender consciences. In July, 1799, Cornwallis writes to Dundas, "The language which lord Downshire has held respecting the Union has done great mischief. There cannot be a stronger argument for the measure than the overgrown parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts." There were a few Tritons of the minnows to be dealt with, as well as these monsters of the deep. Of lord Castlereagh, the noble author of "Sketches of Statesmen" says, "The complaints made of his Irish administration were well grounded, as regarded the corruption of the parliament by which he accomplished the Union, though he had certainly no direct hand in the bribery practised." † Not till cabinets have been unlocked after sixty years of secresy, is it safe to assert of any politician that he had not sought the most direct course to his purpose, in the belief that the end would justify the means. On the 2nd of January, 1799, lord Castlereagh wrote to Mr. Wickham of the English Treasury, "Already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We cannot give that activity to the press which is necessary. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain." "5000*l.* in bank notes by the first messenger" was a moderate demand. ‡ At the end of the year the duke of Portland was requested to assist in the same way, and to the same extent. "The advantages have been important." § The Irish Parliament met on the 15th of January, 1800. Something more direct than paying young barristers for leading articles had become

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 82.
† "Statesmen," &c., by Lord Brougham, 2nd series, p. 124.
‡ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 27.
§ *Ibid.* p. 151.

necessary. Castlereagh, on the 27th of February, again calls upon the ministering angel of the Secret Service money to help him in his troubles: "I see no prospect of converts; the Opposition are steady to each other. I hope we shall be able to keep our friends true. A few votes might have a very injurious effect. We require *your assistance*, and you *must* be prepared to enable us to fulfil the expectations which it was impossible to avoid creating at the moment of difficulty."* It had become a contest of bribery on both sides. There was an "Opposition stock-purse," as lord Castlereagh describes the fund against which he was to struggle with the deeper purse at Whitehall. He writes to the duke of Portland in this critical time, "We have undoubted proofs, though not such as we can disclose, that they are enabled to offer as high as 5000*l.* for an individual vote, and I lament to state that there are individuals remaining amongst us that are likely to yield to this temptation."† But there were other modes, to which we have alluded, of strengthening the government than the coarse gratifications administered to those who had "an itching palm." During the administration of lord Cornwallis, twenty-nine Irish Peerages were created; of which seven only were unconnected with the question of Union. Six English Peerages were granted on account of Irish services; and there were nineteen promotions in the Irish Peerage, earned by similar assistance.‡

At the opening of the Irish Parliament on the 15th of January, in the speech which the Lord-Lieutenant delivered from the throne, not a word was uttered on the subject of the Union. Lord Castlereagh stated that it was the intention of the government to make the Union the subject of a distinct communication to parliament. A vacancy had occurred for the close borough of Wicklow. On the day of the meeting of the Houses the writ was delivered to the Returning Officer, and Mr. Grattan was returned before midnight. An Amendment upon the Address had been debated through the night, and before it was concluded, at seven o'clock of the morning of the 16th, the new member for Wicklow, who was taken from a bed of sickness, was led into the House of Commons. Every member rose from his seat: Grattan was too feeble to stand. He delivered an oration that appeared like the prophetic utterance of a dying man, having asked permission to address the House without rising. It thus concluded: "The question is not now such as occupied you of old—not old Poynings, not peculation, not plunder, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a Reform bill—it is your being,—it is more—it is your life to come." The great orator produced no permanent effect. There was a majority of forty-two in favour of a Union, when the House divided at ten o'clock on that morning. On the 5th of February, lord Castlereagh read a message from the Lord-Lieutenant, communicating the Resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. The question was debated from four o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, to one o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th. During that time the streets of Dublin were the scene of a great riot, and the peace of the city was maintained only by troops of cavalry. The bitter personalities between Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Irish Ex-

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 200.
† *Ibid.* p. 182.
‡ See the list in Cornwallis's "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 318.

chequer, and Mr. Grattan, gave rise to a duel, in which Mr. Corry was wounded. On the division of the 6th there was a majority of forty-three in favour of the Union.

The great question was virtually decided, as regarded the votes of the parliament of Ireland. In the parliament of Great Britain, Mr. Pitt, on the 2nd of April, laid on the table of the House of Commons, the joint Addresses to the king of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, with Resolutions containing the terms proposed by them for an entire Union of both kingdoms. In the House of Lords, a similar message was presented by lord Grenville. The first article of the proposed Union provided that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should, upon the 1st of January, 1801, be united into one kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The United Kingdom was to be represented in one and the same parliament. In the United Parliament there were to be twenty-eight temporal Peers, elected for life by the Irish Peerage; and four spiritual Peers, taking their places in rotation. There were to be one hundred members of the Lower House; each county returning two, as well as the cities of Dublin and Cork. The University returned one, and thirty-one boroughs each returned one. Of these boroughs twenty-three remained close boroughs, till the Reform Bill of 1831. Those of the borough patrons who could return one member to the Imperial Parliament had no compensation for losing the power of returning two members. The Churches of England and Ireland were to be united. The proportion of Revenue to be levied was fixed at fifteen for Great Britain, and two for Ireland, for the succeeding twenty years. Countervailing duties upon imports to each country were fixed by a minute tariff, but some commercial restrictions were to be removed, in the confidence that, with the kingdoms really and solidly united "to increase the commercial wealth of one country is not to diminish that of the other." On the 21st of April, when Mr. Pitt explained the details of the measure, Mr. Grey moved an Address to his majesty, "praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland on that measure can be ascertained." This motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and six. There were other debates in both Houses. On the 8th of May a joint Address of the Lords and Commons to the king was determined on, signifying their approbation of the Resolutions, and congratulating his majesty upon the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work which, as the common father of his people, he had declared to be so near his heart. In the Irish parliament the subsequent proceedings gave occasion for brilliant displays of oratory. Grattan fought the battle to the last. Whatever we may now think of his prophecies of ruin to Ireland,—especially of those which are based upon antiquated notions of commercial protection—we cannot refuse our admiration of an eloquence inspired by real patriotism. On the motion of the 26th of May, that the Bill be committed, he thus concluded his speech: "Identification is a solid and imperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom, necessary for that of empire; but, without union of hearts—with a separate government, and without a separate Parliament, identification is extinction, is dishonour, is conquest—not identification. Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead—though in her tomb she

lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty:—

> 'Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advanced there.'

While a plank of the vessel sticks together, I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind—I will remain anchored here—with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall."*

It is impossible not to feel a deep sympathy with the great assertors of Irish nationality at this eventful period—with such as Grattan, Ponsonby, Plunkett, Bushe. The patriotic party of Ireland had not seen half a century of parliamentary existence. It first successfully asserted itself in 1753. In thirty years after, it established the legislative independence of the country, under the leader who now declared himself "faithful to her fall." But it is as impossible not to acknowledge that the Settlement of 1782 was a very imperfect measure. "It leaves," said Mr. Pitt, "the two countries with separate and independent legislatures, connected only with this tie, that the third estate in both countries is the same—that the executive government is the same—that the crown exercises its power of assenting to Irish Acts of Parliament, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, and by the advice of British ministers." Mr. Pitt then asked, whether this is a sufficient tie to unite the two countries in time of peace; whether in time of war it is sufficient to consolidate their strength against a common enemy; to guard against local jealousies; to give to both nations an increase of strength and prosperity.† But the English minister gave very precise indications of more especial benefits which he anticipated from a Union, as regarded questions of contending sects or parties. "Until the kingdoms are united, any attempts to make regulations here for the internal state of Ireland must be a violation of her independence." He looked to the dangers of Ireland "in the hostile division of its sects; in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants; in the ignorance and want of civilization which marks that country more than almost any other country in Europe." He maintained that a complete Union was the only remedy: "Everyone, I say, who reflects upon these circumstances must agree with me in thinking, that there is no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices and uninflamed by the passions, of that distracted country."‡

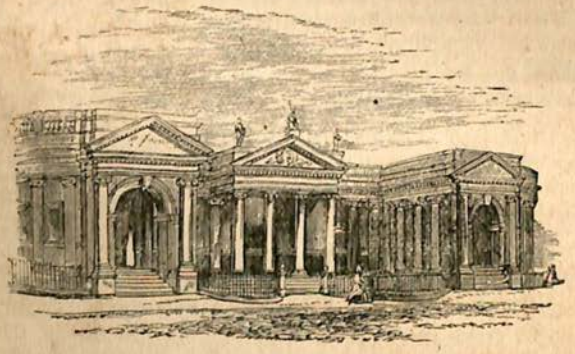
The Union Bill passed the Irish House of Commons at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th of June. Sir Jonah Barrington describes the scene with great pomp of words. Lord Castlereagh, "tame, cold-blooded," moving the third reading; the Speaker, Foster, "looking steadily around on the last agony of the expiring parliament;" putting the question, "as many as are of opinion that this Bill do pass say Aye;" and then, "with an eye averted from

* "Grattan's Speeches," vol. iv. p. 21.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 263.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. xxxiv. cols. 263 and 270.

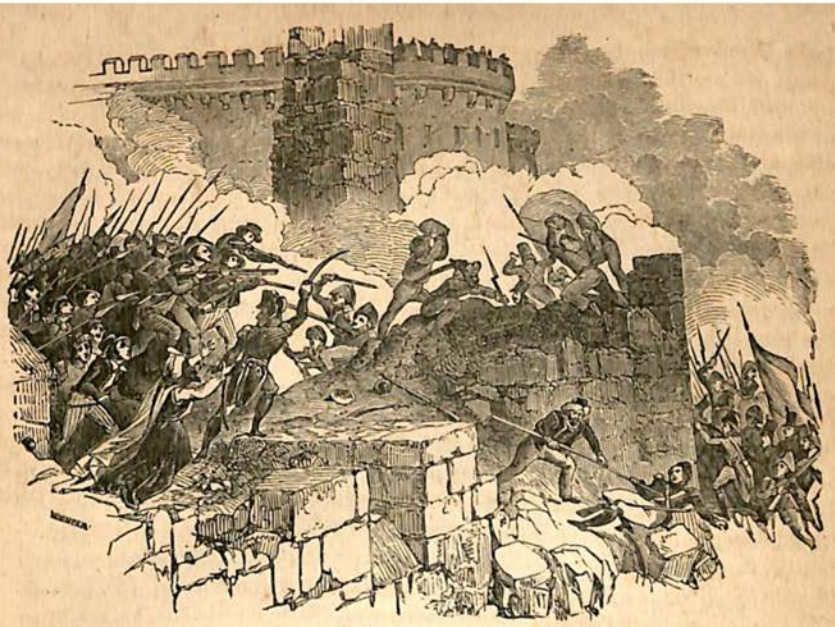
the object which he hated," proclaiming, with a subdued voice, "the Ayes have it." "The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like, flung the Bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit."* A more sober narrative relates that when the House adjourned, the Speaker walked to his own residence, followed by forty-one members, uncovered and in deep silence; bowed to the crowd before he entered his doors; and "then the whole assemblage dispersed, without uttering a word."† The Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland was completed in both parliaments; and the king, on closing the session at Westminster on the 29th of July, said, "This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign."

The halcyon time was far distant. Cornwallis saw the danger that would infallibly attend a continued attempt to govern Ireland upon principles of exclusion: "This country could not be saved without the Union, but you must not take it for granted that it will be saved by it. Much care and management will be necessary; and if the British government place their confidence in an Irish faction, all will be ruined."‡

* "Historic Memoirs of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 369.
† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 251.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 249.



The Parliament House (now the Bank), Dublin.



Siege of Acre.

CHAPTER XXII.

India—Lord Mornington Governor-General—Arthur Wellesley—War with Tippoo—Capture of Seringapatam—Bonaparte in Egypt—March to Syria—Jaffa—Siege of Acre—Battle of Aboukir—Bonaparte hears of the defeats of the French—He leaves Egypt and arrives in Paris—The French Directory—Revolution of the Eighteenth Brumaire—Overthrow of the Directory by Bonaparte—British Expedition to Holland—New Constitution in France—Bonaparte First Consul—The First Consul's letter to the King—Lord Grenville's hostile answer—High price of Corn in England—Distress and Riots—Injudicious attempts to regulate prices—Bonaparte's civil administration—He assumes the state of a sovereign—Italy—Bonaparte takes the command of the army—The Campaign—Battle of Marengo—Campaign under Moreau in Germany—Peace of Luneville.

BONAPARTE was shut up in Egypt. To conquer the country,—to establish a sovereignty that might ultimately make him the master of India,—was a project of romantic grandeur. But its immediate realization had become an impossibility. The battle of the Nile had dissipated some of these dreams. Nevertheless, on the 26th of January, 1799, Bonaparte addressed a letter from Cairo to Tippoo Sultaun: "You have been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England." Within a few months from the date of this letter, Tippoo was slain in the defence of Seringapatam, and his kingdom of Mysore came to an end.

Sir John Shore, afterwards lord Teignmouth, succeeded earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration the two sons of Tippoo, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their

father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the Sultaun. In 1798, lord Teignmouth was succeeded by lord Mornington, afterwards created marquis Wellesley. At the head of the Indian government was now a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. The "Supplementary Dispatches," edited by the present duke of Wellington, exhibit very strikingly how, at a very early period of his great career, the mind of this remarkable man was formed to embrace the largest views with the closest attention to the most minute detail. From his arrival in India as the colonel of an infantry regiment in 1797, to his acceptance of a responsible command in 1799, we may trace the same qualities which, more than any other man, fitted him for an encounter with the genius of Bonaparte. Arthur Wellesley's regiment, the 33rd, formed part of an army assembled at Vellore, in November, 1798, under the command of general Harris. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tippoo from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. The language of the Governor-General was conciliatory, but it was firm. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tippoo continued to rely upon the assistance of the French. "The providence of God, and the victorious arms of the British nation, frustrated his vain hopes, and checked the presumptuous career of the French in Egypt, at the moment when he anxiously expected their arrival on the coast of Malabar." * He rejected every pacific overture. General Harris accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the Nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of colonel Wellesley.

The novelty, no less than the magnitude, of these operations, appears to have impressed the young commander of the Nizam's army with a feeling of wonder which inexperience is not ashamed to display. The British grand army and the Nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. "The march of these two armies was almost in the form of a square or oblong, of which the front and rear were formed of cavalry, and about two or three miles in extent; the right and left (owing to the immense space taken up in the column by field-pieces, drawn by bullocks), about six or seven miles. In this square went everything belonging to the army. . . . . You will have some idea of what there was in that space when I state to you the number of bullocks that I know were in the public service." These he computes at sixty thousand. The Nizam's army had twenty-five thousand bullocks loaded with grain; besides elephants, camels, bullocks, carts, belonging to individuals, beyond all calculation. "You may have some idea of the thing when I tell you that, when all were together, there was a multitude in motion which covered eighteen square miles." † The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes; and after several encounters with the forces of Tippoo, the united armies had taken up a position before Seringa-

* Declaration of the Governor-General in Council, 22nd February, 1799.
† "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. i. p. 204.

patam. A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May. It was in the possession of the besiegers within two hours. Tippoo was killed in one of the gateways. His body was found among five hundred others, piled in a very narrow compass. Colonel Wellesley's letter to the Governor-General is very characteristic. "It was impossible to expect that, after the labour which the troops had undergone in working up to this place, and the various successes they had had in six different affairs with Tippoo's troops, in all of which they had come to the bayonet with them, they should not have looked to the plunder of this place. Nothing therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th. . . . I came in to take the command on the morning of the 5th; and, by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, &c., &c., in the course of that day, I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people." * Colonel Wellesley congratulates his brother "upon having brought the war to a most fortunate conclusion in the course of about two months, and of having destroyed the greatest enemy the British nation ever had in India, and one whose powers were most formidable." The territories of Tippoo were divided amongst the English, the Nizam, and a descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, who had been dispossessed by Hyder. Colonel Wellesley was appointed governor of Seringapatam; and, during several years, he was employed in the organization of the civil and military administration of Mysore.

When Bonaparte wrote to Tippoo at the end of January, 1799, the Porte had declared war against France. Jezzar, the pasha of Acre, had received orders from the sultan to commence hostilities against the French, and he had seized El Arish, on the borders of Egypt. The war against the invaders of the dominions of the sultan was to be carried on with vigour. An army was collecting in Syria; another army was to be landed at Alexandria; in the spring they were to operate in combination. Bonaparte resolved to anticipate these movements, by attacking the fortified places in Syria where troops and stores were being gathered together. He thought the reduction of these positions would be soon effected; that he should add the conquest of Syria to that of Egypt; become master of the Euphrates as he had become master of the Nile; and then have all the communications with India open to him. On the 1st of February, his army, consisting of about thirteen thousand men, entered the Desert. He had mounted one of his regiments on fleet dromedaries, each dromedary carrying two men, seated back to back. The French on the march followed the course of the Mediterranean. El Arish surrendered to them on the 18th of February, and Gaza surrendered on the 25th. On the 3rd of March they had reached Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. This place was defended by a thick wall, flanked with towers; and contained a garrison of more than four thousand men. It was taken by assault; and for thirty hours was delivered over to pillage and massacre. Something followed, more horrible even than the ordinary atrocities of warfare. Several thousand of the garrison were prisoners. "Bonaparte," says Thiers, "decided upon a terrible measure, which is the sole cruel act of his life.

* "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. i. p. 212.

Transported into a barbarous country, he had involuntarily adopted its measures. He caused these prisoners to pass under the edge of the sword." † The justification alleged is, that the French had no means of sending them to Egypt; that the army was itself in want of rations; and that to let them go free would be to increase the number of their foes. The decision was not taken upon the single authority of Bonaparte. It was debated for three days in councils of war; and then the prisoners were marched out from the camp in parties to the sand hills around Jaffa, and there put to death by volleys of musketry, or by the bayonet.

Before the French marched from Jaffa, the plague had made its appearance. Hospitals were established there; and the army moved forward to Acre. Jezzar had resisted the solicitations of the French to become their friend; and had determined to defend the strong place in which he was shut up. In the gulf of Acre was sir Sidney Smith, with two English ships of war. He had captured some vessels bringing along the coast from Egypt some of the heavy artillery of the French army; and these were landed for

Sir Sidney Smith.

the defence of Acre. A French emigrant officer, colonel Philippeaux, who had been a fellow-student with Bonaparte in the military school, co-operated with sir Sidney Smith in this gallant defence. A small breach having been made, the French ventured upon an assault on the 25th of March. They were arrested by a counterscarp and a fosse. For two months was Acre vainly attempted to be taken. In April, an army from Damascus had crossed the Jordan for the relief of Acre. Kleber, with a small number of troops, first encountered this force of thirty thousand, chiefly cavalry. He maintained his ground until the arrival of Bonaparte and Murat with effectual aid. The Mussulmans were completely routed on the plain of Esdraelon, between Mount Hermon and Mount Thabor. Bonaparte then hurried back to Acre. The English and Turks, during the temporary suspension of assaults, had constructed intrenchments outside the town. In the early part of May, the French repeatedly attacked these works, but without success. On the 7th of May, a Turkish fleet with reinforcements appeared

† "Révolution Française" livre xliii.

in sight. The place must be stormed before the reinforcements could land. It was stormed on the 7th; it was stormed on the 8th; it was stormed on the 10th. Bonaparte was held at bay. On the 21st, the camp before Acre was broken up. On his return march to Egypt, from Cesarea to Jaffa, the whole country was set on fire. The Turks and Arabs hung on the French rear, and killed every straggler. The sick dropped on the burning sand, unable to keep up with their comrades. At Jaffa the army halted. What was to be done with the sick in the hospitals? Thiers gives one version of a story that brought as much odium upon Bonaparte as the massacre of the Turkish prisoners: "Bonaparte said to the physician Desgenettes, that it would be much more humane to administer some opium to them, than to leave them alive. The physician made this answer, 'My business is to cure and not to kill.' No opium was administered; and the fact only served for the propagation of an unworthy calumny, now destroyed." * A French historian, Poujoulat, who had travelled in Palestine, does not doubt that between three and four hundred sick and wounded were poisoned. Bonaparte himself denied to O'Meara the poisoning even of "a few *miserables*, who could not recover." But he added, "Not that I think it would have been a crime had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue." †

Bonaparte returned to Cairo, assuming to himself all the honours of a conqueror. It is difficult to determine whether his proclamations to the people of Egypt, or his despatches to the French Directory, contain the greater number of lies and exaggerations in reference to this Syrian campaign. But the misfortunes of the siege of Acre were redeemed by a great victory, on the 25th of July, over a Turkish army which had landed at the peninsula of Aboukir. Bonaparte, upon the news of their landing, had made a rapid march from Cairo to Alexandria with ten thousand men; and the rout of the Turks, who fought most bravely, was complete.

After the decisive battle of Aboukir, Bonaparte became restless. His communication with Europe had been cut off for nearly a year. It had been an eventful year. The French armies in Italy and in Germany had sustained great reverses, of which he was ignorant. He had in vain sent forth some brigs to detain merchant vessels, that he might obtain news from Europe. He then sent a flag of truce to the Turkish fleet, under the pretence of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, but with the real intent that some intelligence should be obtained. Sir Sidney Smith, says Thiers, learning that Bonaparte was ignorant of the disasters of France, "felt a malignant pleasure in sending to him a packet of all the journals." Bonaparte passed an entire night in devouring the information contained in these newspapers. He at once took his determination to embark secretly for Europe. Let us take a rapid glance at the various events that led this man of decision to resolve that "the time is out of joint," and that he alone was "born to set it right."

After the separate treaty of Campo Formio between Austria and France, a Congress assembled at Radstadt, to treat of the complex subject of a general peace, to include all the States of the German empire. Its sittings, which

* "Révolution Française," livre xliii.

† "Voice from St. Helena," vol. i. p. 332.

commenced in December, 1797, were continued through 1798. At the end of that year a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Russia, against France, was agreed upon; and the emperor Francis and the emperor Paul were drawing together in a determination to unite their forces in a common endeavour to resist the growing power of the ambitious Republic. Naples and Sardinia had declared war against France. At the beginning of January, 1799, the king of Naples had fled from his capital to Palermo; the French general Championnet had entered the city; proclaimed the abolition of royalty; and the kingdom of Naples was henceforth to be the Parthenopeian Republic. A Russian army of sixty thousand men, commanded by Suwaroff, arrived in Moravia in December; and were welcomed by the emperor of Germany with unmistakeable demonstrations. The French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt demanded that the Diet of the Empire should oppose the entrance of the Russian army upon Germanic territory. The answer being unsatisfactory, Ehrenbreitstein, which had been long blockaded by the French, was besieged, and the fortress capitulated in January. The French were now masters of both banks of the Rhine. Jourdan crossed the river into Suabia; the Directory declared war against Austria; Jourdan advanced to the Danube; was encountered by the archduke Charles, and driven back over the Rhine in April. When Switzerland was invaded by the French in 1798, the Grisons stood aloof. They were now assaulted by the French; but the Austrians came from the Tyrol to their aid, and drove the invaders from their territory. Switzerland now became the seat of war, and Massena stood upon the defensive at Zurich. At the close of March the Austrian and French armies were actively engaged in Italy. The French were driven beyond the Mincio. The ability of Moreau could not enable him to make a stand against the determination of the old Austrian general Melas. On the 18th of April, Suwaroff joined the Austrians with fifty thousand Russians, and this famous slaughterer of Turks and Poles took the command of the combined armies. The battle of Cassano, on the 27th of April, was decisive of the fate of the Cisalpine Republic. The battle of the Trebbia ensued, in which, after three days of desperate conflict, Suwaroff defeated Macdonald and Victor, who retreated over the Apennines. The attempted junction of the two armies of Italy resulted in the defeats of the two commanders, Moreau and Macdonald. In three months the great campaigns of Bonaparte thus appeared to have been productive only of fleeting triumphs. Royalty was restored at Naples by cardinal Ruffo, with English assistance; and, painful to record, the bad faith and miserable vengeance of the corrupt and despotic court upon the patriotic party found a supporter in the greatest of British admirals. Such was the posture of European affairs when George III. closed the Session of Parliament on the 12th of July, and said, "It is impossible to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble thankfulness, the visible interposition of Divine Providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishments of the civilized world." Such were the confident expectations of the parties to the Second Coalition against France, concluded on the 22nd of June, between Great Britain, the emperor of Germany, the emperor of Russia, some of the German minor

States, Naples, Portugal, Turkey, and Barbary. France herself was exposed to a greater danger than that of external foes. Her executive government was weak and unpopular. The people were oppressed by taxes; and more oppressed by the Conscription, by which every Frenchman, from the age of twenty to forty-five, was liable to be chosen by lot for military service. Such was the news that sir Sidney Smith might have placed before Bonaparte on the banks of the Nile. The intelligence of the journals, it is believed, was confirmed by a private communication from his brothers Lucien and Joseph; which had reached him by a faithful messenger, in spite of the vigilance of the English cruisers.

On the 24th of August, Bonaparte embarked at Alexandria, accompanied by seven of his generals. Two frigates and two smaller vessels had been got ready, by his orders, for this perilous adventure. This was not, says Thiers, a desertion; "for he left a victorious army to brave dangers of every kind, and, most horrible of all, the danger of being carried in fetters to London." Bonaparte was himself very calm amidst these dangers. He possibly did not imagine that Pitt would carry him about in an iron cage, like another Bajazet, even if he were captured by an English fleet. It was the 9th of October when he landed at Fréjus. The people ought to have opposed his landing as a violation of the Quarantine laws, but they said, "Better the plague than the Austrians." The Austrians were close at hand. They occupied all the mountainous passes which separate France from Italy. After the great victory of the Austro-Russian army at Novi, in August—which victory was succeeded by other triumphs—the French were expelled from the land which Bonaparte had conquered and revolutionized. That he should have been received in Provence as the man whose advent would be the safety of France was a natural and reasonable confidence. On the 16th of October, Bonaparte was in Paris. From his old house in la rue Chantereine he proceeded immediately to the Luxembourg, the palace of the Directory. He told the members that having become apprised of the disasters of France he had come to defend the country. But he was to them an object of suspicion and of fear. Bernadotte, it is said, counselled the arrest of Bonaparte for desertion; and Barras replied, "We are not strong enough for that." The Directory consisted of Barras, Sièyes, Ducos, and two obscure republicans, Moulins and Gohièr. They were divided in their policy as to abiding by the existing Constitution, which some wished to modify and some to overturn. Bonaparte came as a new power to mould or to awe conflicting opinions, whether of the Directors or of the Legislative bodies, into a shape favourable to his own ambition. He attached himself to the party of Sièyes and Ducos. Barras preserved a sort of neutrality. Bonaparte had two able counsellors to assist him in any intrigue for the transfer of power to new hands—Talleyrand and Fouché. The majority of the Council of Five Hundred, with Bernadotte, were against any project for organic change. Three weeks of intrigue ended in placing France under a Dictatorship—three weeks of plots, which Bourienne, Bonaparte's secretary, says, "were accompanied by so much trickery, falsehood, and treachery, that for the honour of human nature it is desirable to hide them under a veil." The preparations of the conspirators were at length complete. The Council of Ancients possessed an authority, under the Constitution, for determining the place of meeting of the Legislative body. A

packed number assembled privately on the 9th of November (18th Brumaire), and decreed that the sitting should be held the following day at the palace of St. Cloud. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this decree; and all the troops of the line and the National Guard were placed under his orders. He very quickly availed himself of his power, by stationing troops at the Tuileries, at the Luxembourg, at St. Cloud, under the command of his trusty generals; and by assigning to other chosen lieutenants positions where military force might put down all opposition that might be excited by those whose reign was coming to a close. Barras, Moulins, and Gohièr were left to their own reflections in the Luxembourg, whilst their servant was thus preparing to become their master. The Council of Five Hundred met on the 9th of November, only to hear the decree which suspended their sitting on that day, and which ordered their assembling on the next day at St. Cloud. At one o'clock on the afternoon of the 10th, the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred there assembled, surrounded by troops. Bonaparte came in his carriage, with a numerous escort. Sièyes and Ducos were also there to confer with him. The Ancients were told that the Directors had resigned, and it was proposed to replace them according to the provisions of the Constitution. Barras had indeed resigned, by getting away from Paris in hot haste. Moulins and Gohièr were prisoners in the Luxembourg. It was a critical moment. Bonaparte came into the Assembly; and, according to the historical authorities of the Revolution, harangued with visible emotion but with great effect. The speeches which the historians put into his mouth differ very considerably; and well they may differ, says Bourienne, who was present, "for he made no speech, but delivered a series of rambling, unconnected sentences, and confused replies to the President's questions." Berthier and Bourienne were glad to get him away from the wearied and impatient Assembly. At the Council of Five Hundred, to which Bonaparte then repaired, there were fewer words but more action. He entered the wing of the palace where they were sitting, followed by grenadiers. Furious cries assailed him of "Down with the tyrant—Down with the dictator—Go out—Go out." His soldiers surrounded him, as he made for the door. He mounted his horse when he escaped from what he represented as a danger to his person, and told his troops that an attempt had been made to assassinate him. "Vive Bonaparte," was the re-assuring cry. Within there was now a greater danger than the imaginary daggers of the irritated members of the Five Hundred. His brother Lucien was the President; and he was called upon to declare Napoleon, "hors la loi"—those terrible words which had sent Robespierre and many another revolutionary tyrant to the scaffold. Lucien refused to put the question, and implored them to hear his brother. By direction of Napoleon, grenadiers again entered the hall; seized Lucien, and carried him forth. The two mounted their horses; Lucien harangued the troops; told them that assassins were overwhelming the majority; that he and his brother would swear to be faithful to Liberty. The soldiers hesitated at the proposal to expel the Five Hundred from their hall; but Lucien exclaimed, "I swear that I will stab my own brother to the heart if he ever attempt anything against the liberties of France." Again the soldiers shouted "Vive Bonaparte." Murat and Leclerc then put themselves at the head of a battalion · led them to the door of the Assembly; drowned the

outcries of the members by the beat of drums; and cleared the hall by that irresistible power which Mirabeau declared should alone disperse the Tiers Etat—"We will only quit by the power of the bayonet." * Night came on. Lucien collected some thirty members of the Five Hundred, who passed decrees, in the name of that body, to the effect that the Directory existed no longer; that sixty persons were no longer representatives; and that a Provisional Executive Commission should be formed of three members, who

Lucien Bonaparte.

should be styled Consuls—Sièyes, Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte, being named to that office. The Council of Ancients concurred in the decrees. The three colleagues immediately took the oaths to be faithful to the sovereignty of the people, to the Republic, to Liberty and Equality, and to the representative system. The Republic on that night really came to an end.

Whilst these events were taking place in Paris; whilst the supreme power was passing into the hands of a great soldier,—a man of indomitable energy, gathering around him all the civil and military talent of his country, without respect to the claims of birth, and despising the routine which placed authority in the hands of the incapable—the British administration, rarely departing from its almost slavish dependence upon royal command or parliamentary influence, had sent a powerful force for the deliverance of Holland, organized upon the old principles of favouritism. Other men than equerries at Windsor anticipated the result; when "unformed regiments were hurried on immediate service;" and brigades were made up "for the amusement of young Princes and of foolish and inexperienced Generals." † The "young princes" likely to be employed were the dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester. The duke of York was the only prince of the three who went to Holland for his "amusement." A British army was assembled on the coast of Kent. A general, neither foolish nor inexperienced, Sir Ralph Abercromby, sailed on the 12th of August, with a first detachment of twelve

* *Ante*, p. 169.

† Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 123.

thousand men; and he was to be joined by a Russian contingent of seventeen thousand men, paid by England, for the conveyance of which force to Holland a squadron had been sent forth in July. All went well for a time. Abercromby effected a landing at the Helder, supported by the fire from the fleet; and the troops were all disembarked on the 27th, after a feeble resistance. The fort of the Helder, which commanded the entrance of the Texel, was taken possession of; and the English fleet entered, and summoned the Dutch fleet to surrender. There was no battle; for the Dutch seamen were in a state of insubordination, and thus eight sail of the line and seventeen frigates fell into our hands. The ships were sent to England, our sailors murmuring that they had not been taken as prizes in fair fight; and public opinion complaining that we had turned a mutiny to our own advantage when we had so recently been placed in extreme danger by a mutiny in our own fleet. Abercromby, with his small force, maintained a defensive position; and on the 10th of September repulsed a fierce attack of twenty-four thousand French and Dutch under general Vandamme. The Russian contingent, with an additional force of seven thousand British, now arrived. But there came with them a commander-in-chief who was to supersede Abercromby. The duke of York took the command of the united British and Russian army of thirty-six thousand men. This was indeed to make war upon a large scale, as far as numbers were concerned. The expedition to Holland was the greatest attempt of the British government since the beginning of the contest with France. One thing was wanted—a General fit to command. The duke of York was not without experience in military matters; he was personally brave; but what he had done before as the leader of an army was no warranty for his fitness for this high responsibility. On the 19th of September it was determined to attack the enemy in four columns, the ground being of a nature to prevent a concentrated operation. The Russian column under general Hermann was routed. On the centre and left, where the duke of York was present, general Dundas and general Pulteney were defeating the enemy But the duke, hearing of the disaster of Hermann, instantly changed a plan which was leading to victory, and marched to the assistance of the broken Russians. The duke was himself then compelled to retreat; and the day presented the usual consequences of bravery without judgment. On the 2nd of October another battle was fought, in which the right and centre of the British and Russians were partially successful, but where the want of combination prevented any real advantage. Time was precious. The republicans were gathering in great force; and some strong place must be obtained, through the possession of which supplies from the interior of the country could alone be insured. The army could not remain to starve in the narrow corner on which they were encamped, amidst dykes and causeys, on swampy ground now saturated with autumnal rains. Haarlem must be taken. The French, posted on a narrow isthmus by which it was necessary to approach Haarlem, were ready to contest the passage. On the 6th of October a battle was fought during the whole day, with equal bravery and equal loss. But the duke of York was no nigher the possession of Haarlem. The French were reinforced; the duke of York retired. Dangers were thickening around him. His great army was reduced to twenty thousand men, by sickness as much as by battle. He had provision only for eleven

days. He proposed a suspension of arms to general Brune, the French commander, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the British and Russians. The only point gained in this convention was that the Dutch fleet was to be retained. He bought the permission to go home in safety, upon the condition that eight thousand French and Dutch seamen, prisoners of war in England, should be given up to the French government. The troops quitted Holland on the 30th of November. Loud were the murmurs at home. The people were thankful that a navy remained to them in which command did not wholly go "by favour and affection." Some were glad that the ending of the expedition was no worse. "The armistice in Holland," wrote Cornwallis, "although it is not, perhaps, the most brilliant way of getting out of the scrape, has relieved my mind from much anxiety, and has insured to us some army, if we are not bent upon throwing it away." *

When Bonaparte and his two colleagues had taken possession of the Luxembourg on the 11th of November, he had no precedence. Each Consul was in his turn to act as president. There was much to be accomplished before Bonaparte could be installed in that almost absolute power to which all his movements were tending. A new Constitution was to be made. Commissions were appointed to square and dovetail the work into shape. Sièyes had his plan ready. The details were to be debated between the Consuls and the commissioners. The aptitude of Bonaparte for power; his sagacity; his quickness of observation,—turned every discussion to his own prospective advantage. By the 24th of December, the Constitution was completed and published. The Executive authority was to consist of three Consuls, Bonaparte being First Consul for ten years. This Executive was to propose the laws. The Legislative authority was a Tribunate, to discuss the projects of laws, and approve or reject them; a Legislative body of three hundred members, to vote upon the laws proposed by the Tribunate, without the right of discussion; and a Senate, of eighty members, who were to sit in secret. It was a mock Legislature, to strengthen the Executive. All these classes of legislators were to be paid. The three Consuls were to have an allowance, the first Consul receiving 500,000 francs a-year; each of the others three-tenths of that sum. Cambacérès and Lebrun were associated with Bonaparte in the consular office; but the real power was in his hands alone. The Constitution was accepted by the votes of the people, three millions having registered their approval. Their votes were doubtless influenced by the agents of the government. But it is clear that the people were tired of anarchy; had no confidence in a Directory and Councils of Ancients and Five Hundred; cared little about Liberty; and had a profound admiration for military glory.

When the British Parliament met on the 22nd of January, 1800, after an adjournment in October, a royal message was presented, the chief purport of which was to lay before the two Houses "copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and of the answers which have been returned thereto by his majesty's command." The communications "received from the enemy" were a brief note from Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, to lord Grenville, enclosing a letter from the First Consul

* "Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 141.

to the King of Great Britain and Ireland. This letter, dated 5th Nivose,* is too interesting, as well as too laconic, to be abridged:

"Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

"The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

"How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

"Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only, in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

Lord Grenville wrote on the 4th of January to Talleyrand, saying that his majesty, "seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states," had directed him to return an official answer, which he enclosed. This answer breathed no spirit but that of determined hostility. Recapitulating the charges so often made against France, that she desired "the extermination of all established governments"—that "the most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression"—his majesty could not "place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions." He required to be convinced "that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France." The conviction of such a change could only result from experience. "The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad." Nevertheless, "his majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government." As there existed "no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed,—no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability," to persevere in "a just and defensive war" was the only course which his majesty could at present pursue.

It was eighteen days after this answer was written that the correspon-

* December 25th, according to the translation laid before Parliament; the 26th according to Thiers.

dence was laid before Parliament. The letter of Bonaparte, and the answer, were, however, no secret. On the 1st of January, Grenville sent a copy of the letter to his brother, as "a curiosity"—"I need not tell you that we shall say, no." On the 3rd, he describes his answer, of which, he says, we have not hands enough to make sufficient copies. On the 16th he writes, "His Corsican Majesty's letters will be out on Monday." * It is not difficult to see that a haughty contempt for the attainment of almost regal power by a plebeian, was at the root of that fierce indignation which the British government had never evinced when they twice negotiated for peace with the Directory. It is difficult to understand how Pitt could have sanctioned such a letter as Grenville's. Yet on the 4th he wrote to Addington, "We have felt no difficulty in declining all negotiation under the present circumstances; and have drawn our answer as a sort of manifesto both for France and England, bringing forward the topics which seem most likely to promote the cause of royalty, in preference to this new, and certainly not less absolute, government." † Lord Grenville found in Talleyrand one who saw the weak points of the "manifesto" at a glance, and exposed them with an irresistible logic. In his rejoinder of the 14th of January there is this passage: "The First Consul of the French Republic would not doubt that his Britannic Majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown. But he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his Britannic Majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are not less injurious to the French nation, and to its government, than it would be to England and to his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it." Statesmen thinking and acting with Mr. Pitt could not approve of lord Grenville's letter. It is "too caustic and opprobrious," said Addington—"it has not quite enough of the character of moderation." ‡ Wilberforce writes, "I must say I was shocked at lord Grenville's letter; for though our government might feel adverse to any measure which might appear to give the stamp of our authority to Bonaparte's new dignity, yet I must say that, unless they have some better reason than I fear they possess for believing that he is likely to be hurled from his throne, it seems a desperate game to play—to offend, and insult, and thereby irritate, this vain man beyond the hope of forgiveness." § Cornwallis, six months after, designated Grenville's letter as "haughty and most unwise."—"The unprovoked insolence of lord Grenville's letter has placed us in a state of such embarrassment, that I must confess I have hardly a hope that we can extricate ourselves." ‖ Bonaparte had written a conciliatory letter to the emperor of Austria, which also had been treated with

* "Court and Cabinets, &c." vol. iii. pp. 4, 5, 6.
† "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 249.
‡ "Life," vol. i. p. 248—Letter of January 9.
§ "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 354—Letter of January 7.
‖ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 270-277.

contempt. The consequence was, Marengo. The correspondence with France again roused Fox into political activity. He wrote in January, "My letters tell me what I can scarce credit, that the ministers have given a flat refusal to the great Consul's proposition to treat. Surely they must be quite mad." * Fox again appeared in his place in Parliament; made one of his greatest speeches, which was a reply to an equally grand oratorical display by Pitt; and was in a minority of 64 to 265. In the House of Lords, Grenville delivered a speech of remarkable ability, but tending, even more than his letter, to make the quarrel with France a personal quarrel with Bonaparte. In the third year of the Republic, said the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he imposed upon the French people, by the mouth of the cannon, that very constitution which he has now destroyed by the point of the bayonet. Treaties made and broken, with Sardinia, with Tuscany, with the petty States of Italy, were ratified and annulled by Bonaparte. Venice, Rome, Genoa, Switzerland, were examples of his perfidy. He pointed to Egypt to exhibit his falsehoods, his blasphemies, his hypocrisies, his multiplied violations of all religious and moral ties. "Having, therefore, such bases for us to form a correct opinion of his policy, can it be thought inconsistent to believe that he has no intention of fulfilling his engagements." † We can scarcely object to Thiers, when he says, "the English ministers, especially lord Grenville, employed, with regard to the First Consul, language the most offensive. They had not otherwise treated Robespierre." ‡ We look back upon the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and see much to prove the ambition, the bad faith, and the insolence of Bonaparte. But we cannot deny that the affronts of the ministry of Pitt and Grenville were sufficient to stir within him an unextinguishable hatred of England.

The time was not opportune for rejecting overtures of peace. In the minds of the people, "peace" was always associated with "plenty." Scarcity and even famine were regarded, and not unjustly so, as consequences of war. The people of these islands were, throughout the year 1800, and partly in 1801, on the brink of famine. There had been a bad harvest in 1795, when Burke published his "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity." In a few pointed sentences he expressed the great economic truth which agitators conceal and pseudo-philanthropists despise: "Labour is a commodity like every other, and rises or falls according to the demand . . . . Wages have been twice raised in my time, and they bear a full proportion, or even a greater than formerly, to the medium of provision during the last bad cycle of twenty years. If we were wildly to attempt to force them beyond it, the stone which we had forced up the hill would only fall back upon them in a diminished demand; or, what indeed is the far lesser evil, an aggravated price of all the provisions which are the result of their manual toil." In saying that the squires of Norfolk had dined when they gave it as their opinion that the rate of wages ought to rise and fall with the market of provisions, he laughed at a theory which the squires of many a county would soon reduce to very efficient practice. The Berkshire justices and "other discreet persons," decided, in

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. iii. p. 174.
† See "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv.
‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tom i. livre ii.

1795, that when the gallon loaf of 8lbs. 11ozs. should cost 1*s.*, then every man should receive in wages, or in allowance from the poor-rates, 3*s.* weekly, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for the support of every other of his family; and in proportion as the price of bread rises or falls, 3*d.* to the man, and 1*d.* to every other of the family, on every penny which the loaf rises above a shilling. This Berkshire bread-scale was almost universally adopted in the agricultural counties; and thus, as the price of the loaf of bread continued to rise almost invariably from 1795 to 1800, the allowances from the rates were an encouragement to consume as much in a season of scarcity as in a season of abundance. Deficient harvests raised the price of wheat to 134*s.* a quarter in 1800, and to 156*s.* a quarter in the spring of 1801. The danger had become imminent, at the time when the conclusion of a peace offered by France might have opened our ports to importations which would have fed that large body of the artisan class that were not fed, without stint, by the operation of a bread-scale. In February, 1800, palliatives were resorted to. The sale of bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours was prohibited. The people were exhorted to economy by proclamation. Brown bread was to be eaten instead of white. Noble lords resolved to discourage the use of pastry in their families. At the end of November, the prospect became more alarming. Importation was encouraged by excessive bounties. Great Britain did not grow enough corn, even in average years, for the subsistence of the people. The price of corn was always subject to extreme fluctuations. The whole tendency of the financial operations of the government was to raise prices to an unnatural height. The government, when the evil reached its culminating point at the end of 1800 and the beginning of 1801, was powerless, except to bring in a Brown Bread Bill. They did something more. They again suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, for the people were rioting. Pitt clearly saw the social danger to which these riots would lead: "Unless the magistrates and gentlemen are firm in discountenancing and resisting all arbitrary reductions of price, and regulations of the mode of dealing, great mischief must follow." * Romilly saw the same mischief as the consequence of economic ignorance: "Never, to be sure, were there such temptations held out to riot and insurrection as the resolutions which, in consequence of the late riots, have been entered into in different parts of the country respecting the price of provisions. . . I cannot find that the least attempt has been anywhere made to undeceive the people; but, on the contrary, an opinion the most repugnant to common sense;—that is, that provisions of all kinds bear a higher price than the persons who deal in them can well afford to sell them at,—is, without the least inquiry upon the subject, everywhere acted upon as an established truth." † The author of this History has a distinct recollection of his alarm, when, a child of nine years old, he saw a mob parading the streets of Windsor; breaking the windows of the bakers; and going forth in a body with the intention of burning a neighbouring mill. The military were called out. The mayor and aldermen sat on a Friday night in solemn deliberation on the imperative necessity of quieting the people by making provisions cheaper. There were difficulties in the way of this magnanimous resolve as regarded

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 262.
† Romilly—"Memoirs," letter cxviii.

bread and meat. The worshipful body compromised the matter by solemnly proclaiming that when the butter-women brought their butter to market on the Saturday morning, they should not presume to ask more than a shilling a pound, under penalty of confiscation. In the spring of 1801 the high prices reached their maximum. On the 5th of March, the price of the quartern loaf was 1*s.* 10½*d.* A good harvest came to ease the sufferings of the people; and in the middle of October the price of the quartern loaf had fallen to 11½d. In 1801 the Poor Rates had risen to a sum exceeding four millions sterling, with a population of nine millions. The provision for the poor had doubled since 1783. How much temporary mischief was averted, and how much permanent evil was created, by the system of multiplying paupers by paying wages out of rates, is not necessary here to consider.

Montholon, in his history of Napoleon at St. Helena, represents him as saying that when he made overtures of peace to England he "had need of war;" that Mr. Pitt's answer was impatiently expected. "When it arrived it filled me with a secret satisfaction; his answer could not have been more favourable." Bonaparte had, nevertheless, victories of peace to achieve as well as victories of war. He probably only wanted a breathing-time when he proposed to negotiate,—a truce rather than a lasting pacification. Nevertheless, the satisfaction which he derived from the rejection of his proposals is not a tribute to the soundness of the policy of the British cabinet. Bonaparte was thus enabled to persuade the French that his personal ambition was not the motive for a continuance of a war which brought so many sufferings to the great body of the people. Their desire for glory was at that time greatly diminished by their greater desire for rest under a settled government. By the vigour of his administrative genius he soon brought the civil institutions of France into working order. The Treasury of the Directory had depended upon forced loans, confiscations, and plunder of foreign countries. Bonaparte enforced a regular system of direct taxation, and compelled the functionaries to keep correct accounts. He established the system of prefectures—that system of departmental administration which, with little variation during sixty years, has always been an efficient support of every government, whether its objects were beneficent or despotic. He re-modelled the judicial system. He did many wise and good things which France would probably not so readily have received from any other authority than that of an incipient despotism. He did not hesitate to show the direction which his government was prepared to take for its conservation. He propitiated the Clergy; he organized a Police as one of the chief instruments of repressing new tendencies to Revolution; he destroyed that liberty of the Press which had kept the people in a ferment since 1789. "Every journal," said a decree of the Consul, "shall be immediately suppressed which shall insert any articles contrary to the respect due to the social pact, to the sovereignty of the people, and to the glory of the armies; or which shall publish invectives against the government and the nations which are friends or allies of the Republic, even if those articles should be taken from foreign journals." He had given to the Consul Cambacérès the control over the judicial system; and to the Consul Lebrun the administration of the finances. He retained, as his own especial charge, the departments of War, Marine, Interior, Foreign Affairs and Police. Never was there a more efficient machinery,

not only for extinguishing Jacobinism, but for taking away even the semblance of liberty from a nation that did not understand it—a nation "indocile by temperament, yet accepting the arbitrary and even the violent rule of a sovereign more readily than the free and regular government of the chief citizen." *

The pacification of La Vendée was completed by the end of January, without any sanguinary struggle. The insurgents were won to submission by moderation, instead of being trodden into despair as they had been by the severities of the old republican authorities. Suwaroff had gone home after having been kept at bay in Switzerland; and the mad emperor Paul was won over by the courteous policy of the First Consul. Bonaparte had now only two enemies to contend with,—Great Britian and Austria. But these were by far his most powerful enemies. He must break up their alliance by some signal triumphs in Italy and Germany before he could be safe in his sovereign rule. To contend with Great Britain at sea would have been a vain ambition. He was now established in regal state at the Tuileries. He was surrounded by a Court, as glittering in dress, and almost as rigid in ceremonial, as that of the dukes and marquises at Versailles. He would have his own dukes and princes in good time. Meanwhile his fascinating wife would gather around her the fashion of Paris, as fashion then existed there. There were beautiful women, victorious generals, and submissive ambassadors, in those saloons; and there was no limit to the cost of the most luxurious display.

Madame de Staël.

Madame de Staël has described these first days of the Consulate: "I saw the First Consul enter the palace built by kings; and although Bonaparte was yet far from the magnificence he has since developed, one beheld already in all who surrounded him an anxiety to do him homage after an oriental fashion, which would persuade him that to govern the world was a very easy thing. . . In ascending the staircase in the midst of the crowd who pressed around him, his eyes would rest neither upon one object nor upon any person in particular.

* De Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," book ii. chap. xx.

There was always something of the vague and careless in his physiognomy, and his looks only expressed what was always suitable to his character to show,—indifference to fortune and contempt for men."* Madame de Staël had a hatred of Bonaparte; but she is perhaps not wholly unjust, when she says, "He has in his whole nature a foundation of vulgarity that even the gigantic reach of his ambition cannot always hide." From the luxurious grandeur of the Tuileries, from the flatteries of his sycophants, from his earnest work as chief magistrate, he resolved to depart for a season—to make an effort in his own person to recover the ground which had been lost in Italy. It was an infraction of the Constitution that the First Consul should command an army on a foreign soil. He did not stand upon such nice points of observance. But he would conceal his plans; and find safety in a new career of irresponsible glory.

There was an army of reserve formed at Dijon, to review which army Bonaparte ostensibly left Paris on the 6th of May. He inspected the troops, and quitted Dijon on the 7th. On the 8th he was at Geneva. He had

Bonaparte crossing the Alps.

deputed one of his generals to inspect the pass of the Great St. Bernard. 'Can we pass?" said Bonaparte. "With great difficulty," replied the general. "Then let us set out," said the man who would have banished the word 'impossible' from his vocabulary. The Austrian general, Melas, with the main body of the army, was in the territory of Genoa. The object of Bonaparte was to seize Milan, and place himself between the Austrian army

* "Sur la Révolution Française," tom. ii.

and the emperor's dominions. Thirty-five thousand men, under general Lannes, went forward to cross the Great St. Bernard. The cannon were dismounted at the foot of the mountain, and dragged over on sledges and hollow trunks of trees. Lannes, and Berthier with another division, had crossed the mountain on the 16th. Bonaparte followed them from Lausanne on the 17th, with a young Swiss for his guide. The famous picture by David represents the hero of a melo-drama in the grandest of "poses." Bonaparte went over the Alps like a very ordinary traveller, without danger, and suffering no privation. His army had difficulty enough with their munitions of war. He had not, like Cæsar, to fight many battles in these mountain passes. He only met with a slight resistance at Bard,—a fort which commanded the narrow pass in the valley below Aosta. Other divisions of the French army had crossed by the St. Gothard, the Simplon, Mont Genêvre, Mont Cénis, and the Little St. Bernard. Sixty or seventy thousand enemies were on the Italian side of the Alps without the knowledge of the Austrians. On the 30th of May Bonaparte was in Milan, having entered the city without opposition. The Austrian commander-in-chief, Melas, an aged man of large experiences and of well-tried bravery, was at Nice, from which he had driven the French under Suchet. He rapidly marched to encounter Bonaparte, whose advanced guard was on the Po. He was between Melas and another Austrian army at Mantua, on the Adda, and in the Tyrol. His situation was hazardous. If he lost a battle he could only retreat over the Alps by the passes he had crossed. Melas concentrated his forces at Alessandria. Bonaparte marched to meet him; crossed the Po at Piacenza; and took up his position in the plain of Marengo. On the 14th of June, Melas came out of Alessandria, and attacked the French. For some time he appeared to be winning a great victory. He had beaten the division of Victor, had driven Lannes back, and worn out with fatigue had gone back to Alessandria, leaving the triumph to be completed by general Zach. Desaix, who had very recently returned from Egypt, was ordered by Bonaparte to lead up a division to engage the advancing Austrians. Desaix turned the tide of battle, and was himself killed. The whole Austrian army now gave way: Marengo was won. The next day Melas asked for an armistice. By the convention of Alessandria, the Austrians lost all that they had gained in 1798 and 1799. They evacuated Italy as far as the Mincio, and gave up Genoa, and all the strong places in Piedmont and the Milanais. On the 2nd of July, Bonaparte was again in Paris. During his absence, various parties of republicans and royalists were formed against him, who might have shaken his power had his bold plan of a campaign been a failure. Marengo seated him firmly in the curule chair, which was to be exchanged for a throne.

The campaign of Moreau, who entered Germany at the head of a hundred thousand men, was a series of victories, until an armistice was concluded on the 15th of July. Hostilities were suspended whilst negotiations for peace were proceeding at Luneville. The preliminaries were signed on the 28th of July. But the emperor had entered into an engagement with Great Britain, that no peace should be concluded by either power which did not comprehend the two Allies. His resolution was fortified by a new loan. The emperor refused to ratify the preliminaries which had been agreed to at Luneville. Meanwhile, Malta, which had been blockaded for two years by the English

fleet, surrendered to the British troops in September. Hostilities were revived in Germany on the 29th of November. The archduke John, who had taken the command of the Austrian army, crossed the Inn with a hundred thousand men, to attack Moreau, whose troops were concentrated near the village of Hohenlinden, about twenty miles from Munich. The forest of Hohenlinden lay between the imperial army and the position which Moreau had taken up. It could only be reached by two great roads through the forest of thick pine trees, and by cross roads rendered almost impassable by the snows and storms of a winter that had now set in. To describe this great battle on the difficult ground between the Iser and the Inn is a task for voluminous historians. The general reader will derive more vivid impressions from the spirited poem of Campbell than from all the exactness of strategic details. He will call to mind the picture of the evening, when "all bloodless lay th' untrodden snow,"—of the beat of drum "at dead of night,"—of the morning when the level sun scarce "can pierce the war-clouds rolling dun," —of the deepening contest between "furious Frank and fiery Hun;"—

> "Few, few shall part where many meet:
> The snow shall be their winding sheet."

On that 3rd of December, the victory of Moreau was decisive. The French lost four thousand men; the Imperialists lost a far greater number, besides fifteen thousand prisoners and all their artillery. Moreau pursued the archduke John, and was on the road to Vienna. The archduke proposed an armistice, which was concluded on the 26th of December, the emperor engaging to negotiate separately for peace. Great Britain had released him from his pledge. The peace of Luneville was completed on the 9th of February, 1801.*

* See the Chronological Table of Treaties at the end of the next Chapter.

Copenhagen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Commencement of the nineteenth century—Parliament opened—The king's opposition to concessions to the Catholics of Ireland—Mr. Pitt resigns in consequence—Mr. Addington prime minister—The king again becomes insane—The northern powers form a treaty of Armed Neutrality—Expedition against Denmark—The naval battle of Copenhagen—Nelson's victory—An armistice concluded—Assassination of the emperor Paul—Expedition to Egypt—Battle of Alexandria and death of Abercromby—The French evacuate Egypt—Preliminaries of peace with France—Negotiations of lord Cornwallis at Amiens—Diplomatic disputes and difficulties—The peace of Amiens concluded.
Chronological Table of Treaties.
Population of Great Britain, 1801.

A New Century! The commencements of another Year, of another Decade, of another Century, are rarely marked by any corresponding changes in the affairs of nations; but they are suggestive of comparisons with other similar eras. At the commencement of the eighteenth century it has been estimated, upon the imperfect data of the Registers of Births and Burials, that England and Wales contained a Population of about five millions and a half. At the commencement of the nineteenth century a Census of the people had been taken, and it was found that England and Wales contained about nine millions. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, William III., from his death-bed, recommended the completion of a firm and entire Union between England and Scotland; and within seven years the Act of Union was passed. At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the

Union between Great Britain and Ireland was perfected; and on the 22nd of January, 1801, the first Session of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom commenced by the election of the Speaker. At the commencement of the eighteenth century William III. accomplished the Grand Alliance of the powers of Europe against the ambitious designs of the despotic head of the French Monarchy. At the commencement of the nineteenth century George III. was the sole sovereign of Europe who had not succumbed to the military despotism of the French Republic. The two centuries seem separated by a vast chasm. History bridges over the gulf; and, rightly considered, shows how one series of events is essentially connected with a preceding series—how great moral causes are ever steadily moulding the future of mankind, whilst the reign of violence and injustice endures but for a season.

The Session was opened on the 2nd of February by a Speech from the throne. The king expressed his satisfaction at availing himself of the advice and assistance of the Parliament of the United Kingdom at a crisis so important. "This memorable era, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire;"—"this happy Union, which by the blessing of Providence has now been effected;"—such were the vague congratulations in which the intentions of the Government towards Ireland were studiously veiled. Mr. Grey said, "I should indeed have augured more favourably of that Union, had I found that the Speech from the throne contained a recommendation (as it was reported it would do) to consider of taking off those disabilities to which the Catholics of Ireland are subject." What was then impossible to be explained is now matter of historical record. On the 1st of February Mr. Pitt wrote to the king a letter expressive of his regret, knowing his majesty's sentiments on that subject, to find himself under the absolute necessity of submitting to him that he felt a strong opinion, in concurrence with a majority of the Cabinet, that it would be expedient to repeal the laws which exclude Catholics from Parliament and from offices, as well as the laws which exclude Dissenters from offices. Mr. Pitt added, that he would endeavour, as far as could depend upon him, to keep the matter from being agitated, or to effect the postponement of the measure, provided his majesty would engage to avoid expressing his opinion so as to influence others in their conduct.* On the 2nd of February, the king replied to Mr. Pitt, stating his determined resolution not to acquiesce in an alteration of the laws respecting Catholics and Dissenters, conceiving himself bound by his coronation oath to support those laws. The king added that, as he had never been in the habit of concealing his sentiments on important occasions, he would enter into no engagement to act otherwise now; still trusting, however, that Mr. Pitt would not leave him while he lived.† The king, before he received the letter of Mr. Pitt, was perfectly aware that the matter had been discussed in the cabinet several months previous. It was an opportunity for intriguing statesmen to violate the confidence reposed in them as members of the government, and to enrol themselves amongst that dangerous body which stood between a Prime Minister and his constitutional responsibility, under the title of "the king's friends." Lord Loughborough, the Chancellor, was

* Rose—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. i. p. 288. † *Ibid.*, p. 289.

of this number. On the 13th of December, he placed in the king's hands an elaborate argument in opposition to "the very able paper on the question of admitting Catholics to a full participation of all the privileges of subjects."* Lord Loughborough refers to "the very able paper" as "the paper of lord C." (Castlereagh.) There was a confederate with the wily Chancellor, according to the well-founded belief of that time. "We learn," says the biographer of lord Sidmouth, "from published records, that he (Loughborough), in conjunction with lord Auckland, first made his majesty acquainted with the intentions of the Cabinet respecting the Roman Catholics, through the archbishop of Canterbury." The king afterwards made no secret of his opinions: "At the levee on Wednesday, the 28th of January, his majesty said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?' . . . . 'I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of.' 'You'll find,' said Dundas, 'among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed your enemies.'"† It appears from the diary of lord Colchester (Abbot), that he was informed by the Speaker that "on Thursday last (January 29) the king had come to an explanation with his ministers, who had pledged themselves, without his participation, for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices and seats in Parliament; and for repealing the Test Act, &c.; and some project upon Tithes that they had persisted in, and he had peremptorily refused to agree, saying that it was a question not of choice but of duty, and that he was bound by his coronation oath. That on Friday evening he had sent for the Speaker, and desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs."‡ Dundas had gone to the king on the 1st of February, and had explained to him that on the view of the coronation oath taken by the majority of the Cabinet, they held that it referred to the executive action of the sovereign, and not to his legislative action. The king exclaimed, "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas." On the 3rd of February, Mr. Pitt replied to the letter of the king, urging the impossibility of his continuing in his majesty's service, knowing that his majesty would influence the conduct of others on the Catholic question; and he requested the king to make an arrangement as soon as he conveniently could, assuring his majesty that he would give his best assistance to the new government. The king replied that he would endeavour to make a new arrangement as soon as possible.§ We have seen that his majesty had taken the Speaker into his confidence from the first. The king's request to him that he would "open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the

* See "The Lord Chancellor's Reflections on the Proposal from Ireland,"—endorsed by the king as received on the 14th of December, in the Appendix to Life of Sidmouth, vol. i.

† Wilberforce's "Diary,"—Life, vol. iii. p. 7.

‡ "Diary of lord Colchester," vol. i. p. 222. We quote this passage literally, even to the punctuation, from the recently published Diary of lord Colchester. The passage is quoted from the MS. Diary in Dr. Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," but with an important variation. There it is printed thus: "for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices, and to seats in parliament, and for repealing the Test Act, and some project upon tithes; that they had persisted, and the king had peremptorily refused to agree." (Vol. i. p. 311). This is very different from "some project upon tithes that they had persisted *in*." If Mr. Abbot's Diary is accurately edited by his son, lord Colchester, the ministers only "persisted in" some project for tithes,—a project which Mr. Pitt had advocated in the parliamentary discussions upon the Union. (See "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxiv. col. 272.)

§ Rose—vol. i. p. 290.

danger arising from agitating this improper question," had been made in vain.* On the 5th of February, Mr. Addington had accepted the charge of forming a new administration. He did this "with the concurrence of Mr. Pitt, who wished all his private and personal friends to remain in office."† "I am convinced," says Rose, "that there was from the beginning an eagerness in Mr. A. to catch at the situation." On the 8th of February, Mr. Canning told lord Malmesbury that Pitt had pressed him to remain in, but that his mind was made up to retire. "He confessed he had been one of those who had strongly advised Pitt not to yield, on this occasion, in the closet. That for several years (three years back) so many concessions (as he called them) had been made, and so many important measures overruled, from the king's opposition to them, that government had been weakened exceedingly; and if on this particular occasion a stand was not made, Pitt would retain only a nominal power, while the real one would pass into the hands of those who influenced the king's mind and opinion out of sight."‡ The experience of forty years had not taught the king to avoid the first great error of his reign. There was one man, whose active participation in the accomplishment of the Union, and his sound knowledge of the condition of Ireland, enabled him clearly to see the danger that would arise from the king's narrow and egoistical view of one of the greatest questions of philosophical statesmanship. He writes, on the 17th of February, "after having, as I thought, nearly accomplished the settlement of this devoted country in peace and tranquillity, and rendered Ireland a powerful bulwark for the security of Britain, an unexpected blast from St. James's has overset me, and has added grievously to the perils which have of late surrounded us, and threatened to overwhelm us."§

It was as late as the 14th of March that the king received from Mr. Pitt the resignation of his office, and that Mr. Addington received the seals as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. There had been an interregnum. The king had again become insane. On the 17th of February, rumour said that the king had got a bad cold. On the 19th, he could not be disturbed. On the 22nd, he was getting worse—"Fatal consequence," says Malmesbury, "of Pitt's hasty resignation." On that day the prince of Wales said to Calonne, "Do you know that my father is as mad as ever?"‖ The old intrigues in expectation of a Regency were renewed. The prince was again ready to grasp "the likeness of a kingly crown." But on the 7th of March the king was "recovered in mind as well as in body;" and the people made the most earnest demonstrations of their joy and their attachment to their old sovereign. The people were not very far advanced in political intelligence. They could scarcely look at a state question except through the medium of their passions and prejudices; and the king had therefore their hearty sympathies in refusing to concur in a measure of justice to those whose very names stirred up the bitter animosities of past generations, to be reproduced, not in cruel penal statutes, but in a denial of equal rights to their fellow subjects. The king directed Dr. Willis to announce his recovery to Pitt, Addington, Loughborough, and Eldon. To Pitt, he directed Willis to

* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. i. p. 286. † Rose—vol. i. p. 292.
‡ Malmesbury—"Diaries," vol. iv. p. 4.
§ Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 338.
‖ Malmesbury—vol. iv. p. 21.

write, or say, thus:—"Tell him, I am now quite well, quite recovered from my illness; but what has he not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill at all?" Pitt, says Malmesbury, in his answer "by Willis," which answer "was most dutiful, humble, and contrite, said he would give up the Catholic question."*

The new ministry was in office. Mr. Addington had succeeded Mr. Pitt as Premier; lord Eldon had succeeded lord Loughborough as Chancellor. Loughborough had gained nothing by his intrigues, except the privilege of flattering the king in his casual visits to Windsor. Lord Grenville was replaced as Foreign Secretary by lord Hawkesbury; Mr. Dundas, Secretary of State, made way for lord Hobart; Mr. Windham, Secretary of War, was superseded by Mr. Yorke. Canning promised Pitt that he would not laugh at the Speaker's appointment to the Treasury. The substitution of respectable mediocrities in the great offices held by Grenville, Dundas, and Windham, was not likely to bring his sarcastic powers more under the control of his prudence.

In the royal Speech at the opening of the Session, on the 2nd of February, it was announced that the court of Petersburgh had concluded a Convention with the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, for establishing a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the interests of this country. The king, therefore, had taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy. On the previous 16th of December, a Treaty of Armed Neutrality had been ratified between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, upon the principle that neutral flags protect neutral bottoms. To the remonstrances of the British Government, the emperor Paul answered by causing an embargo to be laid on all British vessels in his ports. On the 14th of January, a proclamation was issued by Great Britain, authorising reprisals, and laying an embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels. In a treaty of amity and commerce made in September, 1800, between France and the United States of America, it was stipulated that the flag should protect the cargo. The previous conduct of France to America had been grounded upon the most arbitrary assertion of the old maritime law of Europe. England had relaxed the strictness of the right of search and of blockade, in some exceptional instances. France had now a direct interest in encouraging the Northern powers in an armed resistance to that system of maritime law which England generally upheld; for the navies of France had been swept from the seas, and she could only obtain articles "contraband of war" through the ships of the Northern powers and other maritime neutrals, such as Prussia. Hostilities against these powers was a measure of national safety. An expedition to the Baltic had been planned and organized before the resignation of the Pitt ministry. Another expedition, whose destination was Egypt, had also been planned upon a magnificent scale—that of the united action of a body of troops under general Abercromby; of a detachment from India; and of an armament promised by the Grand Seignior. During the ministerial crisis of suspense, and after the change of government, there was no relaxation in the progress of these warlike demonstrations. On the 10th of December Abercromby had sailed from Malta in a fleet which carried seventeen thousand British troops; and had arrived in

* Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 34.

the Levant in the beginning of February, where he found that the success of his operations must depend upon himself alone. On the 12th of March, a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with frigates and smaller vessels, left Yarmouth roads for the Baltic, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, with lord Nelson as vice-admiral. Both these expeditions were successful; and their success gave eclat to the early days of the Addington administration—although the honour, whatever it might be, of their conception, rested with the predecessors of "*my own* Chancellor of the Exchequer," as the king rejoiced to call his new minister.

On the 21st of March the English fleet was in the Kattegat. Mr. Vansittart, who had come with the expedition as an envoy, had gone to Copenhagen in a frigate, with a flag of truce, to see if war could be averted by negotiation. He brought back an answer of defiance on the 23rd. The question then arose, whether Copenhagen should be attacked by the fleet proceeding by the passage of the Belt, or by the passage of the Sound. Nelson was impatient of delay, and said to the admiral, "Let it be by the Sound, or by the Belt, or any way, so that we lose not an hour." The Danes had been working most assiduously at their defences, whilst Vansittart was negotiating and Parker was hesitating. M. Thiers suggests that the admiral was chosen because he was old and experienced, and knew how to conduct himself under difficult circumstances; that the vice-admiral was placed at his side, in case it were necessary to fight, for that Nelson was only fit to fight.* The issue of this great contest will shew us what Nelson was fit for. Orders were at last given to pass the Sound, as soon as the wind would permit. At day-break on the 30th the signal for sailing was given. In order of battle, Nelson leading the van, the fleet prepared to force the passage to the Baltic between the coast of Denmark and the coast of Sweden—the famous passage where every ship, from a far-gone time, had been compelled to lower her top-sails and pay toll at Elsinore. The Danish side of the passage was guarded by Cronenburg Castle. On the Swedish side, at Helsenburg, separated in this, the narrowest part, by a distance of about three miles, there were no defences capable of resistance. The British fleet kept within a mile of the Swedish shore, and the guns of Cronenburg Castle were harmless. The whole fleet anchored at noon above the island of Huën, about fifteen miles from Copenhagen. The defences were surveyed, and being found very formidable, a council of war was held in the evening. Nelson opposed all arguments for delay, and offered to conduct the attack with ten sail of the line, and all the smaller vessels. Parker assigned him twelve sail of the line. But there were other perils than that of the fire of the enemy. The approach to Copenhagen was by an intricate and dangerous channel; and the Danes had removed or misplaced the buoys. Nelson, on the night of the 30th, proceeded himself in his boat to survey and re-buoy the outer channel. He was then meditating an attack from the eastward. This plan was changed; and on the morning of the 1st of April, the fleet took up another position off the north-western extremity of the Middle Ground, a shoal which extends along the whole sea-front of Copenhagen, leaving an intervening channel about three-quarters of a mile wide. Close to the city the Danes had moored their ships. They had

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," livre ix.

six sail of the line and eleven floating batteries, besides small vessels. Their line of defence nearest the town was flanked by two formidable works called the Crown Batteries. In the forenoon of the 1st, Nelson again reconnoitered the Danish position; and upon his return gave the signal to weigh. At about eight o'clock the ships dropped anchor, having coasted along the edge of the Middle Ground. Their anchorage was distant about two miles from the southernmost ship of the Danish line. Captain Hardy was employed in soundings, far into the night. When he reported that there was sufficient depth of water, there was no more sleep for the impatient vice-admiral. He was at work till morning with his clerks, preparing his orders for this day's terrible duty.

"It was ten of April morn by the chime:
As they drifted on their path
There was silence deep as death;
And the boldest held his breath,
For a time." *

Well might the bravest have some doubts. The pilots had been ordered on board Nelson's ship. They were mostly mates of vessels in the Baltic trade. Their indecision perplexed and irritated the vice-admiral. He said afterwards, that heaven only knew what he must have suffered: if any merit attached to him, it was for combating the dangers of the shallows in defiance of these pilots, who only wanted to keep their own heads clear of shot. The Edgar led the way. "The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the Middle, and was obliged to anchor.... The Bellona and Russell grounded.... These accidents prevented the extension of the line by the three ships." † The mistakes of the pilots led to the disasters of the Bellona and Russell; for they had said that the water shoaled on the larboard shore. Nelson came next to these ships, in the Elephant. He repaired the error, and led all the vessels astern of him safely on the starboard side. ‡ Captain Fremantle followed him in the Ganges. This officer says, "I dropped my anchor in the spot lord Nelson desired me from the gangway of the Elephant. In passing the line, my master was killed, and my pilot had his arm shot off, so that I was obliged to carry the ship in myself, and I had full employment on my hands." § By half-past eleven the action had become general. Nine ships of the line only could take part in it. The diminution of Nelson's available force by one fourth caused those who were in the action to suffer more from the enemy's ships and batteries. Captain Riou, with six frigates and sloops, was to assist in the attack of the ships at the mouth of the harbour. "These accidents," writes Nelson, "threw the gallant and good captain Riou under a very heavy fire: the consequence has been the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops." ‖ Admiral Parker, when the cannonade had lasted three hours, seeing how little progress to the scene of action had been made by three ships which he had sent as a reinforcement, gave the signal for discontinuing the engagement. That signal was No. 39. Nelson continued to walk the deck, without appearing to notice the

* Campbell—"Battle of the Baltic." † Nelson's Dispatch—"London Gazette."

‡ See, for these nautical details, James's "Naval History," which is more accurate in these matters than Southey's "Life of Nelson."

§ Letter, dated April 4th, in "Court and Cabinets," &c., vol. iii. p. 151. ‖ Dispatch.

signal. "Shall I repeat it?" said the signal-lieutenant. "No. Acknowledge it." He turned to the captain: "You know, Foley, I have only one eye. I can't see it," putting his glass to his blind eye.* "Nail my signal for close action to the mast," cried Nelson. Poor Riou saw the admiral's signal, and was killed as he hauled off from the tremendous fire to which he was exposed. About two the firing ceased along nearly the whole of the Danish line. But the vessels that had struck their flags fired on the boats that went to take possession of them. Fremantle says, "When the ships abreast of the Elephant and Ganges were completely silenced, lord Nelson desired me to go to him. He was in his cabin, talking to some Danish officers out of one of the ships captured, saying how anxious he was to meet the Russians, and wished it had been them, instead of Danes we had engaged. At this time he put into my hand a letter, which he meant immediately to send to the Crown Prince of Denmark in a flag of truce." It was the famous letter which he would not seal with a wafer, calling for wax and a candle, saying, "This is no time to appear hurried and informal:" "Vice-Admiral lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covers her shores has struck to the British flag; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave men who have so nobly defended them." Fremantle says, "At this time he was aware that our ships were cut to pieces, and it would be difficult to get them out." A Danish superior officer appeared in about half an hour with a note from the Crown Prince, desiring to know the particular object of sending the flag of truce. Nelson wrote, that his object was humanity; that he consented that hostilities should cease; that he would take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he should think fit; concluding with saying that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained, if it should effect a reconciliation between his own sovereign and the king of Denmark. The firing having ceased entirely, Nelson lost not a moment in endeavouring to get out of his dangerous position amongst the shoals. "We cut our cables and ran out," writes Fremantle. "The ships were so crippled they would not steer. The Elephant and Defiance both ran on shore. We ran on shore, and the Monarch." There were six sail of the line and a frigate fast on shore before the batteries ceased firing. Nelson left the Elephant, and went to his admiral in the London, following the Danish adjutant-general, who had gone to the flag-ship to negotiate for terms. It was agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours. During the night the boats of sir Hyde Parker's division were employed in getting the grounded ships afloat, and in bringing out the prizes.

This great battle was fought on Good Friday. The next day Nelson went on shore, as arranged, for an interview with the Crown Prince. The accounts of Nelson's reception by the Danish people, on his way to the palace, differ. "There were neither murmurs nor acclamations," says Southey. Nelson himself told Fremantle that "he was hailed with cheers by the multitude, who came to receive him at the water-side." Some consider the cheers as a tribute to Nelson's humanity in sparing the conquered in the prizes, when

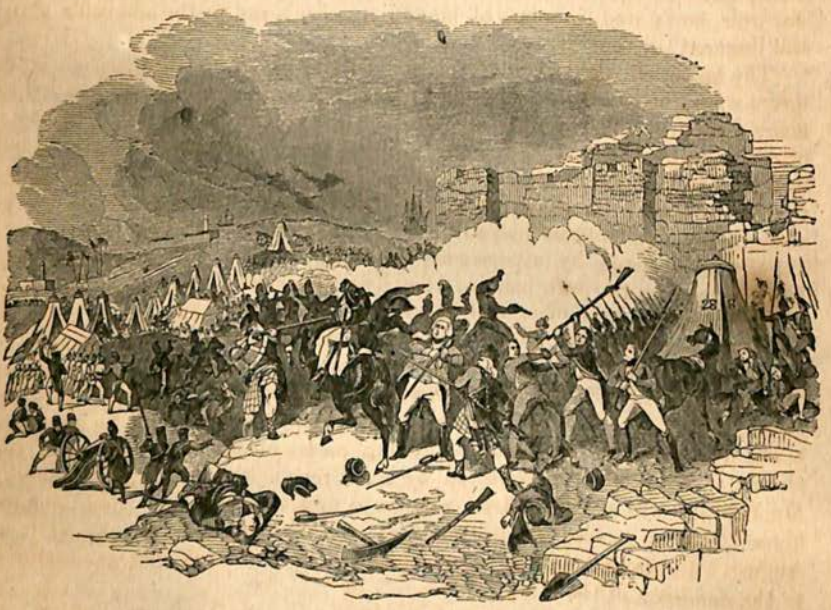
* Southey—"Life of Nelson."

he might have destroyed them. Fremantle attributes the popular feeling to distaste of the quarrel with England: "The populace are much in our favour, and the merchants already feel the total want of commerce." After a negotiation which lasted five days, an armistice for fourteen weeks was agreed upon. The Danish government wanted an armistice for a shorter period, for Nelson said plainly that he required a long term that he might act against the Russian fleet. He finally prevailed. The Danish prisoners and the wounded were sent on shore; to be credited to the account of Great Britain in the event of renewed hostilities. The prizes, with the exception of one sixty-four, were burned. The stores found in the captured vessels enabled our fleet to be refitted. Nelson went off to the Baltic to look for the Russians; but a sudden event had changed the temper of the Court of St. Petersburgh. The emperor Paul had been assassinated.

The czar of Russia was of a violent nature bordering on insanity, if he were not really mad. From being one of the fiercest haters of the French Revolution he had suddenly become an idolator of Bonaparte. Russia had sent her armies under Suwarroff to fight in the cause of the Allied powers in 1799. In 1800 Paul declared war against England, and burnt her merchant vessels. The suspension of the interchange of Russian products with British manufactures was fatal to the interests of the Russian proprietors of the soil. When they remonstrated, Paul threatened them with Siberia. Exile after exile was hurried away; the prisons were filled; executions were frequent; till the greatest and most powerful of the aristocracy began to think that their own safety could only be secured by the one terrible defence of enslaved populations against the caprices of their tyrants. His ministers, his wife, his children, were not safe from his fury. The palace in which he lived was guarded as a fortress. On the night of the 23d of March, the conspirators, by virtue of their military rank, obtained admission; and the czar was murdered in his bed-room. Bonaparte had the almost incredible meanness to promulgate in the *Moniteur* that the English government was to be suspected of this crime. The death of Paul destroyed one of his projects for the ruin of England. It broke up the adhesion of Russia to the Northern Treaty of Armed Neutrality; Sweden made no hostile demonstrations; and the armistice with Denmark was followed up by a general Convention in which all the disputes were adjusted.

The French army in Egypt, when left by Bonaparte under the command of Kléber, had contended with very partial success against the Turks, under the command of the Grand Vizier, assisted by an English fleet commanded by sir Sidney Smith. The Allies recovered the fortress of El Arish; and Kléber, left with a force which he felt to be unequal to the retention of the country, agreed to evacuate Egypt, by a treaty signed at El Arish in January, 1800. One of the conditions was that the French troops should return without molestation to Europe. The British government refused to ratify the treaty; and Kléber renewed the war with increased vigour. He achieved victories over the troops of the Grand Seignior, which appeared to give the French secure possession of the country which they now expected that they should colonize. On the 14th of June, 1800, this most able of the French generals was assassinated at Cairo by a fanatic; and the command fell to general Menou. The expedition under general Abercromby was undertaken

through the vigorous determination of Mr. Pitt to make one strenuous effort for the expulsion of the French. On the 2d of March, the English fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir—the scene of Nelson's great victory. Beneath the waters of that bay the hulk of L'Orient lay engulphed, and was touched by the cable of a ship of that armament that now came to finish the work of the 1st of August. It was two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March before a debarkation could be attempted. Five thousand five hundred troops first left their transports, and proceeded in a hundred and fifty boats towards the castle of Aboukir and the sand-hills where the French were posted. The sailors steadily rowed on; the soldiers sat unmoved; whilst showers of ball fell amongst them and all around them. The loss was considerable; but on went this first division in unbroken array. The shore was reached almost simultaneously by all the boats; the men jumped out



Battle of Alexandria.

into the surf, and were quickly charging up the sand-hills. A second party landed in the same style; and then a third. Bertrand, a French general at St. Helena, said that the landing of the first division was like a movement on the opera stage—in five or six minutes five thousand five hundred men stood in battle array.* The French retired; but our gallant fellows had five hundred killed or wounded. During the day Abercromby completed the landing of the remaining divisions of his army. But it was not so easy to land the cannon and stores. It was necessary also to invest the castle of Aboukir. It was the 12th before the British general advanced. On the

* Quoted by Alison from Las Cases.

13th a severe action took place, in which our loss was considerable. On the 19th the main armies of the two nations were in strong positions near Alexandria. Their numbers were nearly equal. Early in the morning of the 21st the French infantry under Lanusse commenced an attack on the British lines. Lanusse was driven back, and was killed. Another column came up to renew the attack; and now the French cavalry, with Menou at their head, made a desperate charge. The famous 42nd Highlanders bore the brunt of this conflict. Various were the changes of fortune through this fight, which began at day break and lasted till ten of the forenoon. At length Menou retreated. Early in the day Abercromby received a wound which proved mortal. When the French cavalry charged he galloped to the spot; was unhorsed; but with his own hand the gallant soldier, who had seen sixty-two years, disarmed the enemy who had wounded him. He again mounted his horse, and concealed his hurt from his faithful soldiers. When the action was over, he fainted from loss of blood; was conveyed to the admiral's ship; and lingered till the 28th.

The battle of Alexandria first destroyed the belief that the British land-forces were unequal to a struggle with the troops that Bonaparte had led to many a victory. The French were no longer "the Invincibles." The army of Abercromby had lost its veteran leader; but the command did not fall into the hands of one destitute of vigour. General Hutchinson was reinforced; the Turks under the Grand Vizier again advanced through the desert to encounter the enemy that had so severely handled them in the previous year. They were assisted by experienced English officers. On the 20th of May Hutchinson, on the left bank of the Nile, invested Cairo, which had been strongly fortified by Kléber and Menou. The Grand Vizier was in force on the opposite bank. The Indian army under general Baird was daily expected to arrive from Bombay. Belliard, who commanded at Cairo, proposed to capitulate; and it was at once agreed to accept the same conditions as those of the rejected treaty of El Arish—that the French troops should be conveyed home, with their arms, baggage, and ten pieces of artillery. Many of the objects of Egyptian art, collected by the French, were to be surrendered.* Menou, who was at Alexandria, refused at first to accept the conditions for himself, but he yielded to the presence of a British force on the 27th of August. In that autumn Egypt was cleared of the French, and was restored to the dominion of the Sultan.

At the period when the Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers was broken up, chiefly by our naval preponderance, and the first successes of the British arms in Egypt had given the people some confidence in our generals and soldiers, there were negotiations for peace with France proceeding in London with great secrecy. M. Otto, a French protestant, of some experience in diplomacy, had been in London since 1799. In August 1800, during the suspension of arms between Austria and France, the First Consul gave to "Citizen Otto, commissary of the government for the exchange of French prisoners in England, power to propose, consent to, and sign a general

* The Rosetta stone, and the sarcophagus of Alexander, now in the British Museum, were amongst these ancient monuments; many of which the French were ultimately allowed to take with them.

armistice" between the French Republic and Great Britain. The papers which related to this negotiation, which had reference also to a negotiation for peace, were laid before Parliament. The negotiation was broken off; and M. Otto had little reason to think that his peace-making services would be again required, when France had compelled the peace of Luneville, and Bonaparte was proclaiming his intention immediately to invade England. Mr. Pitt, had he remained in power, would probably have rejected any pacific overtures made to Great Britain, when she stood alone in her resistance to the government whose territory was now only bounded by the Rhine; which dominated over Italy; to which Holland and Spain were vassals. Having prepared for one great effort in the Baltic and in Egypt, Pitt would have waited the result in the attitude of majestic pride. Could he have made the Union with Ireland a real Union, he would still have defied France, and even Europe prostrate before her. To the weak government of Addington, M. Otto could apply with more hope of success. He was in indirect communication with the first minister in May; his visits to lord Hawkesbury were frequent during the summer. In August, Bonaparte, either in bravado, or with a real purpose, was threatening invasion. The French armies were, for the most part, at home, eager for employment. It was determined to invade England, not with a hundred thousand men carried over in transports, convoyed by a powerful fleet. That dream was at an end. The hundred thousand men were to come over in a flotilla of gun-brigs, or rafts—flat vessels of about 200 tons, armed each with four or eight heavy guns. Such a flotilla was collected at Boulogne. Nelson was sent in August to attack this flotilla—to cut it out of the harbour. He failed. In the middle of September the best informed men did not think that there would be any suspension of hostilities. "I confess," wrote Cornwallis, who commanded the forces on the Eastern coast, "that I see no prospect of peace, or of anything good." At this moment Bonaparte was pressing on the negotiations for peace. "The First Consul," says Thiers, "in seeing what were the first acts of Menou, had judged the campaign lost, and he was desirous, before the dénouement that he foretold, to have a treaty signed at London. The English minister," Thiers adds, "incapable of seeing beforehand, as Bonaparte had seen, the result of events, feared some vigorous blow from the French army in Egypt, so renowned for its valour." * The Preliminary Articles of Peace between the United Kingdom and the French Republic were signed at London, on the first of October, by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. Hostilities were to cease as soon as the preliminaries should be signed and ratified, which ratification was to take place within fifteen days. Immediately after their ratification plenipotentiaries were to be named on each side, who should repair to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a Definitive Treaty of Peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

The burst of popular enthusiasm at the news of Peace was, naturally, somewhat extravagant. General Lauriston arrived in London with the ratification on the 10th of October. When he was proceeding with M. Otto to Whitehall, the populace took the horses from the carriage, dragged it to Downing Street, and into the Park to the garden entrance to the Admiralty. There

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," livre xi.

stood lord St. Vincent, who thus addressed the mob:—"Gentlemen! gentlemen! (three huzzas) let me request you to be as orderly as possible, and if you are determined to drag the gentleman, accompanied by M. Otto, I request you to be careful, and not overturn the carriage." * The mob cheered, and dragged the Frenchmen home. There were illuminations in London for two nights. The rejoicings throughout the country were equally demonstrative of natural gladness that the war was at an end, no matter how. Wilberforce was at Bath, and writes in his Diary, "The people intoxicated with joy here, and everywhere." The king was not pleased with the peace. He wrote to lord Eldon on the 28th of October, approving of the election of an alderman of London, for he was a loyal subject and diligent magistrate. "Such men are peculiarly suited for the present year, when, by the embarrassed situation from the trial of peace with a turbulent and revolutionary republic, every attention of the police must be exerted to avoid the dangers and difficulties that may otherwise ensue." † The king talked more wisely to lord Malmesbury in November. "Do you know what I call the Peace?—an experimental Peace, for it is nothing else. But it was unavoidable." ‡ "During October," says Malmesbury, "I observed that the people's joy, which was immoderate at first, abated; and that the more thinking and wiser part of the community began to demur as to all the certain advantages that must follow peace." The veteran negotiator did not much care whether the terms were better or worse than those which he had proposed at Lisle. Had peace, he thought, been made at Lisle, France would have been under a moderate government, desirous to consolidate the power she had attained. "The government of France, whilst Bonaparte remains as First Consul, is like that of Persia under Kouli Khan; it knows no bounds, either moral or civil—is ruled by no principles; and to pretend to say that Bonaparte's ambition is circumscribed, or that, with the means of doing everything, he will do nothing, is talking criminal nonsense." § It was not very long before all England came to lord Malmesbury's opinion. The terms of the Preliminaries were discussed in Parliament. We shall briefly notice the final terms of the Definitive Treaty. In the debates in November, Sheridan best expressed the common feeling of the nation: "This is a peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of." Fox did not express the common feeling of the nation when he wrote: "Bonaparte's triumph is now complete indeed, and since there is to be no political liberty in the world, I really believe he is the fittest person to be master." ‖

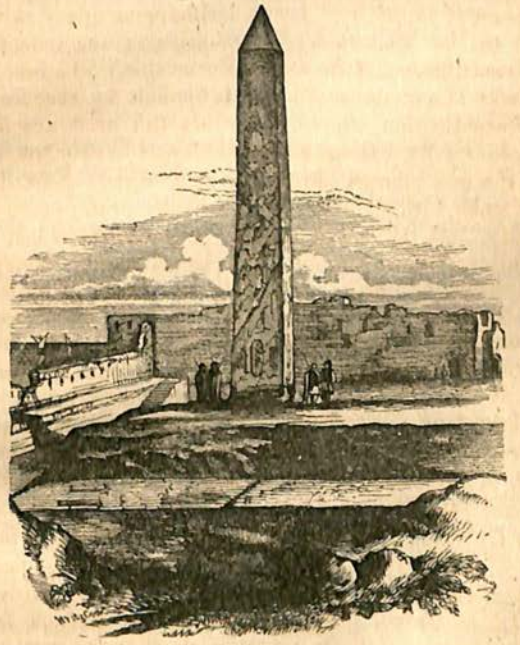
The marquis Cornwallis was appointed as plenipotentiary to conduct the negotiations at Amiens. A more subtle diplomatist might have been chosen, but it would have been difficult to have found one more honest. He arrived in Paris on the 7th of November. On the 10th he had an audience of Bonaparte. The First Consul was gracious; inquired after the health of the king; and "spoke of the British nation in terms of great respect, intimating

* "Annual Register," 1801, p. 33.
† Twiss—"Life of Eldon," vol. i. p. 398.
‡ Malmesbury—"Diaries," vol. iv. p. 65.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 63.
‖ Correspondence of Fox, vol. iii. p. 345.

that as long as we remained friends there would be no interruption to the peace of Europe." Bonaparte might have thought the millennium was at hand when Cornwallis thus addressed him: "I told him that the horrors which succeeded the Revolution had created a general alarm; that all the neighbouring nations dreaded the contagion; that when, for the happiness of mankind, and of France in particular, he was called to fill his present station, we knew him only as a hero and a conqueror; but the good order and tranquillity which the country now enjoyed, made us respect him as a statesman and a legislator, and had removed our apprehensions of having connection and intercourse with France."* Cornwallis fancied that he might have had frequent interviews with the First Consul, and that they could have got through the business without diplomatic delays. He soon found that he was not likely to have any such confidential communications. They had another interview; and then Cornwallis went to Amiens, to negotiate with Joseph Bonaparte, who was described by his brother as "a just and fair man." Our ambassador felt that in his two conversations with the First Consul, he spoke in the tone of a king—("*Il parle en roi*")—"I would rather give up; it is hard upon me; I will take care of the Stadtholder." † Bonaparte was indeed as absolute as any king. Lord Broome, (the son of Cornwallis,) who accompanied him, writes: "I believe Windham would find it difficult to discover any Jacobin principle in the constitution, which is certainly the most despotic that ever existed in any country." ‡ It would be idle for us to attempt to unravel the tangled web of the four months' diplomacy at Amiens. New demands were set up by the French, although they had originally professed to adhere to the preliminary treaty. At the end of January, Cornwallis has lost confidence in the negotiations terminating happily. "What can be expected from a nation naturally overbearing and insolent, when all the powers of Europe are prostrating themselves at its feet, and supplicating for forgiveness and future favour, except one little island, which, by land, at least, is reduced to a strict and at best a very inconvenient defensive?" § In January, Bonaparte had gone to Lyons, and had there accepted, from the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, the Presidency of those States—in other words, the sovereignty. Hawkesbury wrote to complain to Cornwallis of "the inordinate ambition, the gross breach of faith, and the inclination to insult Europe, manifested by the First Consul on this occasion." Nevertheless, said our Foreign Secretary, "the Government here are desirous of avoiding to take notice of these proceedings, and are sincerely desirous to conclude the peace, if it can be obtained on terms consistent with our honour." ‖ The Definitive Treaty was signed on the 27th of March, without any material variation from the Preliminaries. The question of Malta, upon which the war was ostensibly renewed, was left in a very ambiguous position. By the Preliminary Treaty, it was stipulated that Malta should be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. "For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a

* Cornwallis—"Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 390.
† *Ibid.*, p. 406. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 410. § *Ibid.*, p. 489.
‖ *Ibid*, p. 457.

third power, to be agreed upon in the Definitive Treaty." This was a constant subject of contention at Amiens. The knights of Malta were in truth a nullity. The guarantee was to be given for a scattered and bankrupt body, with a traitor as their nominal head, who had betrayed the island to the French. The end was a compromise, sure to produce a quarrel. There was no ambiguity about Great Britain surrendering all the conquests she had made in the war, except Ceylon, taken from the Dutch, and Trinidad, taken from the Spaniards. The French were to evacuate Naples and the Papal States. Egypt was to be restored to the Sultan. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was to be recognized. The integrity of Portugal was guaranteed. The French retained all that they had acquired in Europe by the war. The Balance of Power, the orthodox creed of a century, had received many rude assaults; it had now become "a creed outworn."



Cleopatra's Needle, Alexandria.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from volume vi. page 468.)

1787 August 18 : the Turks declare war against Russia.

1788 February 10 : the Emperor of Germany joined Russia against Turkey.

1788 September 25 : the King of France convened the States-General to assemble in January, 1789.

1790 September 27 : the preliminary treaty ratified with Spain, relative to Nootka Sound ; definitive treaty signed on the 28th October.

1791 July 20 : *convention of Pilnitz*, between the Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia.

1792 April 20 : the French National Assembly declared war against the Emperor of Germany.

1792 June 26 : the *first coalition* against France took place, and the King of Prussia issued his manifesto.

1792 September 16 : war declared against Sardinia by the French National Assembly.

1793 February 1 : France declared war against Great Britain and Holland.

1793 February 9 : The Duke of Tuscany acknowledged the French Republic.

1793 May 25 : Spain engaged to assist Great Britain.

1793 September 3 : the King of Naples declared war against the French Republic.

1793 Great Britain concluded treaties, July 14, with Prussia ; August 30, with Austria ; and September 26, with Portugal.

1795 February 15 : the first pacification between the National Assembly of France and the Vendeans, concluded.

1795 February 18 : a defensive alliance entered into with Russia, by Great Britain.

1795 April 5 : *peace of Basle*, between the King of Prussia and the French Republic.

1795 May 16 : treaty of alliance signed at Paris, between France and the United Provinces, against England. Dutch Flanders ceded to France.

1795 July 22 : peace ratified at Basle between France and Spain. Spanish St. Domingo ceded to France.

1795 November 25 : *the partition of Poland* took place between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

1796 May 15 : *treaty of Paris*, between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia, the latter ceding Savoy, Nice, the territory of Tende, and Beuil, and granting a free passage for troops through his states.

1796 August 5 : the *treaty of Berlin* ratified between Prussia and France, whereby the neutrality of the north of Germany was guaranteed.

1796 August 19 : an *alliance* offensive and defensive concluded at *St. Ildefonso*, between France and Spain.

1796 October 6 : war declared by Spain against Great Britain.

1797 February 19 : *treaty of Tolentino*, between the French Republic and the Pope.

1797 April 18 : preliminaries of the *peace of Leoben* signed between Austria and France.

1797 October 17 : *treaty of Campo Formio*, between France and Austria, the latter power yielding the Low Countries and the Ionian Islands to France ; and Milan, Mantua, and Modena, to the Cisalpine republic ; Venice assigned to the Emperor.

1797 December 9 : *congress of Radstadt* commenced its labours to treat concerning a general peace with the Germanic powers.

1798 Switzerland invaded by the French.

1798 September 12 ; war declared against France by the Porte, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the latter power, Russia, and Great Britain.

1798 October 3 : Naples and Sardinia commence hostilities against France.

1798 December 29 : a treaty of alliance and subsidies, agreed upon between Great Britain and Russia, against France.

1799 June 22 : the *second coalition* against France, by Great Britain, the Emperors of Germany and Russia, part of the German empire, the Kings of Naples and Portugal, Turkey, and the Barbary States. Conference of Radstadt broken up.

1800 June 20 : a treaty of subsidies ratified at Vienna, between Austria and England, stipulating that the war should be vigorously prosecuted against France, and that neither of the contracting powers should enter into a separate peace.

1800 December 16 : a *treaty of armed neutrality ratified*, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, at Petersburgh, in order to cause their flags to be respected by the belligerent powers.

1801 February 9 : *peace of Luneville*, between the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany, confirming the cessions made by the treaty of Campo Formio, stipulating that the Rhine, to the Dutch territories, should form the boundary of France, and recognizing the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics.

1801 March 3 : war declared by Spain against Portugal.

1801 March 21 : a treaty signed at Madrid between France and Spain, whereby the estates of Parma were yielded to France, who in return ceded Tuscany to the Prince of Parma, with the title of King of Etruria.

1801 March 28 : a treaty of peace between France and the King of Naples, signed at Florence, by which France acquired the Isles of Elba, Piombino, and Presides.

1801 June 17 : a treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia at Petersburgh.

1801 July 15 : the *Concordat* between Bonaparte and Pius VII., signed at Paris.

1801 August 8: a treaty of peace concluded between Spain and Portugal.

1801 September 29 : a treaty of peace signed at Madrid, between France and Portugal.

1801 October 1: preliminary articles of peace between France and England, signed at London by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto.

1801 October 8: a treaty of peace ratified at Paris between the Emperor of Russia and the French government.

1802 March 25 : *peace of Amiens* between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland.

1802 June 25 : definitive treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte.

POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.	ESTIMATE, 1700.	ESTIMATE, 1750.	CENSUS, 1801.
Bedford	48,500	53,900	65,500
Berks	74,700	92,700	112,800
Buckingham	80,500	90,700	111,000
Cambridge	76,000	72,000	92,300
Chester	107,000	131,600	198,100
Cornwall	105,800	135,000	194,500
Cumberland	62,300	86,900	121,100
Derby	93,800	109,500	166,500
Devon	248,200	272,200	354,400
Dorset	90,000	96,400	119,100
Durham	95,500	135,000	165,700
Essex	159,200	167,800	234,000
Gloucester	155,200	207,800	259,100
Herefor	60,900	74,100	92,100
Hertfor	70,500	86,500	100,800
Huntingdon	34,700	32,500	38,800
Kent	153,800	190,000	317,800
Lancaster	166,200	297,400	695,100
Leicester	80,000	95,000	134,400
Lincoln	180,000	160,200	215,500
Middlesex	624,200	641,500	845,400
Monmouth	39,700	40,600	47,100
Norfolk	210,200	215,100	282,400
Northampton	119,500	123,300	136,100
Northumberland	118,000	141,700	162,300
Nottingham	65,200	77,600	145,000
Oxford	79,000	92,400	113,200
Rutland	16,600	13,800	16,900
Salop (Shrop.)	101,600	130,300	172,200
Somerset	195,900	224,500	282,800
Hampshire	118,700	137,500	226,900
Stafford	117,200	160,000	247,100
Suffolk	152,700	156,800	217,400
Surrey	154,900	207,100	278,000
Sussex	91,400	107,400	164,600
Warwick	96,600	140,000	215,100
Westmoreland	28,600	36,300	43,000
Wilts	153,900	168,400	191,200
Worcester	88,200	108,000	143,900
York, East Riding	96,200	85,500	144,000
York, North Riding	98,600	117,200	160,500
York, West Riding	236,700	361,500	582,700
England	5,108,500	6,017,700	8,609,000
Wales	366,500	449,300	559,000
	5,475,000	6,467,000	9,168,000
Scotland			1,652,400
Total, Great Britain			10,820,400

*** The numbers of the Army, Navy, &c., are added in these enumerations to the numbers of the Resident Population.

COUNTIES OF WALES.	1801.
Anglesey	35,000
Brecon	32,700
Cardigan	44,100
Carmarthen	69,600
Carnarvon	43,000
Denbigh	62,400
Flint	41,000
Glamorgan	74,000
Merioneth	30,500
Montgomery	49,300
Pembroke	58,200
Radnor	19,700
Total	559,000

SHIRES OF SCOTLAND.	1801.
Aberdeen	127,200
Argyll	74,300
Ayr	87,100
Banff	37,000
Berwick	31,600
Bute	12,200
Caithness	23,400
Clackmannan	11,200
Dumbarton	21,400
Dumfries	56,400
Edinburgh	127,100
Elgin	27,600
Fife	96,900
Forfar	102,400
Haddington	31,000
Inverness	76,800
Kincardine	27,200
Kinross	6,900
Kirkcudbright	30,200
Lanark	151,600
Linlithgow	18,400
Nairn	8,500
Orkney & Shetland	48,400
Peebles	9,000
Perth	130,600
Renfrew	80,700
Ross and Cromarty	57,200
Roxburgh	34,800
Selkirk	5,200
Stirling	52,500
Sutherland	23,900
Wigtown	23,700
Total	1,652,400

Boulogne.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Peace a precarious armistice—Demands of Bonaparte—English in France—French encroachments—The king's allusion to them in his Speech—French expedition to St. Domingo—Toussaint L'Ouverture—Mr. Addington's policy—Bonaparte and lord Whitworth—Trial of Peltier—Speech of Macintosh—Despard's conspiracy—Militia called out—Violence of Bonaparte towards the British ambassador—Malta—War declared—Negotiations for Mr. Pitt's return to power—Detention in France of English travellers—Great Britain roused—Preparations for invasion—Emmett's insurrection—Rapid enrolment of Volunteers—Bonaparte at Boulogne—Pitt at Walmer—The Volunteers reviewed—Weakness of the Addington ministry—The king's illness—Negotiations for a change of ministry—Pitt presses for an administration on a broad basis—His failure—Pitt prime minister—Conspiracy against the First Consul—Murder of the Duc d'Enghien.

Let us compare the opinions of two historians on the likelihood of the duration of peace. "The treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed, when the restless ambition and the insupportable insolence of the First Consul convinced the great body of the English people that the peace, so eagerly welcomed, was only a precarious armistice."* We turn from the view of Macaulay to that of Thiers: "The treaty of Amiens had been signed only a few months, and their joy at the peace had a little cooled amongst the English, when there remained before their eyes, as if it were a bright and troublesome light, the grandeur of France, unhappily too little disguised in the person of the First Consul. Some civilities to Mr. Fox, on his visit to Paris, did not prevent their seeing that the First Consul had the attitude of

* Macaulay—"Biographies," Pitt, p. 217.

master, not only in the affairs of France, but in the affairs of Europe. His language, full of genius and ambition, offended the pride of the English; his devouring activity disturbed their repose."* What the English historian calls "insupportable insolence," the French historian describes as "language full of genius and ambition." Two months only had passed since the conclusion of peace, when M. Otto said that if paragraphs against Bonaparte continued to appear in the English papers, there would be "war to the death."† The casual conversations of M. Otto soon took the form of positive demands on the part of the First Consul. They were these: To put a stop to offensive publications; to send away certain disaffected persons and transport others; to require the princes of the house of Bourbon, resident in England, to repair to Warsaw; to expel all French emigrants who may wear decorations belonging to the ancient government of France. M. Otto was told by lord Hawkesbury that "no representation of a foreign power would ever induce government to violate those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded:" that if emigrants did not break the laws they could not be molested; that the law admitted no previous restraints upon publications; and that the law alone was the only protection which the government itself possessed or required against libels. Words incomprehensible to despotism! "Alas," says M. Thiers, "the First Consul descended from his glorious height to listen to pamphleteers, and to deliver himself to transports as violent as they were unworthy of him. To outrage him, the wise, the victorious, what an unpardonable crime! Torrents of blood must flow, because pamphleteers, always assailing their own government, had insulted a stranger—a great man, without doubt, but a man, after all, and the chief of a rival nation."‡

The Session of Parliament was closed on the 28th of June, and the Parliament was dissolved on the following day. Mr. Speaker Abbot, in addressing the king, said, "We now indulge the flattering hope that we may cultivate the arts of peace." The country generally did not indulge that hope. The people began "at last to apprehend that neither credit, satisfaction, nor even security, had been attained by the treaty of Amiens."§ Yet there was a feeling amongst the higher and richer classes more intense than dread of the ambition, or indignation at the arrogance, of Bonaparte:

> "Is it a reed that's shaken by the wind,
> Or what is it, that ye go forth to see?
> Lords, lawyers, statesmen, squires of low degree,
> Men known, and men unknown; sick, lame, and blind,
> Post forward all, like creatures of one kind,
> With first-fruit offerings crowd to bend the knee
> In France, before the new-born majesty."‖

Much of the rush to France was a natural curiosity. Certainly amongst many there were higher motives in the desire to look upon a country in which ten years had produced such marvellous changes, than a slavish

* Thiers—"Le Consulat et l'Empire," tom. xvii. p. 845. 1860.
† "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 153.
‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tom. xvii. p. 846.
§ Malmesbury—"Diary," May to October, 1802.
‖ Wordsworth—Sonnet, 1802.

admiration of irresponsible power. And yet Romilly, who was in Paris in September, had a kindred feeling with the poet who had seen France,

"When faith was pledged to new-born Liberty."

"Talleyrand sent me word, by Charles Fox, that I might be presented to-day (Anniversary of the Republic) to the First Consul, together with Erskine, at his levee at the Tuileries. I had been disgusted at the eagerness with which the English crowded to do homage at the new court of a usurper and a tyrant, and I made an excuse." Bonaparte had then become Consul for life, with power to choose his successor. "A more absolute despotism," says Romilly, "than that which now exists here, France never experienced." The police was never so vigilant; there was no freedom of discussion; the press was never so restrained; all English newspapers were prohibited; spies were in every society; all this machinery of despotism was carried on in the name of liberty and equality. The despotism was endured and even coveted, for it "is a sort of paradise, compared with the agitation, the perpetual alarm, the scenes of infamy and bloodshed which accompanied the pretended liberties of France."*

When the Session of the new Parliament was opened on the 23rd of November, there was something ominous in the King's Speech. In his intercourse with foreign powers he had been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace; but it was nevertheless impossible to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own. "I cannot, therefore," continued the king, "be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength." During the progress of the negotiations at Amiens, Bonaparte had become the Dictator of the Cisalpine Republic. After the conclusion of the peace, the First Consul, to use the sugared words of M. Thiers, "exercising in Switzerland his beneficent dictation, sent an army to Berne." The government of Mr. Addington made a mild remonstrance, which was answered by Bonaparte asserting that the king of England "had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings, of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."† In September, Piedmont was formally annexed to the French territory. The First Consul had stipulated with the Batavian Republic, that he would withdraw the French auxiliary troops on the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. At the end of October the British minister at the Hague reported that 11,000 French soldiers were halted on the Dutch frontiers, and that their pay and maintenance was demanded from the Batavian government. It was time that the recommendation in the king's speech should be attended to—that the means of security for preserving peace should be adopted. These means were represented by a vote for 129,000 land forces, and 50,000 seamen and marines. The necessity for an additional military establishment was supported by the statement that France had a total regular force of 427,000 men, and altogether had at command 929,000 men.‡ The vote for

* Romilly—"Diary," October, 1802.
† Declaration of the British Government, 18th May, 1803.
‡ Debate on the Army Estimates, December 8th.

additional seamen was urged as an imperious necessity, required on account of "a large armament being fitted out in the ports of a rival nation." Mr. Windham said of the French, "their temple of liberty is transformed into the temple of Mars." * In the debates on these estimates Mr. Fox held that, "with regard to the views of Bonaparte, he saw no reason why, having gained great military glory, his ambition might not now induce him to turn his attention to the improvement of the commerce of his country." Previous to the debate on the Army Estimates, Fox wrote to Sheridan, "I am very much against your abusing Bonaparte, because I am sure it is impolitic both for the country and ourselves. But,—as you please; only, for God's sake, Peace." †

There is an entry in Mr. Wilberforce's Diary of the 3rd of February, 1803, which has reference to an unreported debate of that day, when Parliament re-assembled after the recess: "House of Commons. Busy about our helping Bonaparte with ships for St. Domingo." The help was given by British merchants, who had agreed to let out their ships to the French to carry over troops and stores to that island, which was struggling for the freedom of the blacks. Addington was cool about this transaction, and half defended it. Pitt reprobated what Wilberforce describes as a monstrous crime. Whilst the negotiations at Amiens were proceeding, the French government was preparing an expedition upon the largest scale for the destruction of the government in St. Domingo, where, after a long struggle, the military genius and the political sagacity of Toussaint L'Ouverture had succeeded in establishing the civil and military dominion of free negroes, of which government he was the undisputed head.‡ The English ministry made some remonstrance against the formidable outfit of the French expedition; but the First Consul said that "we were materially interested in the reduction of Toussaint's power, who would otherwise establish in the West Indies a piratical state." § The French republican government had in 1794 issued a proclamation emancipating the slaves. Toussaint became from that time a supporter of France, and in 1796 was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo. He manifested his confidence in the French by sending his children to be educated in Paris. By the time Bonaparte had assumed the reins of power, Toussaint had reduced St. Domingo to a condition of tranquillity; and had exercised a strict but just sway, which allowed the agriculture and commerce of the great island to attain some degree of their ancient prosperity. In 1801, the leading chiefs, in a Constitution which they formed, appointed Toussaint President and Governor for life. He apprised Bonaparte of his new dignity in a letter beginning, "The first of Blacks to the first of Whites." This was probably held an assumption not to be endured. The expedition was instantly prepared; and a fleet of nearly a hundred and forty vessels, with twenty-one thousand troops, sailed on the 14th of December, 1801. When this great force appeared off the island, Toussaint was disheartened. He nevertheless resisted for some time, until some of his generals were won over by the generals of Bonaparte, on receiving

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxvi. col. 1096.

† Moore—"Life of Sheridan," p. 599—quarto ed.

‡ See *ante*, p. 260.

§ "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 400.

promises of honours and rewards. Toussaint resisted; because he knew that the object of the French was to re-establish slavery, as they had done in Guadaloupe. He was finally compelled to submit; but he refused to accept any authority at the hands of those who brought fetters for his African

Toussaint L'Ouverture.

brethren. He retired to his farm in the mountains, where he remained for two months. But, being invited to a conference with the French generals, he left his retreat, was arrested, and with his wife and children was taken on board a vessel of war and carried to Brest. He was finally immured in the castle of Joux, near Besançon; was subjected to the most frightful severities; and died there on the 27th of April, 1803.* The death of Toussaint produced a deep impression in England. The abolition of the Slave Trade had been agitated in every recent session of Parliament, and the fate of the heroic negro was ever in men's minds when they thought of the wrongs of his race. In his treatment, in the name of Liberty and Equality, they saw that magnanimity formed no portion of the nature of the First Consul.

Since the conclusion of the peace, Mr. Addington had endured a good deal of reproach as a man incompetent to direct the affairs of the country at a crisis of great difficulty and danger. He was held to be too timid in his dealings with France. On the 19th of February, he told lord Malmesbury that his maxim was "to resist or bear all clamour and invective at home till such time as France (and he ever foresaw it must happen) had filled the measure of her folly, and had put herself completely in the wrong."† That time the minister thought had arrived. Bonaparte had published in the "Moniteur" of the 30th of January, a Report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent by him to explore Egypt and Syria. This Report stated that with a few thousand men France might easily reconquer Egypt; that the people were in love with the French and hated the English; and that the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands were ready to declare for the French. Addington told Malmesbury that the Cabinet, in consequence of this Report,

* For an interesting description of this prison, see Miss Martineau's "The Hour and the Man," vol. iii. p. 258.

† Malmesbury—"Diaries," &c., vol. iv. p. 243.

had directed lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to declare that the First Consul's views on Egypt were now made manifest; that his intention of annulling the Republic of the Seven Islands was also demonstrated; that every part of the Report betrayed views of hostile aggrandizement, as regarded Great Britain; and that until a full and unequivocal explanation was given, the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Amiens respecting Malta could not be expected. This dispatch to lord Whitworth went on the 7th. On the 24th the ambassador sent an account of what had taken place at the Tuileries on the morning of the 18th. Bonaparte harangued him for two hours, lord Whitworth in vain trying to put in a word:—Every wind that blew from Dover brought additional instances of our personal dislike to him; there were two French newspapers paid by us to abuse him; had we

Lord Whitworth.

treated him with confidence and attention he was ready to have joined with us in governing the world, which, with his army and our fleet, might certainly be done; that he now saw plainly that the two countries must ever be at enmity, if not at war; that the mode in which we had taken up the affair of his officer in Egypt was injurious and unwarrantable; that he had rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than in possession of Malta; that he would not provoke war, but that he had an army of 400,000 men, with which he would attack us at home, command the expedition himself, run all risks, and sacrifice army after army till he succeeded. Lord Whitworth replied with calmness; noticing that the acquisitions which France had made since the peace, and those she evidently had in contemplation to make, rendered it impossible for England to remain quiet. "What," said Bonaparte, "you mean France has got Piedmont, and part of Switzerland—*deux miserables bagatelles.*"

Within a day or two of this memorable interview, another cause of offence was blown by the winds over the Straits of Dover. One of the French papers published in London, *L'Ambigu*, conducted by M. Peltier, a royalist emigrant, contained many bitter reproaches and insinuations against Bonaparte. The First Consul had demanded, as we have seen, that a vigour beyond the law should be exercised with regard to journals; he required that

Peltier should be banished, but he was told that the law alone could give him redress. He then demanded the prosecution of Peltier by the attorney-general for "a libel on a friendly government." This was putting his complaint upon a right issue. Mr. Perceval opened the case for the crown; Mr. Macintosh defended Peltier. The jury returned a verdict for the crown, and so far Bonaparte had every reason to be satisfied with the impartiality of the English laws. But Peltier published a report of the trial, with a full translation of the speech of Macintosh, which, re-translated into other languages—and amongst the translators was Madame de Stael—was circulated throughout Europe, with the exception, no doubt, of France. The triumph of the First Consul in the verdict of an English jury must have been a small compensation for the surpassing eloquence of an English advocate. The triumph of Bonaparte was nothing to the triumph of dispassionate Englishmen in the assertion of the majesty of the law under which they lived. Their feelings would go with the great advocate. Their judgments would go with the verdict against an unscrupulous writer, who had hinted at assassination as a remedy for the evils of tyranny. It was difficult to come to a sound conclusion, under the power of such eloquence. "Gentlemen," said Macintosh to the jury, "the real prosecutor in this case is the master of the greatest empire the civilized world ever saw. The defendant is a defenceless, proscribed exile..... I am to consider this as the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press remaining in Europe." It is impossible to give a notion of the grandeur of the speech of Macintosh. On the Stock Exchange of London, it was thought that the acquittal of Peltier would be considered in France as tantamount to a declaration of war. The eloquence poured forth in his defence was in reality the manifesto of a nation, and not the formal declaration of war by a government. When all freedom of opinion had been trampled down in France, let us consider what must have been the effect in England of such words as these: "One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen, and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British Empire." Having proceeded to describe "circumstances in the history of this country which have induced our ancestors at all times to handle, with more than ordinary tenderness, that branch of the liberty of discussion which is applied to the conduct of foreign states," the orator indirectly, but not the less distinctly, pointed to the attitude of France at the moment in which he was speaking: "When vast projects of aggrandizement are manifested, when schemes of criminal ambition are carried into effect, the day of battle is fast approaching for England. Her free government cannot engage in dangerous wars, without the hearty and affectionate support of her people. A state thus situated cannot, without the utmost peril, silence those public discussions which are to point the popular indignation against those who must soon be enemies. In domestic dissensions, it may sometimes be the supposed interest of government to overawe

the press. But it never can be even their apparent interest when the danger is purely foreign. A king of England who, in such circumstances, should conspire against the free press of this country, would undermine the foundations of his own throne; he would silence the trumpet which is to call his people round his standard."

Whilst the trial of Peltier was proceeding in the Court of King's Bench on the 21st of February, a fearful tragedy was enacted at the new gaol in the Borough. Colonel Despard and six accomplices were executed for high treason. This was no case of constructive treason. Edward Marcus Despard, a native of Ireland, had served in our army with a bravery and good conduct to which lord Nelson bore testimony on his trial. Towards the close of the war he had preferred some claim against government which was not attended to; had become irritated; and had so conducted himself as to be arrested, and confined in Coldbath Fields prison, until he was released by the expiration of the Act for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus. Maddened into wild prospects of revenge, this fierce enthusiast engaged privates of the Guards, and some of the humblest workmen, in a conspiracy which he said was to have the most extensive ramifications, for killing the king; for attacking the Tower; for taking possession of the Bank, the public offices, and the Houses of Parliament. During the trial it was distinctly ascertained that there was no foreign instigation to this wild plot; and that the obscure actors, who met in low public houses, had no correspondence in any other part of the United Kingdom. The madman had seduced ignorant men to believe in him; and he and they suffered the penalty of the highest crime known to the law.

On the 8th of March, a Royal Message was delivered to Parliament, for calling out the Militia, "in consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, whilst important discussions are subsisting between his Majesty and the French government." On the 14th lord Whitworth sent a remarkable dispatch to lord Hawkesbury, the official publication of which in May had been anticipated by the details of all the journals of Europe, except those of France. At the Court of the Tuileries on Sunday, the 13th of March, an extraordinary scene between Bonaparte and the British ambassador took place, in the presence of two hundred persons, including the foreign ministers. Whilst the ambassadors were waiting for their audience, we are informed by M. Thiers, "the First Consul was with Madame Bonaparte in her apartment, playing with the infant who was then intended to be his heir, the newly-born son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense de Beauharnais."* The name of lord Whitworth was announced, continues Thiers. "It produced upon the First Consul a visible impression. He left the child; took abruptly the hand of Madame Bonaparte; rushed through the door which opened into the saloon of reception; passed before the foreign ministers who pressed around him, and went straight to lord Whitworth." Then came a series of rapid interrogations and reproaches: Have you any news from England?—So you are determined to go to war!—No; said the ambassador, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—You wish then for war?

* Louis and Hortense (the daughter of Josephine by her first husband) were married in 1802. The infant was their first son. Louis Napoleon, emperor of the French, is the third son.

Lord Whitworth goes on to relate that Bonaparte "then proceeded to count Marcow and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them—The English wish for war, but if they are the first to draw the sword I shall be the last to sheathe it. They respect not treaties; henceforth we must cover them with black crape. He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me. He began again:—Why armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you desire to arm, I also will arm; if you will fight, I will fight: You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." We wish neither the one nor the other, said the calm ambassador. We wish to live in a good understanding with France. "Respect treaties, then," said Bonaparte. "Woe to those who respect not treaties." There were two months more of diplomacy, but this scene at the Tuileries was the beginning of the end. "The First Consul from that day swore to perish or to punish England. Fatal oath!"* The first orders that bore upon his design to cross the strait between Dover and Calais, and to carry into England one of the armies that had conquered Europe, date from the day when he first heard of the Message to Parliament of the king of England.† If the First Consul had been patient, if he had insisted with firmness, but with gentleness, upon the evacuation of Malta, the excuses for the non-performance of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens would have been soon given up by the feeble minister of Great Britain. So thinks M. Thiers.‡ This result is not very probable. The French historian holds that the English were altogether wrong, for their ambition with regard to Malta, so slightly covered by dissimulation, had become a real scandal. The First Consul, he says, ought to have wholly left them in the wrong, instead of making his bursts of anger resound from one end of the world to the other.§ France demanded a literal fulfilment of the treaty; that the island should be surrendered to the Knights of Malta. France and Spain had sequestrated the possessions of the Knights. "We bound ourselves to surrender it to a known Order, clothed with certain powers, and capable of exerting themselves in consequence of certain revenues. We found no such Order. The men indeed and the name we found."‖ This is the ostensible defence of the conduct of England as regards its morality. The truth is, we had possession of Malta, and we had learnt its value, through its sagacious governor, sir Alexander Ball. The First Consul had pursued a system of aggression after we had signed away this key of the Mediterranean, which France desired to be in the hands of those who could not keep it. Malta, in itself, was not worth a war; but on the eve of a war which most men saw would be inevitable, it would have been very chivalrous to have evacuated Malta, but it may be questioned whether in that case the ministry of Mr. Addington would not have been laughed at by Bonaparte and Talleyrand for their weakness. The impolicy of the evacuation of Malta is the real defence for its retention. And thus we went to war, after a peace which had lasted one year and six weeks. On the 18th May, the Declaration of

* Thiers—"Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 817 (Paris, 1860).
† *Ibid.*, tome iv. p. 315 (Paris, 1845.)
‡ *Ibid.*, tome xvii. p. 847.
§ *Ibid.*, tome iv. p. 314.
‖ Coleridge—"Friend," Essay vi.

War, and the various documents by which the final measure was to be supported, were laid upon the tables of the two Houses of Parliament.

It is scarcely necessary that we should enter into any minute details of the negotiations for the return of Mr. Pitt to power, in conjunction with Mr. Addington—a negotiation which had been going on during the months of March and April. There are various accounts of these negotiations, but it appears clearly that an overture to Pitt was made to him from Addington, through lord Melville; and that it was proposed to Pitt that he should name some one to be First Lord of the Treasury, not receiving that situation himself, but taking the office of Secretary of State, Addington being the other Secretary.* Wilberforce tells the story of the mission of Dundas with a variation: "After dinner and port wine, he began cautiously to open his proposals. But he saw it would not do, and stopped abruptly. 'Really,' said Pitt, with a sly severity, and it was almost the only sharp thing I ever heard him say of any friend, 'I had not the curiosity to ask what I was to be.'" † Pitt was then offered the Treasury, on condition that there should be no extensive changes in other offices. Pitt stipulated that Melville, Spencer, Grenville, and Windham should be of the Cabinet; that there must be a general sweep; and that the change must be made with the king's desire. Addington demurred.‡ The king's "own Chancellor" saw his majesty, on the 20th of April, and "told the story in his own way, as the king expressed resentment against Pitt, talked of his putting the Crown in commission, and that he carried his plan of removal so extremely far and so high, that it might reach *him*." § Pitt would not come into office upon Addington's propositions. But he was tired, and so were his friends, of bolstering up a feeble government. The admirers of Pitt felt that a great crisis was at hand; and Canning, on a subsequent occasion, expressed what he and others had long suppressed, or conveyed only in sarcastic allusions: "Away with the cant of 'Measures, not men;' the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along. . . . . What is the nature of the times in which we live? Look at France, and see what we have to cope with, and consider what has made her what she is—a Man." Addington remained in power during another year.

On the 23rd of May there was unusual excitement with reference to the proceedings of the House of Commons. The king's Message was to be taken into consideration. The Strangers' Gallery was filled at an early hour; and the Reporters for the Journals, then, and long afterwards, obliged to struggle for their places, were shut out. We have thus lost irrecoverably the oration of Pitt, who had been for some time absent from parliament. It is universally represented to have been one of his greatest efforts. The finest speech, says Malmesbury, he ever made—strong in support of war, but silent as to ministers. His very finest, according to Romilly: "His influence and authority in the House of Commons, shown upon the debate I have just mentioned, and still more on the day when Fox moved that the House should recommend the Crown to accept the mediation of Russia, exceed all belief." ‖ Fox said of Pitt's speech "that if Demosthenes had been present, he must have admired and might have envied." ¶ But neither Pitt nor Fox pressed for the

* Rose—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 31.
† Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. p. 219.
‡ See Lord Colchester's "Diary," p. 414 to 417.
§ Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 190.
‖ Letter cxx.
¶ Horner—"Memoirs," vol. i. p. 221.

retirement of ministers. They did not vote for the condemnatory resolutions that were proposed, and Addington had therefore a large majority. Whoever was minister at that crisis, and would carry on the war vigorously, would have the support of the country. Bonaparte, in addition to his manifestations of bitter hostility against the British government, had committed an outrage upon British subjects which roused the national feeling. Two French vessels had been captured under English letters of marque. The First Consul, under the pretence that it was contrary to the law of nations to make captures at sea before a general declaration of war, arrested ten thousand English travellers in France. The plea was a false one. The vessels were taken on the 20th of May, at which time war had been openly announced by the departure of the ambassadors of either country. He detained the English visitors in captivity till his abdication in 1814 restored most of them to their homes. "If," writes Romilly, "it had been Bonaparte's object to give strength to the British ministry, and to make the war universally popular in England, he could not have devised a better expedient." In a frenzy of passion he sent for Junot, the governor of Paris, and ordered him to take measures that all the English should be seized—the Temple, the Force, the Abbaye, (prisons) would hold them. Junot remonstrated; but he told him, with an oath, that he would shew him and his other generals that he would make himself obeyed.*

And now there was only one mind in Great Britain. "The land bristled." The spirit that was raised in France by the duke of Brunswick was raised in England by Bonaparte. The pressure of taxation, the desire for a reformed House of Commons, the remembrances of despotic acts of the government, the sympathy with republican France—all was forgotten, in the one absorbing impulse for the defence of the soil. Throughout the land went the eloquent Declaration of "the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London," agreed to at the Royal Exchange amidst the cheers of five thousand of the most eminent citizens of the greatest commercial community of the world. The Declaration was written by Macintosh. The pledge of London became the common pledge of every town and city of the provinces. "We deem it our duty solemnly to bind ourselves to each other, and to our countrymen, in the most sacred manner, that we will employ all our exertions to rouse the spirit and to assist the resources of the kingdom; that we will be ready with our services of every sort, and on every occasion, in its defence; and that we will rather perish together, than live to see the honour of the British name tarnished, or that noble inheritance of greatness, glory, and liberty destroyed, which has descended to us from our forefathers, and which we are determined to transmit to our posterity."† To the "English commercial aristocracy, more active than the old aristocracy of the nobility," M. Thiers attributes the war. They were afraid, he says, of the competition with which they were menaced by the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Genoese flags; "the mercantile interest (*haut commerce*) of London became hostile."‡ The merchants must have kept very bad accounts, and have made very unsound calculations, to have feared the competition of France and her dependencies, when their flags could traverse the seas uninterrupted by war. In 1801,

* "Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes." † "Annual Register," 1803, p. 412.
‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome iv. p. 311.

before the peace of Amiens, the official value of our Exports was thirty-seven millions; in 1802, a year of uninterrupted peace, they had risen to forty-one millions; in 1803, when the peace was broken, they fell to thirty-one millions.

It had become a sort of popular tradition in France that an army might be transported from Calais to Dover in flat-bottomed boats. France, by a common movement of its departments and its towns, offered flat-bottomed boats to the government. These boats were, when unladen, to draw only three or four feet of water. Built in the interior, on the banks of the Gironde, the Loire, the Seine, the Somme, the Oise, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, they were to descend these rivers to their mouths, and, creeping along the shores, to be united in the ports of La Manche. There they were to take on board a hundred and fifty thousand men, ten thousand horses, and four hundred pieces of ordnance.* Lord Dundonald says that Bonaparte had become aware that any number of French gun-boats could sail along their own coasts, under the protection of the numerous batteries; and although it has been the custom to deride this armament, he sees no cause to doubt that it might have been successful, sooner or later.† To cross the Channel with an army, to terminate in London the rivalry of two nations, was the prodigious enterprize to which Bonaparte applied his faculties during three successive years. "So filled was he with hope that he rested, calm, confident, happy even, in preparation for an attempt which would conduct him either to be the master of the world, or to be engulfed, himself, his army, his glory, at the bottom of the ocean."‡

On the 23rd of June, the First Consul, accompanied by Madame Bonaparte, set out to visit the coasts of the Channel from the Seine to the Scheldt. He demanded from the minister of the public treasure the diamonds of the crown, to form ornaments for his wife. He would show himself in the splendour of regality, "in all but name a king." In the autumn of 1803 his plans of invasion were becoming mature. He would attack the United Kingdom on several points at once. A portion of his army should invade Ireland from Brest. There were Irish fugitives in France with whom the First Consul negotiated. He would send an expedition of eighteen thousand men, with an ample supply of arms, if they would furnish twenty thousand insurgents. Of course the fugitives were ready to promise, and to stipulate that France should not make peace with England without the independence of Ireland being a condition. The issue of the Irish insurrection of the 23rd of July abated nothing of these sanguine hopes. Robert Emmett, who with his elder brother had been implicated in the Rebellion, had returned to Ireland in 1802. By the death of his father he had obtained 3000*l.*, a sum which he employed in organizing a new rebellion. The peace was not at an end when young Emmett began to swear in conspirators. On the 23rd of July—the government being aware that mischief was brooding—the insurrection broke out in Dublin. It was marked by an act of peculiar atrocity—the murder of the venerable lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice, a man of the most

* See Thiers, tome iv. pp. 352-3.
† "Autobiography of a Seaman," vol. i. p. 167.
‡ Thiers, tome iv. p. 368.

upright and amiable character, who came amongst an armed mob, in his carriage, accompanied by his daughter. The nephew of lord Kilwarden was also murdered. The daughter escaped. The insurrection; if so it can be called, was put down in a few hours. Robert Emmett fled, with some of his misguided companions, to the Wicklow mountains; returned to take leave of the daughter of Curran, the great advocate, whose affections he had clandestinely obtained; was tried, and was executed with others whose names are forgotten. The romance of his love appears to have saved the memory of the chief conspirator from oblivion. The young men and maidens of this age ask who he was, when they hear the well-known lament of—

"Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade."

Emmett was a rash enthusiast, who stirred up a hopeless conspiracy, with no support except amongst the dregs of the populace. He was a Protestant, and his revolt had no reference to the disregarded claims of the majority of the Irish people. He desired to see Ireland an independent Republic; and he depended for assistance upon that man who had trodden the liberties of republican France under the hoof of an armed despotism.

On the 26th of June, Charles Yorke, the Secretary at War, proposed that an Army of Reserve of 50,000 men should be immediately raised. Mr. Windham maintained that this was a mere addition to the militia, with all the evils of that system, one of which evils was the privilege of exemption from personal service of the man chosen by ballot who could provide a substitute. A militia could never be equal to a regular army. He preferred what he called "a Vendean rising *en masse*." On the 18th of July, a more extensive measure was proposed by the Secretary at War: that an enrolment should be made of all men in every parish between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five. These were to be divided into four classes, and according to their ages and family condition, as indicated by the class, they were to be called out and exercised, arms being provided for them. Mr. Windham thought that powers such as those proposed by the bill should be vested in the executive government, but that government should not be in haste to make use of them, till it should be seen what might be hoped from exertions purely voluntary. Fox took the course which was at once the most practical and the most patriotic. He wished that there were no compulsory provisions in the bill, of the principles of which he approved. Go round from house to house and ask who would be willing to serve their country in the hour of danger; there would not be five refusals in five hundred; and let those who agree to serve be immediately called forth to be instructed. "I am not attempting to give you soldiers, but armed citizens; men whose bosoms glow with the love of their country and their connexions, and who, in defence of them, would be as ready to fight an enemy as the best disciplined soldiers in the world."* Addington said that sixty thousand volunteers had already offered. When, on the 10th of August, Sheridan proposed a vote of thanks to the Volunteers, it was stated that three hundred thousand had been enrolled. At the commencement of the next Session, a Return was made of such corps as had

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxvi. col. 1646.

been accepted and placed on the Establishment, and the number enrolled was 379,943.*

There was a prorogation of Parliament for about three months. That interval of legislation was one of the most stirring periods of Britain's history. There are a hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen encamped at Boulogne and its neighbourhood. The First Consul passes much of his time amidst these troops. He puts them through exercises on land and on water. He gallops along the sands. He traverses the sea margin in a small boat. He writes to Cambacérès, "I have passed three days in the midst of the camp and the port. From the heights of Ambleteuse I have seen the coast of England as one sees Calvary † from the Tuileries. One can distinguish the houses and objects in motion. It is a ditch that will be leapt over, when we shall have the boldness to make the attempt." ‡ He would make the attempt in the autumn; then he would wait till the beginning of winter; then he would wait till February; he would wait till a fleet with twenty thousand more men had arrived from the Texel, and eighteen thousand in a fleet from Brest. Meanwhile, according to M. Thiers, although thirty thousand Frenchmen would not have caused the English to fear, a hundred and fifty thousand, led by general Bonaparte, produced a shiver of terror in every class of the nation.§ Let us see how they shivered.

At Walmer Castle, near Deal, in September, October, and November, was residing William Pitt. How is the man engaged who for seventeen years had been prime minister of his country? On the 9th of August, Wilberforce wrote,—"Pitt is about to take the command of three thousand volunteers, as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms; and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle." ‖ On the 8th of September Pitt writes to Rose, that he could not go far from his post, "though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment." In October he thinks that some attempt will be made soon. "In this situation I am likely to have my time very completely occupied by the various concerns of my regiment and my district." At the beginning of December he will be so constantly occupied all next week in going round to his different battalions that it would be impossible for him to think of going to town. ¶ How Bonaparte would have laughed could he have seen from those heights of Ambleteuse the tall gaunt figure of the statesman whom he most hated and dreaded, dressed in regimental scarlet, and giving the command to a few companies of awkward volunteers. He would have laughed with that full measure of contempt with which a great captain always regards unprofessional soldiers. He would have sneered with the pride of a despot at the spirit of a constitutional government which had called up the power of a people, "for freedom combating," to meet "the power of armies." The great ex-minister doing the duties of a simple citizen, amidst the changes of a

* See Table at the end of this Chapter.
† An artificial hill near Paris; also called Mount Valerien.
‡ Thiers, tome iv. p. 493.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 504.
‖ "Life," vol. iii. p. 113.
¶ See Rose—"Diaries," &c., vol. ii. pp. 69-73.

limited monarchy, was the embodiment of the principle of duty, as opposed to the principle of personal ambition, which knew no law but the will of the strongest. What Pitt was doing as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was being done by every Lord-Lieutenant of England and of Scotland. Nearly four hundred thousand men, providing their own clothing, receiving no pay, having no privilege but what they considered an exemption from being balloted for the militia, sprang up at a word. "An imposing force," says M. Thiers, "if it had been organized." It was partially organized in a few months; and it had this specialty in its organization, that it was not a mere military machine, but a congregation of citizens, "united as one individual soul," each of whom would fight to the death as long as there was a Frenchman in arms on the soil. Minister or mechanic, lawyer or labourer, peer or peasant, all were inspired by one spirit. The king, on Windsor Terrace, calls to the band to play "Britons, strike home." The ploughman whistles "Rule Britannia," as he cleaves his furrow. The Dumfries weaver sings at his loom "Scots, wha ha' wi' Wallace bled." The drum is heard in every village. The musket-shot strikes the target on many a common. There are not muskets at first for all; and the pike is a temporary weapon. A fast-day is appointed on the 19th of October, and the churches from the Land's-End to John O'Groats are filled with young and old, who feel that it is a solemn time, and that their defenders, who are worshipping with them, in serried rank, must look to the Highest for the victory. On the 26th of October, the king reviews the Volunteers of London in Hyde Park—twelve thousand four hundred. On the 28th, the king reviews fourteen thousand six hundred of the Volunteers of Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark. They come "from shop and palace, cot and hall." This "general agitation of all classes," says the considerate M. Thiers, "this call of mechanics from their workshops, of merchants from their business, of rich lords from their luxuries," was "a punishment for the conduct of the British government." If prolonged, this agitation would become "an immense evil, and a source of great danger for public order." It was the great principle by which public order was preserved. At a Cabinet Council, ministers hesitated about allowing volunteer regiments. "Do as you please," said Eldon, "but if these men do not volunteer for you, they will against you." * Extreme Toryism drew a line of demarcation between "you," the government, and "they," the people. It trusted in suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act and in *ex-officio* informations. It was slow to trust in the people. At a later period Eldon thought that "the Volunteers saved the country." They saved their own hearths, and, in doing so, they saved the throne and the woolsack.

The king opened the Session on the 22nd of November. The well-worn congratulations were used upon the acquisition of the West Indian Islands;—acquisitions which Windham described as objects of no importance, when compared with the immense projects of the enemy. During six months of that Session, night after night was spent in reprobation, or in defence, of the Volunteer system. They would never be fit to act in the field; they cost too much; they ought to be disbanded; a great army of regulars should be created; an armed peasantry would be a better force. Pitt stood up steadily

* Twiss—"Life of Eldon," vol. i. p. 416.

for supporting and encouraging the Volunteers. He truly said that ministers had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed anything to its force and efficiency. Whilst they gave a pompous detail of the force of the country, they should have recollected that it proceeded from the resources and spirit of the nation, and not from their energy and wisdom. "Whatever the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been, under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, languor, and imbecility of ministers, in every thing of which they have assumed the direction." * The want of arms was a formidable obstacle to the efficiency of the Volunteers. The great mechanical resources of Britain were then very imperfectly developed. Abbot writes in his Diary of the 30th of December, 1803, "The supply of muskets slow. London supplies not more than 500 per week. None come from Birmingham." A wonderful vigour was infused into the government in March. They set up works at the Tower "for stocking and fitting muskets." In April they were able to stock 350 in one week. "2000 firelocks, condemned as useless, are now refitting by these means." † At this period Malmesbury wrote in his Diary, "The strongest proof of Bonaparte's inability to invade us is his not attempting it at such a moment." The veteran diplomatist was not looking to the want of arms, or to the deficiencies in the Naval Administration, which Pitt had attacked. The ships of England were wearing away with unprecedented rapidity, and no efforts had been made to build new ships. Lord Malmesbury was looking to courts and cabinets rather than to fleets and armies. He trembled at the uncertain state of political parties—their agitations and intrigues. It was clear that the ministry of Addington must fall. It was also clear that the almost unanimous voice of the nation called for Pitt to take the helm. But with whom should he unite himself? Circumstances, then unhappily of no unusual occurrence, had suspended the decision of this question for three months.

On the 12th of February the king's mind was again affected. He had been previously ill of rheumatic gout. His mental attack appears to have been less violent than on previous occasions; but he remained incapable of transacting business in public till the 23rd of April; and it was the 10th of June before it was thought fit to remove the medical control which was essential to his complete recovery. The ministers in March and April constantly maintained that the interference of Parliament was unnecessary. The Chancellor submitted bills to the king, and received his sign-manual. The mere formal acts of sovereignty were performed by him. The grave responsibility which the ministers took upon themselves was repeatedly animadverted upon in Parliament. ‡ But there was one member of the Cabinet who laid himself open to a more serious charge. Mr. Pitt, on the 22nd of April, had written a letter to the king, stating that he could not,

* Hansard, vol. ii. col. 210. ("The Parliamentary History," from which we have quoted up to the First Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom, was superseded by 'The Parliamentary Debates," now commonly quoted as Hansard.)

† Colchester—"Diary," vol. i. p. 495.

‡ The constitutional question of the regal incapacity under such circumstances is fully set forth in the third chapter of Mr. Erskine May's "Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III." (1861.)

consistent with a sense of duty, forbear any longer a direct opposition to the measures of administration. "From the 22nd of April to May the 2nd, there were frequent communications *verbally* between the king and Mr. Pitt through the Chancellor, which led to Mr. Pitt writing a letter to his lordship to be communicated to his majesty; having, during that intercourse, been encouraged to submit his thoughts to the king respecting a new administration, at the head of which he should be." This is Mr. Rose's account. * Lord Eldon is accused by the biographer of Mr. Addington of having betrayed his political chief; and lord Campbell thinks the charge is completely established. † We leave the consideration of this question of personal character to the minute historians. It is sufficient for us to select the more important circumstances of this negotiation. The letter from Mr. Pitt to the Chancellor, which was submitted to the king on the 2nd of May, stated "how desirable it would be, in the present circumstances of this country and of Europe, that an administration should be formed on a broad basis, combining the best talents and the great weight of property of the country; and with that view earnestly recommended including lord Grenville and his friends, and Mr. Fox and his friends." ‡ Mr. Rose, who was in the confidence of Mr. Pitt, wrote to the Chancellor on the 4th, urging the same course. Lord Eldon immediately answered, "that he thought the advice to form an administration on the basis alluded to would be the very worst that could be given; adding terms of the highest reprobation, and in a style of acrimony." § On the 6th, the king wrote to Mr. Pitt. His majesty required of him, before he would consent that he should form an administration, that he would *never* agitate or support Catholic Emancipation or the Repeal of the Test Act; his majesty disapproved of the conduct of lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas when they went out of office; he hoped in a new administration Mr. Pitt would include as many of his majesty's present servants as possible; to the admission of Mr. Fox in the administration the king expressed an absolute negative. ‖ In the autumn of that year the king told Mr. Rose, "that he had taken a positive determination not to admit Mr. Fox into his counsels, even at the hazard of a civil war." ¶ Bonaparte was at the gates; and the king would risk something far higher than his Crown,—the lives of his people, the independence of his country,—for a miserable personal pique, which he was compelled to lay aside two years afterwards. In an evil hour Pitt complied with the will of his obstinate sovereign. The Grenvilles refused to take office without Fox. Pitt had stated in his letter of the 2nd of May that he would not agitate for Catholic Emancipation during the king's lifetime; but he contrived to evade giving the monstrous pledge required by the king, that he would *never* support the claims of the Catholics or the Repeal of the Test Act. In an evil hour Pitt accepted the post of prime minister, under the limitations prescribed by the king. On the 10th of May, Addington resigned.** Grenville, on the 8th, had written to Pitt, on the part of himself and the other members of the Opposition, declining his offers: "We rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our

* "Diary," vol. ii. p. 113. † "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. cxcviii.
‡ Rose, vol. ii. p. 114. § *Ibid.*, p. 116. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 117. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.
** See "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. i. p. 508. "He told us he had resigned, and should pack up his *awls*." The transcriber, or the printer, of this Diary, must imagine that Addington

becoming parties to a system of government, which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion."* On the 18th of May, William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the oaths and his seat in the House of Commons, upon his re-election for the University of Cambridge. On the 18th of May, the Senate of France, by their decree, declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French.

The indiscretion, to use no harsher term, of the Addington Ministry had contributed towards placing Bonaparte on the throne. Lord Malmesbury thus writes in his Diary:—"In the beginning of February, the measures concerted by Pichegru, Moreau, &c., were confided to me. They were represented as *immanquable*. The idea was the restoration of the monarchy under a Bourbon prince. Their plans were extensive, and, as they thought, well and secretly arranged." It is not likely that what lord Malmesbury knew was concealed from the leading members of the Administration. He adds, that "whenever the event became certain, and the moment arrived that a more conspicuous character was necessary, lord Hertford was to appear in the double character of making peace and restoring the old dynasty." Lord Hertford—the second marquis—was not a very "conspicuous character" in 1804, although he figured in the court scandals of 1814. Nevertheless the lord of Ragley might have been considered by the French emigrants as the noblest representative of the British aristocracy; and the French Bonapartists might have regarded him as impersonating the British monarchy. Pichegru went to Paris in January, where Georges Cadoudal, one of the insurgents in Brittany, had also arrived. On the 17th of February, the Minister of Justice made a Report to the First Consul, of the discovery of a conspiracy. It begins thus:—"New plots have been hatched by England." It concludes by saying, "England had no hopes of accomplishing her design but by the assassination of the First Consul." The Report implicates Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau—with others designated as brigands. Georges and Pichegru, after some time had elapsed, were apprehended. Georges was executed; Pichegru was found strangled in prison; and Moreau was exiled. The conspirators denied that the assassination of Bonaparte was any part of their plot. Although it is perfectly clear that no idea of assassination could ever have been contemplated by the most violent of English statesmen, the complicity of the Ministry with the scheme of overturning the consular government, and restoring the monarchy, was reasonably inferred by the discovery of a clandestine correspondence between Mr. Drake, our Minister at Bavaria, and some disaffected persons in France, which correspondence was carried on by a spy, who betrayed Drake to the French government. Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Wurtemburg, was also involved in these intrigues. Official notes passed between Talleyrand and lord Hawkesbury upon the conduct of these envoys; and in answer to the remonstrances of the French government, our Secretary for Foreign Affairs maintained, that "a

in the humility of the moment. thought with the citizen in Julius Cæsar—"Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler—all that I live by is with the awl."

* "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. iii. p. 352.

minister in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to countries with which his sovereign is at war."* This is very doubtful morality. When lord Hawkesbury said that "belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war," he did not very logically close his argument by reproaching the French for their encouragement of Irish rebels. The murder of the duc d'Enghien, the only son of the duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the prince de Condé, quickly followed the discovery of what French writers call the Anglo-Bourbon conspiracy. He was residing in the State of Baden; was carried off to France by a troop of horse which had crossed the Rhine in the night; was conducted to Paris on the 20th of March, heavily fettered; was hurried to the Castle of Vincennes, and was subjected the same night to an examination by a military commission, who sentenced him to death. He was shot before dawn, in the ditch of the castle, by the light of torches. His murder produced a profound sensation throughout all civilized countries. Thiers has a few epigrammatic sentences on the conduct of Bonaparte in this hateful transaction. "The sage Consul had suddenly become a madman. He was the injured man who breathes only vengeance; he was the victorious man voluntarily braving the enemies that he is sure to conquer. The better to defy his adversaries, and to satisfy his ambition at the same time as his anger, he put the imperial crown upon his head."†

* State Papers—"Annual Register," 1804, p. 602.
† "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 848.

Medal struck by Napoleon to be ready to commemorate the Invasion of England.

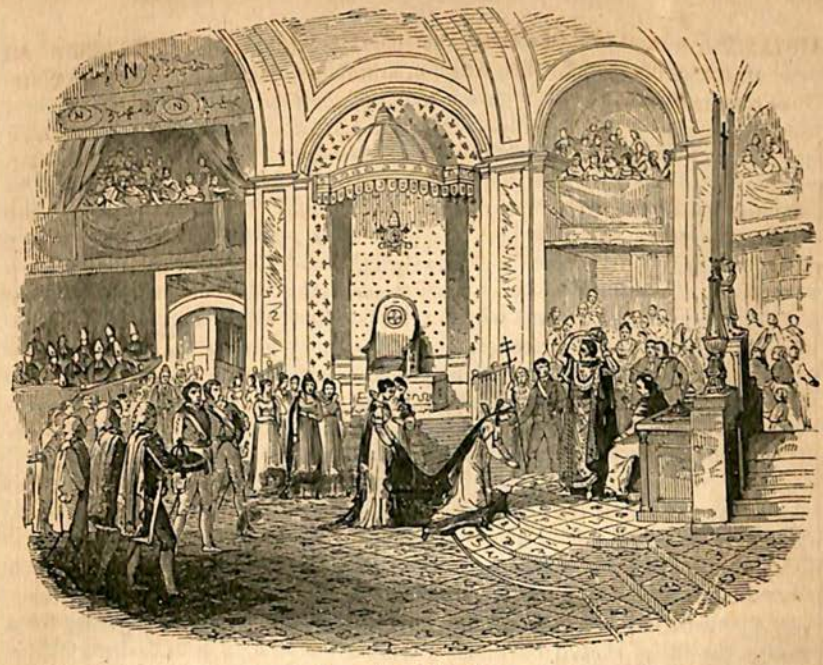
ABSTRACT OF A LIST OF SUCH YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEER CORPS AS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED AND PLACED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Cav.	Infan.	Art.	Rank and File.
Aberdeen		3,400	120	3,520
Anglesea		1,000		1,000
Argyll		2,028	63	2,091
Ayr	144	2,677		2,691
Banff		960	80	1,022
Bedford	177	1,801		1,978
Berks	634	3,006		3,484
Berwick	160	772		911
Brecon		1,196		1,196
Bucks	1,122	2,426		3,121
Bute		38		90
Caithness		1,272		1,320
Cambridge	163	2,485		2,500
Cardigan		567		581
Carmarthen	120	2,316		2,347
Carnarvon		1,100		1,073
Chester	732	4,841	105	5,372
Clackmannan	40	296		336
Cinque Ports				
Cornwall	383	5,432	2,328	7,772
Cromarty		160		164
Cumberland	56	3,431	330	3,736
Denbigh	194	2,344		2,464
Derby	330	5,277		5,852
Devon	1,873	13,197	1,325	15,212
Dorset	515	2,201		2,340
Dumbarton	88	605		630
Dumfries	84	1,875		1,879
Durham	573	3,814	300	4,440
Elgin		770		784
Essex	1,251	6,335		7,033
Fife	350	2,613	100	2,906
Flint	270	2,429		2,698
Forfar	47	2,692	70	2,717
Glamorgan	213	2,488		2,301
Gloucester	644	6,436	176	7,161
Hants	1,252	7,164	836	9,509
Hereford	180	3,720		3,532
Hertford	625	2,319	50	2,762
Huntingdon	166	840		1,006
Inverness		3,666		3,320
Kent	1,530	8,804	253	10,295
Kincardine		824		824
Kinross		280		280
Kircudbright	200	746		946
Lanark	65	4,448		4,513
Lancaster	586	13,710	560	14,278
Leicester	622	2,946		3,488
Lincoln	713	4,560		7,866
Linlithgow	80	800		638
Lothian, East	205	700		905
Lothian, Mid.	300	1,574		1,843
Loth. Mid. / Edinb. City		4,858	415	4,757
London	560	13,338		12,460
Middlesex	82	8,299		8,370
Man, Isle of		695		693
Merioneth		464		464
Monmouth	125	1,624		1,656
Montgomery	120	1,560		1,680
Nairn		320		320
Norfolk	1,120	6,511	180	6,918
Northampton	1,037	3,430		4,089
Northumberland	517	4,411		4,726
Nottingham	472	3,635		4,107
Oxford	591	3,322		3,516
Orkney & Zetland				
Peebles	52	480		532
Pembroke	440	1,852	70	2,701
Perth	160	3,897	63	4,036
Radnor		1,000		1,000
Renfrew		2,701		2,414
Ross		1,620		1,620
Roxburgh	108	960		1,060
Rutland	160	335		495
Salop	940	5,022		5,852
Selkirk	50	100		142
Somerset	1,544	7,747		9,080
Stafford	1,090	5,425		6,072
Stirling	308	1,318	65	1,667
Suffolk	769	6,837		7,332
Sutherland		1,092		1,092
Surrey	944	7,801		8,105
Sussex	1,024	6,114	637	6,198
Tower Hamlets		4,173		3,742
Warwick	708	3,874		4,146
Westminster	260	10,438		10,684
Westmoreland		1,420		1,420
Wight, Isle of	120	1,732	184	2,030
Wigtoun	105	624		729
Wilts	850	4,524		5,176
Worcester	494	4,046		4,304
York, N. Riding	267	4,381		4,683
York, E. Riding	382	3,473	61	3,890
York, W. Riding	1,606	12,990	50	14,006

Total of effective Rank and File	341,687
Field Officers	1,246
Captains	4,472
Subalterns	9,918
Staff Officers	1,100
Serjeants	14,787
Drummers	6,733
GRAND TOTAL	379,948

WHITEHALL, *9th Dec.*, 1803.

REGINALD POLE CAREW.



Coronation of Napoleon.

CHAPTER XXV.

Parties opposed to Mr. Pitt's government—Indications of a new Grand Alliance—Napoleon and the army at Boulogne—Coronation of Napoleon—His letter to the king—Addington joins the ministry—War with Spain—Charges against Lord Melville—His impeachment—Treaty with Russia—Annexation of Genoa—Nelson's chase after the French and Spanish fleets—Sir Robert Calder's naval action—Napoleon's anxiety at Boulogne—He breaks up the camp—March into Germany—Surrender of the Austrian army at Ulm—Nelson takes the command of the fleet off Cadiz—Victory of Trafalgar—Death of Nelson—His Funeral—French enter Vienna—Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—Pitt's failing health—Death of Pitt.

When Mr. Pitt returned to power in May, 1804, he did not enter the House of Commons with his old confidence in an overwhelming majority. There were three parties who were either wholly or partially opposed to the government. The Addington party was sore and was capricious. The Grenville party was disgusted at the acceptance of office by Pitt, without having stoutly resisted the king's system of exclusion. The Fox party was systematically opposed to the war-policy which had been pursued since 1793. The ministry could only absolutely command about 230 votes; and it would be beaten whenever the three neutral or opposition parties coalesced.* There was a great trial of strength on the 18th of June, in the largest House since

* Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 9.

1741. The ministerial majority was only 42, there being 493 members present at the division.* The Session, however, would soon come to a close. On the 31st of July, the prorogation took place. There was a curious incident which the Speaker has recorded. The king read the Speech with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one fourth of his intended Speech. Mr. Abbot adds, with a slight touch of sarcasm, "the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the cabinet who had heard it before the king delivered it." The king's printer did not turn over two leaves. The Speech went forth with this significant paragraph: "I entertain the animating hope that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves, but that by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the establishment of such a system in Europe as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent." The "effectual barrier" evidently contemplated a new Grand Alliance—"a system in Europe" which should take Great Britain out of her isolation, and give new occupation to the enemy who had vowed her destruction. Wilberforce, after the prorogation, had discovered in Pitt "a greater willingness to subsidize," of which policy he disapproves: "Pitt is the most upright political character I ever knew or heard of; but with all public men it is extremely dangerous for a country that they should be under a temptation to fight it out—to try their fortune again after having been unsuccessful in a former war."†

The 16th of August was the birthday of Napoleon. On that day the emperor was at Boulogne, seated on a magnificent throne, with the dignitaries of his empire, his marshals and his ministers, grouped around him, and before him the mighty army of a hundred thousand men destined for the conquest of England. The spot where this spectacle was exhibited is marked by a column which every Englishman may see—and not without his own national pride—when he is passing the Channel. There Napoleon distributed the crosses of the Legion of Honour to a chosen band; ever and anon raising his telescope to gaze upon a division of his flotilla exchanging a cannonade with an English squadron. He looked upon the white cliffs of Albion as Caligula had looked. Unlike Caligula, he had a people who did not despise his "lofty throne," and he has found historians who are prostrate before the grandeur of this empty pageantry.‡ If the press had been free in France, the wits would have laughed at this rivalry of the tinsel magnificence of the Theatre. The English journals did laugh. "The British Press," says Thiers, "insulting and arrogant as the whole press is in a free country, ridiculed Napoleon and his preparations; but it was the ridicule of a mocker who trembles whilst he appears to laugh."§ The emperor proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence to Mayence, to receive the homage of the petty princes of Germany. He returned to St. Cloud on the 12th of October. He had looked upon England; he had heard his legions swear that they would shed

* Colchester's "Diary," vol. i. p. 520.
† "Life," vol. iii. p. 206.
‡ For a parallel between Caligula and Napoleon at Boulogne, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 17.
§ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome v. p. 197.

their blood on that chalky shore to make him master of the world; yet he would let the autumn pass without taking the leap of ten leagues across that bewildering sea. "Providence," says M. Thiers, "which had in reserve for him such abundance of glory, had not permitted him to give this eclat to his coronation. There remained to him another mode to dazzle men's minds—to make the Pope descend for an instant from the pontifical throne, to come to Paris to bless the emperor's sceptre and his crown." A very different sort of victory; a triumph like that over "the poor beetle that we tread upon." The sovereign pontiff made many objections. They were overcome by the man who acknowledged no will but his own. The Pope must come at once; so that the emperor might proceed in December to the conquest of England. On the 2nd of December the Coronation took place in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. The Pope anointed the Emperor and the Empress with the sacred oil. The crown, the sceptre, the mantle, and the sword were on the altar. The Pope lifted the crown; but Napoleon, snatching the diadem, modelled after the crown of Charlemagne, out of the hands of the Holy Father, placed it upon his own head; and then he crowned the Empress, who knelt before him. Still no invasion of England. "The cry is still they come."—But they did not come; and in the social meetings of that Christmas, the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race joined in many a chorus of "Come if you dare," "The tight little island," and "The land, boys, we live in."

On the 2nd of January, 1805, Napoleon addressed a letter to the king of England, beginning, "Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace." There was much commonplace in this epistle, and some good sense. "Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France." The Secretary for Foreign Affairs answered, in the name of the king, that it was impossible for him to reply to this overture till his majesty had communicated with the powers of the continent, and particularly with the emperor of Russia. With an unusual candour the historian of the Empire considers this letter of Napoleon too palpably designed to affect moderation, and to seize an occasion to address the king of England as from monarch to monarch."* When the Imperial Parliament met, this letter to "Monsieur mon frère" was alluded to in the royal speech; but no debate was raised, as on the letter of the First Consul in 1800. All felt that the profession of a desire for peace was a mere form of words, which the writer scarcely expected to deceive.

Mr. Pitt had strengthened himself before the meeting of parliament on the 15th of January, by a reconciliation with Mr. Addington. The party of the ex-minister, small as it was, and by no means popular in its exclusive pretensions to be called "the king's friends," was yet able to turn the scale upon any nicely balanced question. Addington was raised to the peerage as viscount Sidmouth, and was appointed President of the Council. "So far" writes Francis Horner, "as I had opportunities of observing the first impres-

* Thiers, tome v. p. 274.

sion of it, it was strongly disapproved by Pitt's intelligent admirers, and lowered him a little in the city."* The royal Speech announced that war had been declared by Spain against this country. The causes of the war formed the subject of the first important debate of this Session. It was a complicated question; and one in which the British government was, upon the face of it, open to very serious blame. No one could doubt that Spain was in reality the vassal of France; that reinforcements for the French fleets at Toulon and Ferrol had been allowed to pass through Spain; that the court of Madrid was arming vessels of war in various ports; and that whilst these measures were the continual subjects of remonstrance by the British chargé d'affaires the Spanish government refused all satisfactory explanation. All this was perfectly clear; but the remonstrances of Mr. Addington's ministry had been so mild, and his acceptance of excuses so very ready, that the Spanish government could scarcely have been prepared for an act of vigour which appeared somewhat opposed to international law. The precautions of Mr. Pitt's government were chiefly directed to "the possible consequences of the safe arrival of the expected American treasure-ships in the Spanish ports;—an event which has more than once, in former times, become the epoch of the termination of discussions, and of the commencement of hostility, on the part of Spain."† What the first William Pitt proposed to do in 1761 the second William Pitt did in 1804.‡ On the 5th of October, captain Moore, in the command of four English frigates, met with a Spanish squadron of four frigates proceeding to Cadiz. He told the Spanish admiral that he had orders to detain these vessels, and that it was his earnest wish to execute his orders without bloodshed. The Spaniard would not yield; an engagement ensued, in which one of the Spanish ships blew up; the other three were taken, with an immense amount of treasure. There was mismanagement in not sending a force sufficiently large to compel the Spanish commander to surrender without loss of honour. The bullion was meant for France, under a treaty by which Spain engaged to pay a large subsidy instead of furnishing France with troops and sailors. The cruel necessity of warfare might be some plea for this measure of precaution. The affair was badly managed, and the resistance which rendered a fight necessary gave the act the character of an unjust aggression, instead of a wise measure of self-defence. The British government, a year before, had given notice to Spain that if her armaments were not discontinued, no declaration of war would be made beyond what had been made in repeated remonstrances. The Spanish government in its final manifesto did not hesitate to assert that it had always contemplated war with Great Britain since France had declared war. Upon this question Mr. Pitt had large majorities in both Houses. He had a majority of 207 in the Commons. Napoleon was indignant at the loss of his subsidy, and immediately applied himself to render Spain an effectual co-operator in hostilities against England. On the 4th of January, admiral Gravina, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, signed a convention which specified the proportions of forces which each power was to furnish in a naval war. Spain engaged to prepare thirty-two ships of the line.

* "Memoirs of Horner," vol. i. p. 281.
† British Declaration of War, January 24, 1805.
‡ *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 251.

Mr. Pitt came triumphantly out of the discussion on the Spanish war. To one so proud and so sensitive,—so elevated himself above the slightest suspicion of corrupt dealings with the public money, and so confiding in his official friendships,—no mortification during his public life could have been equal to that which he endured when the "Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry" was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed on the 13th of February. That Report deeply implicated lord Melville, now First Lord of the Admiralty, when, as Mr. Dundas, he filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy before the dissolution of the Pitt ministry in 1801. The Report alleged that the sums standing in the name of the Treasurer of the Navy at the Bank of England had been less than the unappropriated balances; that Mr. Trotter, the paymaster, had admitted that Mr. Dundas had permitted him to withdraw money from the Bank and lodge it in the hands of private bankers; that Mr. Trotter had also admitted that, under the direction of Mr. Dundas, he had laid out 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* for his use and benefit, without considering whether such sums came from public or private balances; and that lord Melville had declared to the Commissioners that he could not say what had been done with some of these sums, without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which his duty to the public must restrain him from revealing.*

On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion of censure upon lord Melville. Mr. Pitt moved the previous question, not with the desire of defending or justifying the conduct alleged by the Commissioners in their Report, but with the view that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the case, and receive explanations if any could be given. At four o'clock in the morning the House divided, 216 to 216. The Speaker gave the casting vote for the motion of Mr. Whitbread. Lord Fitzharris, the son of lord Malmesbury, made the following interesting record in his note-book of 1806: "I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night when we were 216 to 216; and the Speaker, Abbot, (after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes,) gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle (of notorious memory), say, they would see how Billy looked after it. A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together, and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the colonel nor his friends could approach him."†

On the 10th of April, Mr. Pitt announced lord Melville's resignation. On the 6th of May he informed the House that he had thought it his duty to advise his majesty to erase lord Melville's name from the Council. On the 27th of May, Mr. Whitbread gave notice of moving an impeachment against lord Melville. On the 11th of June, lord Melville, at the bar of the House of Commons, spoke for more than two hours in defence of his con-

* See Report in Hansard, vol. iii. col. 1147 to 1211.
† Malmesbury, "Diaries," &c. vol. iv. p. 355.

duct, declaring that with regard to two sums, amounting to 21,000*l.*, being "entrusted with the confidential management of the king's interests in Scotland, he had applied the money in a way which no consideration should induce him to reveal." *

On the 12th of June, Mr. Whitbread's motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of 77, in a House of 467 members. On the 25th of June, upon the motion of Mr. Leycester, it was determined to proceed against lord Melville by impeachment, the majority being 23 in a House of 309 members. On the 26th, Mr. Whitbread carried up the impeachment to the bar of the House of Lords; and a Bill was rapidly passed which provided for the continuance of proceedings on the impeachment, under a prorogation or a dissolution of Parliament. On the 12th of July, the Parliament was prorogued by Commission. A week before the prorogation lord Sidmouth had resigned. He had taken part against lord Melville; and there were other differences which could not be reconciled. Under ordinary circumstances Mr. Pitt would have felt his tenure of power considerably shaken by this defection, when he should have to meet the House of Commons in another Session.. His health was impaired, but his spirit was unbroken. He was looking forward to the results of a policy which would place his country in a position of security, and in the success of which his own pre-eminence could not be assailed, even by Fox and Grenville, much less by so feeble a rival as Sidmouth. On the 21st of June, Mr. Pitt had received a confiding vote of the House of Commons, "that a sum not exceeding 3,500,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to enter into such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigency of affairs may require."

On the 11th of April a treaty had been signed between Great Britain and Russia, by which each power agreed to unite in the endeavour to form a general league of the States of Europe, for resisting the encroachments of France. Austria hesitated about joining the Alliance; and would not agree to proceed to hostilities till negotiations with France had been attempted and had failed. Napoleon manifested no disposition to relax his system of aggrandizement, or to exhibit any respect for the independence of nations. The delusion of a Cisalpine Republic was at an end when, on the 26th of May, he was crowned King of Italy in the cathedral of Milan. He had told his Senate, when he addressed them on the 17th of March, in explanation of his design to assume the sovereignty of Italy as a separate kingdom, that "the genius of evil would search in vain for pretexts to plunge the continent again in war. What has been united to our empire will remain united. No new province will be incorporated with it." On the 4th of June, the Doge of Genoa, with a deputation of the Senate, came to Milan, to supplicate the Emperor of the French to deign to unite to his empire the Ligurian Republic, in which Genoa was comprised, and to grant them the happiness to be his subjects. It would have been cruel to have been deaf to so pleasant a petition. England only would care about this trifling annexation. What could Austria and Russia care about Genoa? He would soon resolve in London all European questions. He would not hesitate about the danger of offering new provocations, and of giving

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. ii. p. 8.

new pretexts for decrying the ambition of France. He would not hesitate. Genoa should be annexed, and should lend the aid of her ships and sailors to the French marine.*

From the prorogation in July till the end of October, there had never been such suspense and anxiety in England since the May of 1588, when the Spanish Armada had sailed down the Tagus, and an agent of Elizabeth's Council had written home that he judged they would soon be in the English quarters, "so that the lightning and the thunder-clap will be both in a moment." † On the 19th of July the British fleet was at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar. On the 20th, Nelson writes in his Diary, "I went on shore for the first time since June 16, 1803, and, from having my foot out of the Victory, two years wanting ten days." What duty had occupied the great admiral during this period? The duty of long watching and waiting; of pursuing the enemy without any certain knowledge of his destination, from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and then to the West Indies. He had been appointed to the chief command of the fleet in the Mediterranean at the breaking out of the war, and had sailed from Spithead on the 20th of May. On the 1st of August, 1804, he wrote a very remarkable letter to the Lord Mayor of London, which gave the British people a better notion of the man than the speech of Alderman Curtis in the Common Council. Nelson acknowledged the honour of the Resolutions, "thanking me, as commanding the fleet blockading Toulon. . . . . I beg to inform your lordship that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me; quite the reverse. Every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to sea; for it is there that we hope to realize the hopes and expectations of our country, and I trust that they will not be disappointed." ‡ On the 18th of January, 1805, the Toulon fleet came out. Nelson was at anchor off the coast of Sardinia. The weather was stormy. He could hear nothing of the French fleet; and he sailed away for Egypt. He returned; and at Malta found that the French fleet, having been dispersed in a gale, had put back for Toulon. On the 4th of April, he learnt that the French fleet, under admiral Villeneuve, had again put to sea on the 31st of March. They were joined by the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, having four thousand five hundred troops on board. The combined fleet numbered twenty sail of the line and ten frigates. Nelson had ten sail of the line, and three frigates. He had guessed their destination, and wrote accordingly to the Admiralty. Pitt, with a patriotic exultation, told the Speaker on the 6th of June that Nelson in his letters received that day said, "he was sailing after the combined fleet to the West Indies, and if he did not find them there he would follow them to the Antipodes." § The Toulon fleet had the start of Nelson more than a month. He was at Barbadoes on the 4th of June; but he was again deceived by false intelligence. The combined fleet had appeared before several West India islands—Martinique, Granada, Antigua; but they had not ventured to stop. They fled back to Europe, with Nelson after them. On the 3rd of May there was in London a "great alarm for the West Indies." ‖ Two months

* See Thiers, tom. v. p. 384.
† *Ante*, vol. iii. p. 220.
‡ "Annual Register," 1800, p. 415.
§ Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 6.
‖ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 555.

later it was known that Nelson had saved the West Indies. But he was baffled in his great hope of encountering the French and Spaniards. That exploit was reserved for sir Robert Calder, who, with fifteen line of battle ships, fell in with them, sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July. After an engagement of four hours, the English admiral captured two Spanish ships, an eighty-four and a seventy-four. The French and Spanish fleet got into Cadiz a month after the action. The British people were indignant that Calder had not done more. He was tried in December by Court Martial, and was reprimanded "for error of judgment." Nelson had traversed the Bay of Biscay, and had sought the enemy on the north-west coast of Ireland, in the belief that the combined fleet was about to make a descent there. He then thought that it was his duty to reinforce the Channel Fleet, and he joined admiral Cornwallis off Ushant. The course of the French and Spaniards was still unknown. Nelson, worn out with the fatigue and anxiety of his chase of the enemy, went home in the Victory. At Portsmouth he learnt of the action of the 22nd of July. The encounter with admiral Calder had been sufficient to disturb the plans of Napoleon for the invasion of England. Villeneuve did not hazard a nearer approach to the English Channel than Ferrol and Corunna. He then altered his course, steering southward; and was safe in Cadiz on the 20th of August. In that port six Spanish ships of the line had been previously at anchor. Collingwood was at hand with four sail of the line; and on the 21st he was reconnoitring the port in which thirty-five French and Spanish sail of the line lay ready for sea. The British squadron cruising off Cadiz was reinforced in August and September. The French admiral had little prospect of obeying his orders to bring his fleet fresh and entire into the British Channel.

On the 3rd of August, Napoleon was again at Boulogne. The next day he reviewed the infantry of this great Army of England. In one line of battle were drawn up a hundred thousand men—a line which occupied more than three leagues, reaching from Cap Alpreck to Cap Grisnez. He inspected his flotilla, now all united in the four ports of Ambleteuse, Wimereux, Boulogne, and Etaples. The whole force, ready to embark, comprised a hundred and thirty-two thousand men, and fifteen thousand horses, with nearly six hundred pieces of artillery. There were, moreover, twenty-four thousand troops on the Texel, ready to embark, under the command of Marmont. To prepare the Army of England for their great adventure, the troops were brought down to the beach, where the gun-boats were lying to receive them. Every man had his appointed boat and his appointed place. Again, and again, men and horses were embarked and disembarked. It was found that an hour and a quarter was sufficient to get on board the right wing of the army, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, under the command of Davoust; and it was estimated that in two hours after the order had been given, the whole of this mighty force might be out of its harbours. But there was no protecting fleet of men-of-war in the Channel. Where were Villeneuve and Gravina? Where was Ganteaume, with the Brest squadron? Napoleon had no doubt that these fleets would unite, with a force sufficient to give battle to the British commanders. Let him once be assured that they were at hand, and not an hour should be lost in making the attempt that

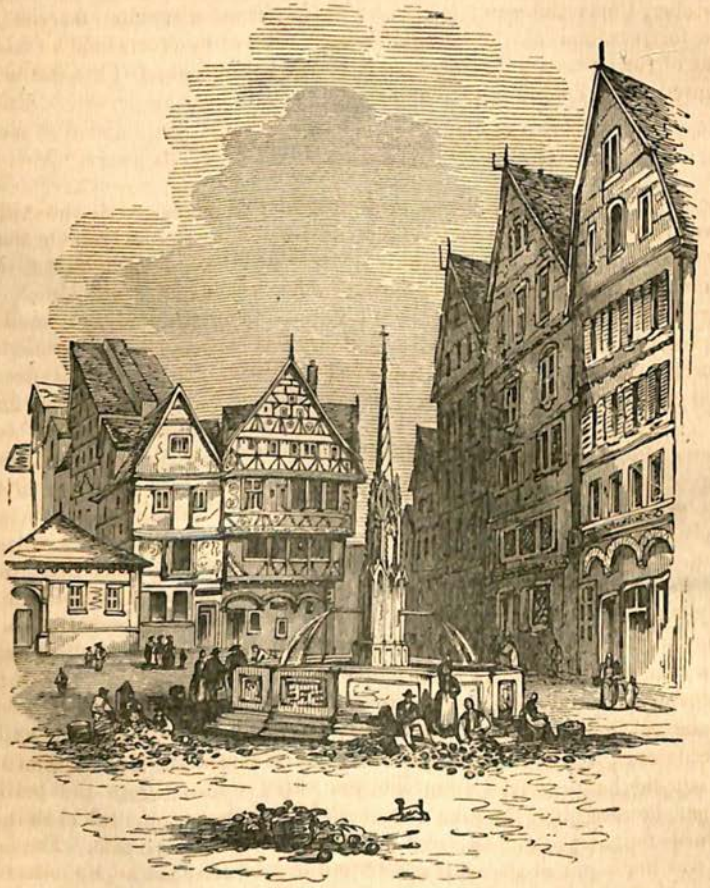
had been preparing for two years and a half. Let France be mistress of the passage for twelve hours, and England has lived.* All along the coast signals had been prepared to announce when the French and Spanish fleets should have appeared on the horizon. No signal was given. On the 22nd of August Napoleon received a despatch, by a courier from Lauriston at Ferrol, "We are going to Brest." He dictated instantly a letter to Ganteaume—"Set out and come here. Let us avenge six centuries of insult and shame." He dictated a letter to Villeneuve—"I hope you are at Brest. Set out; lose not a moment; and to be united with my squadrons come into the Channel. England is ours. We are all ready. All is embarked. Appear within twenty-four hours and all is finished." By the courier which brought Napoleon the despatch of Lauriston, admiral Decrès, the minister of marine, who was also at Boulogne, received a despatch from Villeneuve, which truly described the difficulties of his position. The emperor went into a tremendous passion; denouncing Villeneuve as a fool and a traitor. He was violent with Decrès, who offered him sound advice; but Decrès was a man of firmness, and he persuaded the emperor to give up his project for a season. The tempests of the equinox were at hand; the English were prepared to encounter the combined fleet. After several days of irresolution, which to men of dominant will is misery, he determined to relinquish for a season the invasion of England, and to march the army of the camp of Boulogne into Germany. He left Boulogne on the 2nd of September.

On the 26th of September, Mr. Pitt gave to lord Malmesbury a "most minute and clear account" of the proceedings which he had taken in negotiating his great Alliances with Russia and Austria. "Never was any measure, as far as human foresight could go, better combined or better negotiated."† Its failure, Malmesbury adds, "was solely in the execution." Neither Mr. Pitt nor the Allies had sufficiently taken into account the extraordinary rapidity of the operations of Napoleon, or the prodigious faculty of combination with which he had organized the movements of his various armies. The emperor called upon the Senate to raise eighty thousand conscripts. He told them, on the 23rd of September, that the wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent are at last fulfilled. Austria and Russia have joined England. The Austrian army has crossed the Inn; the elector of Bavaria has been driven away from his capital; all my hopes of the preservation of peace have vanished. The elector of Bavaria was the ally of France. Bonaparte left Paris on the 24th. The army at Boulogne had broken up its camp. Napoleon had formed the plan of a campaign which should unite this army with two other great divisions of his forces—that of Hanover, under Bernadotte; and that of Holland, under Marmont. The army of Boulogne marched to the Rhine, which river Napoleon crossed at Strasbourg on the 1st of October. In Franconia he would join the other two armies; cross the Danube below Ulm, in the neighbourhood of Donauwerth; and cut off the Austrians before the junction of the Russians. By the end of October, the rapidity of his

* "Si nous sommes maîtres douze heures de la traversée, l'Angleterre a vécu" (an idiom which has the meaning of "has ceased to live").—Letter of Napoleon to Decrès, in Thiers.

† Malmesbury, "Diaries," &c. vol. iv. p. 347.

movements, and their evident design, had caused alarm in London. "The newspapers," writes Wilberforce, "will have excited in your mind the same fears they have called forth in mine, that Bonaparte has been too rapid for the Austrians . . . . I cannot help fearing, from the accounts the papers give us, that the French have penetrated so far as to get between the



Ulm.

Russians, who were coming forward, and the Austrians." * This was not an idle fear. Ney's division had defeated the Austrians at Elchingen, and at Guntzburg. Large detached masses had capitulated at other places without fighting. Napoleon's marshals had very speedily reduced the Austrians in Bavaria to a force of about thirty thousand men at Ulm. The wall and bastions and ditch of this city offered no adequate protection; for Napoleon had

* Wilberforce, "Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 48.

obtained possession of the adjacent heights from which he could bombard a place from which escape was impossible. He summoned general Mack, the commander of the imperialists, to surrender. Mack returned an indignant answer; but finally agreed to surrender in eight days if he were not relieved. He considered that the Russians were close at hand. Napoleon knew otherwise. But time was of the greatest value to him; and in an interview with Mack, he persuaded him to surrender at once. On the 20th of October, thirty thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out of the fortress, and laid down their arms. The conqueror made an address to some of the officers, telling them that he wanted nothing on the Continent—he wanted ships, colonies, and commerce.

"O'er England's seas his new dominions plann'd,
While the red bolt yet flamed in Nelson's hand." *

Rumours of this inauspicious beginning of the operations of the Alliance that was to have saved Europe, had reached London very quickly. On the 2nd of November, Pitt said to Malmesbury, "Don't believe it—it is all a fiction." On Sunday, the 3rd, a Dutch newspaper had reached Downing-street, with the terms of the capitulation of Mack given at full length. Mr. Pitt and lord Mulgrave came to lord Malmesbury to translate the account, for the clerks of the Foreign-office who were able to translate Dutch were absent. "I observed but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. . . . . This visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened." † On the 7th of November, the news arrived of the crowning glory of Trafalgar.

Nelson was enjoying a little quiet at his house in the pretty village of Merton, in Surrey, when he learnt that the French and Spanish fleet, joined by the Ferrol squadron, had succeeded in entering Cadiz. His resolution was quickly taken. He went to the Admiralty and offered his services, which were joyfully accepted. Nelson was full of hope. "Depend on it," he said to captain Blackwood, "I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." He formed his plans of attack during the short time of preparation, when the Victory had to be refitted, and other ships were to be got ready to accompany him. Lord Sidmouth told Mr. Rush, the American ambassador, that in the course of a visit he had received from Nelson, three weeks before the battle of Trafalgar, he described the plan of it, with bits of paper on a table, as it was afterwards fought.‡ Yet he had a presentiment of his own fate. The coffin which was made out of the mast of l'Orient was deposited at an upholsterer's. He desired its history to be engraved on its lid, saying that he should probably want it on his return. When he arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th of September, the enthusiasm of the people reached that height which sometimes gives a character of sublimity to the movements of multitudes acting with one heart. They wept; they blessed him; they even knelt as he passed along. The cheer which went up from thousands of voices as his

* "Ulm and Trafalgar," by J. W. Croker.
† "Malmesbury," vol. iv. p. 347.
‡ Rush. "Residence at the Court of London," p. 459.

barge pushed off to his flag-ship, was the Godspeed of his country. He waved his hat—a last farewell to England.

The 29th of September was Nelson's birth-day. On that day he arrived off Cadiz. He had sent forward the Euryalus frigate to inform Collingwood of his approach, and to direct that no salute should be fired, to apprize the enemy that the British fleet had been reinforced. When he took the command, he had twenty-seven sail of the line, with which he retired to a station more than sixteen leagues from Cadiz, leaving two frigates to watch the harbour. He established also a line of communication between his main body and the frigates. On the day that Nelson joined the fleet, Villeneuve had received the positive orders of Napoleon, that the French squadron should enter the Mediterranean, and, sweeping away the British cruisers and merchant vessels, should proceed to Toulon. The ships that had been damaged in the action with Calder were repaired, with the exception of one that was nearly destroyed. When Villeneuve determined to go out from Cadiz, he could not risk the attempt without the support of the Spanish squadron. The combined fleet, therefore, moved to the entrance of the harbour, all ready for a start with a fair wind. Eight days elapsed before the wind was favourable. On the 19th and 20th of October, thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs, weighed anchor and put to sea. Nelson had despatched six sail of the line to Gibraltar for stores and water. Sir Robert Calder desired to return home, and Nelson insisted that he should go in his own ninety-gun ship. There remained to him twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates. On the 9th, Nelson sent to Collingwood his plan of attack. It was conceived upon the general principle of breaking the line,—a principle, says Thiers, by which the English had effected at sea a revolution similar to that which Napoleon had effected on land. But Nelson's plan of attack, in this his greatest adventure, was a more scientific application of the plan which had on many previous occasions been successful. The fleet was to move towards the enemy in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest two-deckers. Collingwood, having the command of one line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear; Nelson would lead through the centre; the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ships a-head of the centre. The plan would necessarily vary according to the strength of the enemy; but its general object was, that the British should always be one-fourth superior to the ships which they cut off. Few signals would be made. One direction was worth many embarrassing orders: "No captain could do wrong who placed his ship close alongside that of an enemy."

When Nelson learned on the 19th that the combined fleet had put to sea, he concluded that their destination was the Mediterranean, and he immediately made all sail for the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar. At daylight on Monday, the 21st, when about seven leagues from Cape Trafalgar, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward. Nelson was upon deck, and the signal was given to bear down in two lines, as arranged. Collingwood led one line in the Royal Sovereign; Nelson led the other line in the Victory. He retired to his cabin, and wrote down a prayer, that God would grant to his country a great and glorious victory; that no misconduct should be allowed to tarnish it; and that humanity after victory might be

the fundamental feature in the British fleet: "For myself, individually, I commit my life to him that made me." He then wrote a Memorandum reciting the public services of lady Hamilton, and leaving her, as well as his adopted daughter, to the beneficence of his country. He was calm, but without that exhilaration of spirit which he exhibited in his other great battles. Of captain Blackwood he asked, what he should consider as a victory? The enemy had showed a bold front of battle; and Blackwood answered, that the capture of fourteen sail of the line would be a glorious result. "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty," said Nelson. He then inquired, whether a signal was not wanting? When Blackwood answered, that he thought the whole fleet knew what they were about, up went the signal which conveyed the immortal words, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Three cheers from every ship was the response.*

In the Painted Hall of Greenwich, under a glass cover, is the admiral's coat which Nelson wore on the 21st of October. On its left side are four embroidered stars, the emblems of the Orders with which he was invested. He was implored to put on a plainer dress, for there were riflemen amongst the four thousand troops which were on board the French and Spanish ships. No. What he had won he would wear. On the deck he stood, a mark for the enemy—one whose life was worth a legion. There was a carelessness about his own safety that day which was chivalrous, however unwise. He was persuaded to allow some other vessel to take the lead in his line. He gave a reluctant order, but he made every effort to counteract it, for he would not shorten sail himself. Collingwood, at the head of his line, made all sail, steering right through the enemy's centre: "See how that noble fellow carries his ship into action," said Nelson. "What would Nelson give to be here," said Collingwood. Collingwood was spared to write the despatch which told our country of its gain and of its loss.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command, about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied, the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns: the conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory . . . . . Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy, and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind,

* The telegraph which communicated the noble exhortation was in numbers, thus;

253 269 863 261 471 958 200 870 4 21 19 24.
England expects that every man will do his d u t y.

See James's "Naval History," vol. iii. p. 289.

which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring that consolation which perhaps it ought."

The moving circumstances of the death of Nelson have been told by Southey with a touching fulness which has found its way to many a heart of the past and the present generations. He was shot from the mizen-top of the Redoubtable, which he supposed had struck. He fell where his secretary had previously fallen. "They have done for me at last," he said to captain Hardy, "my back bone is shot through." He was carried below, covering his face and his stars with his handkerchief, that his crew might not see who had fallen. His wound was soon perceived to be mortal. Every now and then a ship struck, and the crew of the Victory huzzaed. Then his eyes lighted up for a moment. He lingered in great agony for a little more than three hours. The last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired. Twenty of the French and Spanish ships had struck. But a gale came on; some of the prizes went down; others were wrecked on shore; one escaped into Cadiz; four only were saved. Four of the ships that made off during the action were captured on the 4th of November, by sir Richard Strachan. The French and Spanish navies never recovered, during the war, this tremendous blow. Napoleon's projects of invasion were at an end.

It was the 7th of November when Collingwood's despatches reached London. Pitt was roused in the night to read them. He said, a day or two after, that he had been called up at various times by the arrival of news, "but that whether good or bad he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced brought with it so much to weep over, as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three in the morning." * The feelings of the prime minister were shared by the humblest in the land. Malmesbury writes, "I never saw so little public joy. The illumination seemed dim, and, as it were, half clouded by the desire of expressing the mixture of contending feelings; every common person in the streets speaking first of their sorrow for him, and then of the victory." † The same feeling pervaded all, when the body of the hero was borne to St. Paul's, on the 9th of January:—

"To thy country thou cam'st back
Thou, conqueror, to triumphal Albion cam'st
A corse. I saw before thy hearse pass on
The comrades of thy perils and renown.
The frequent tear upon their dauntless breasts
Fell. I beheld the pomp thick gather'd round
The trophied car that bore thy grac'd remains
Through arm'd ranks, and a nation gazing on.
Bright glow'd the sun, and not a cloud distain'd
Heaven's arch of gold, but all was gloom beneath.
A holy and unutterable pang
Thrill'd on the soul. Awe and mute anguish fell
On all. Yet high the public bosom throbb'd
With triumph." ‡

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* Note of lord Fitzharris—"Malmesbury," vol. iv. p. 349.
† *Ibid.*, p. 349.
‡ Sotheby's "Saul."

The pageant lives in the ineffaceable remembrance of our boyhood. Six and forty years afterwards, the remembrance crowded upon our thoughts, when we beheld the car of another warrior moving through the same streets to the same place of rest. Mute veneration for him who died, full of years, whilst every year he lived added to a nation's love, marked the funeral pomp of Wellington. Impassioned grief, audible sighs, tears coursing down rugged cheeks, marked the funeral pomp of Nelson. They sleep together in the same crypt beneath the dome of St. Paul's—the two who in the agony of England's fate best fought the fight and achieved the victory.

Tomb of Nelson.

Ulm surrendered to the French the day before the victory of Trafalgar had annihilated the French and Spanish fleets. When Napoleon heard of the event he was advancing upon Vienna. He manifested his sense of its importance, by sending to Paris his orders that the French journals should say as little as possible about it—merely say that it was an imprudent encounter, in which the combined fleet had suffered more from a tempest than from the enemy. On the 13th of November, Vienna was entered by French dragoons and grenadiers. They marched through the city without a halt, to reach the great wooden bridge over the Danube. The Austrians had received orders to destroy this bridge, which was the only passage from the capital to the northern provinces. For several days there had been a partial suspension of hostilities, whilst negotiations for an armistice were proceeding. The French generals advanced to the Austrian troops who kept the bridge, and called out that the armistice was concluded. The unsuspecting Germans let the troops pass, and the French soon held both sides of the Danube.

The magistracy of Vienna came to Napoleon at the palace of Schönbrunn, to implore him to spare their city. There was no national enthusiasm to stimulate resistance. The German people had not yet been roused to fight for their independence. Their governments were despotic. It was a quarrel of crowned heads, to be decided either way by armed masses, with little harm or little benefit to the commonalty. Napoleon soon quitted Vienna in the confidence that he should finish the war by a decisive victory over the Austrians and Russians. With the allied army were the emperor of Germany and the emperor of Russia. On the 2nd of December Napoleon encountered about a hundred thousand Russians and Austrians with a somewhat smaller number of highly disciplined Frenchmen at Austerlitz, in the neighbourhood of Brunn, in Moravia. The battle began at sunrise and lasted till sunset. The defeat of the allies was complete. On the 3rd of December Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph that he had taken 40,000 prisoners, and that the enemy had left from 12,000 to 15,000 men on the field. "A whole column threw itself into a lake, and the greater part of them were drowned. I fancy that I still hear the cries of these wretches, whom it was impossible to save."* There is another version of this horrible story. The flying Russians crowded on the frozen lakes. Napoleon, from the table-land of Pratzen, on the side of these lakes, saw the disaster which he had so well prepared. He ordered the battery of his guard to fire round shot on the ice that was unbroken, to complete the destruction of those who had taken refuge upon the frozen waters.† Another account says that the French, having fired first upon the ice nearest the shore, the Russians were then upon an island of ice. They went on their knees, and then the batteries fired upon them till six thousand were killed or drowned.‡ Napoleon slept comfortably after this feat. He had been sleeping for a week in the open air. "To-night I sleep in a bed in the fine country house of M. de Kaunitz, near Austerlitz, and I have put on a clean shirt, which I had not done for a week." § On the 4th of December he had an interview with the emperor Francis. On the 26th was signed the peace of Presburg, by which the emperor Francis gave up to the new kingdom of Italy those parts of the Venetian territory which he had acquired by the peace of Campo Formio. Napoleon made two kings out of two electors his allies—the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Würtemberg. The emperor Alexander refused to retreat according to the time and route furnished by Napoleon. He retired unmolested, to try his fortune once more in conjunction with the king of Prussia, with whom he had formed a treaty of alliance. Prussia had been temporising, as usual. The king decided too late to render assistance to Austria and Russia; too soon for his own eventual safety.

The great triumph of Napoleon gave the final blow to the shattered health of the English minister who had organized the Coalition. He scarcely bore up against the disaster of Ulm; he revived at the news of Trafalgar; he sank when the calamity of Austerlitz became known to him. He went to Bath on the 8th of December. The waters produced a fit of the gout,

* "Correspondence of Napoleon with his Brother," vol. i. p. 64 (1855).
† Thiers, tome vi. p. 326.
‡ "Correspondence with Joseph," p. 65. [Translator's note] § Ibid.

which was succeeded by a total debility of digestion. At the end of the month lord Castlereagh went to Bath to tell him the fatal end of all his great plans. "It struck Pitt so deeply, and found him in such an enfeebled state, that he certainly never recovered it."* By slow journeys, attended by his physician, sir Walter Farquhar, he arrived at his villa at Putney, so emaciated as not to be known. On the 13th he saw lord Castlereagh and lord Hawkesbury for the last time. Malmesbury says that after this interview he said to the Bishop of Lincoln, putting his hand on his stomach, "I feel something here that reminds me I shall never recover." On the 13th he saw lord Wellesley, who had just returned from India; and he fainted, according to Malmesbury, before Wellesley left the room. Lord Brougham gives an interesting account of this interview, but with a material variation: "This, their last interview, was in the villa on Putney Heath, where he died a few days after. Lord Wellesley called upon me there many years after; it was then occupied by my brother-in-law, Mr. Eden, whom I was visiting. His lordship showed me the place where these illustrious friends sat. Mr. Pitt was, he said, much emaciated and enfeebled, but retained his gaiety and his constitutionally sanguine disposition; he expressed his confident hopes of recovery. In the adjoining room he lay a corpse the ensuing week; and it is a singular and a melancholy circumstance, resembling the stories told of William the Conqueror's deserted state at his decease, that some one in the neighbourhood having sent a message to inquire after Mr. Pitt's state, he found the wicket open, then the door of the house, and, nobody answering the bell, he walked through the rooms till he reached the bed on which the minister's body lay lifeless, the sole tenant of the mansion of which the doors a few hours before were darkened by crowds of suitors alike obsequious and importunate, the vultures whose instinct haunts the carcasses only of living ministers"† The doors darkened by crowds of suitors, only a few hours before his death, appears to be a flight of imagination. George Rose came to Putney on the 15th, and there learnt that lord Castlereagh and lord Hawkesbury had insisted on seeing Mr. Pitt on points of public business, of the most serious importance, which interview visibly affected him. He saw Mr. Rose for five minutes on the 15th. From that time, Rose says, "no one had access to him but the Bishop (of Lincoln) and the physicians." On the 23rd, Rose enters in his Diary, that about seven in the morning he received a note "to tell me that my most inestimable friend quitted the world about four o'clock. He saw no one after the Bishop had taken notes of his last desires, but lady Hester (his niece), who went to his bedside in the evening. He at first did not know her; but afterwards he did, and blessed her: nor did he utter another word, except that about half-an-hour before he breathed his last, the servant heard him say, 'My country! oh, my country!'"‡ The bishop went away from Putney Heath, as soon as the dreaded event of this winter morning was over, before the busy world was stirring. We ourselves, long ago, heard the story of the deserted house, with a sufficient explanation. Nothing more

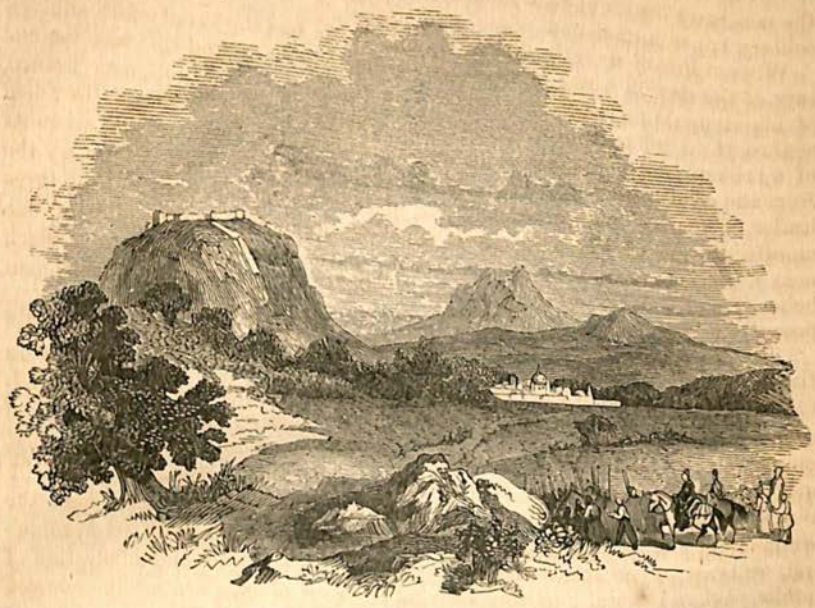
* Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 352.
† "Statesmen of the Time of George III.," vol. iii. p. 312.
‡ Rose. "Diaries," p. 223, and p. 233.

natural than that the few servants should have gone from Putney Heath upon the necessary duties of such mournful occasions, and have left the doors of the solitary house unfastened.

William Pitt died on the 23rd of January. It was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day on which he first entered Parliament. And this was the end of his struggle for thirteen years against the power of revolutionary France, against the Directory, against the Consulate, against the Empire. He "died of a broken heart," says his devoted friend, Wilberforce. "The accounts from the armies struck a death-blow within." On the 26th of January the leader of these armies entered Paris, after a victorious campaign of three months, to receive the homage of a nation which saw in the glory of one man a recompense for all the miseries of the Republic; a nation which believed that to make France mistress of the world was to make Frenchmen prosperous and happy.

The great parliamentary career of William Pitt commences in 1781.* His supreme command of the political action of his country commences in 1783.† In 1784, Gibbon wrote from Lausanne, "A youth of five-and-twenty, who raises himself to the government of an empire by the power of genius and the reputation of virtue, is a circumstance unparalleled in history, and, in a general view, is not less glorious to the country than to himself." ‡ We have traced the history of this great orator and statesman from the brilliancy of his life's day-spring to the clouds and darkness of its evening; and, we trust, in no unfriendly spirit—rather with a profound admiration of intellectual and moral qualities such as the sons of men are rarely endowed with. Nevertheless, we have not repressed a conviction that, if his peace-administration was as eminently sagacious as it was safe and prosperous, his war-administration and his domestic policy from 1793 gave few occasions in which to display the ascendancy of his genius in high and blameless deeds, however surpassing his power of justifying his measures by majestic and all-prevailing words. He was indeed "the top of eloquence." We cannot deny that he was also the most ardent amongst "lovers of their country;" the farthest elevated above all mercenary objects. Those who affected to be of his school were really, with one or two exceptions, not his pupils. Had Pitt lived to behold the war triumph, he might again have vindicated his claim to be a great peace minister and a sincere social reformer.

* *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 433. † *Ante*, vol. vii. 139.
‡ "Life of Pitt," by Earl Stanhope, vol. i. p. 237; 1861.



Fortress of Ali-Ghur.

CHAPTER XXVI.

India—Attacks in Parliament upon Marquis Wellesley—The Subsidiary system—The Mahratta Chiefs—The Mahratta War—General Lake—General Wellesley—The Battle of Assye—End of the Campaign—Holkar—Famine in India—Mutiny at Vellore—Administration of Grenville and Fox—Financial Measures—Volunteers—Acquittal of Lord Melville—The Princess of Wales—Mr. Fox and the King—Declining health of Mr. Fox—Slave Trade—Progress of the cause of Abolition—Thomas Clarkson—Negotiations for Peace—End of the Negotiations—Death of Mr. Fox—Confederation of the Rhine—Prussia—Aggressions of Napoleon—Murder of Palm—Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples—British Army in Calabria—Battle of Maida—Capture of Buenos Ayres by Sir Home Popham—Its recapture.

TWELVE days after the marquis Wellesley had seen his great friend for the last time, and had felt that the voice would soon be mute which could best defend him from the enemies that were gathering around, Mr. James Paull, who had aspired to sit for Westminster, moved for papers, upon which he purposed to ground grave charges against the late governor-general of India. He had to lament, he said, in common with every man who had turned his thoughts to India, and in common with all the nations of Hindustan, that lord Wellesley's spirit of aggrandizement, his love of power, and insatiable ambition, had led him into errors and mistakes that had shook to their base

our very existence in India, and to consequent acts of great injustice and oppression.* The Indian policy of Wellesley had been somewhat too bold for the timid expediency of the Addington government. The prime minister told Mr. Henry Wellesley that the administration "could not support the Governor-General against the Court of Directors," and that as a private friend he could not advise him to stay beyond the year 1803.† Before that year had closed, the statesmanship of lord Wellesley, and the military exploits of his brother Arthur and of general Lake, had established the supremacy of the British in India, "under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult." Such were the terms addressed to Wellesley by the Directors of the East India Company in 1837. In 1805, no Indian administrator was ever more the object of their jealousy and suspicion. Arthur Wellesley returned to England in September of that year. He thus writes to his brother after an interview with lord Castlereagh: "He lamented in strong terms your differences with the Court of Directors, and entered with some detail upon the causes of them. These were principally the old story—disobedience of their orders, contempt of their authority, neglect to write to them to inform them of the most important events, and declared dislike of their persons." They feared that he would endeavour to overturn their authority when he returned home.‡

After the fall of Tippoo, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799, § lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the Subsidiary System. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which, a military force, under our own command, was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British Resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. This subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British Parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by one who has been a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned." ‖ In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the Nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nabob of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favour of the British all the powers of government. The Subahdar of Oude, and the Peishwa, came also under subordination to the British authority. After the rupture of the peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence. The war of England against

* Hansard, vol. v. col. 564.
† Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 339
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 535. § *Ante*, p. 379.
‖ Lord Brougham—"Sketches of Statesmen," vol. iii. p. 308.

Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavery and the Poorna, were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

The warlike race of the Mahrattas were the lords of a population of forty millions, who occupied the fertile provinces extending in length from Delhi to the Toombuddra, and in breadth from the bay of Bengal to the gulf of Cambay. There were five Mahratta chieftains, whose collective military force amounted to 300,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry. The authority of the nominal sovereign, the Rajah of Sattara, was in the hands of the Peishwa, or prime minister, whose office was hereditary. He held his court at Poonah. The ostensible but feeble head of the Mahratta chiefs, he generally looked for aid to the British to defend him from his ambitious rivals, but he had sometimes intrigued to throw off the British connexion and form an alliance with the French. At the beginning of the century, the great chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Scindia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the Peishwa, who fled from Poonah after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poonah, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the Peishwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Scindia, to coalesce with him against the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the British. Directing the military operations of Scindia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhoonsla, the Rajah of Berar (or Rajah of Nagpoor), joined the alliance of Scindia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was Guickwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Scindia had some possessions and great power and influence. Guickwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the Peishwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The Nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandize their own power. It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tippoo. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondicherry had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the Governor-General decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organizing the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One

element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war. On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to general Lake. General Wellesley was at Poonah, with 17,000 men, when the negotiation with Scindia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Douab which had been bestowed upon him by Scindia. In Guzerat, colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt sands of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Dekkan, and through the passes of the Ghauts, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges." *

It was the 3rd of August when the British Resident quitted Scindia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August general Wellesley wrote a letter to Scindia, characterized by his usual decisive language:—"I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." † On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednuggur. General Lake was equally prompt in his movements. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied. Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Ali-Ghur was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, general Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Baroach. In a little more than three weeks Baroach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Scindia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan. The triumphant career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswarree on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of Parliament and a peerage were

* Miss Martineau—"Introduction to the History of the Peace," p. cxxxv.
† "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 179.

never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Splendid and decisive as was the career of the northern army—important as were the successes of the Bombay army and the Madras army—the chief interest of this Mahratta war nevertheless consists in following the military operations, in tracing the evidence of the qualifications for a great captain, of one whom Napoleon, with his characteristic want of honesty, to say nothing

General Lake.

of magnanimity, pronounced to be "*un homme borné*"—a general fit only to command Sepoys.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of general Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednuggur. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: "Move forward yourself with the Company's cavalry, and all the Nizam's, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. . . . . A long defensive war will ruin us. . . . . By any other plan we shall lose our supplies." * On the 21st of August Wellesley's cavalry was passing the wide Godavery. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. General Wellesley—who did not disdain to make himself thoroughly acquainted with what some would have considered matters out of a commander's vocation—when he first entered the Mahratta territory sent the most minute directions to an officer how such boats were to be made, in the construction of which "well cured skins" were most essential articles. † During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Scindia's forces, united with those of the Rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurungabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French

* "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 210.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 54.

officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, general Wellesley received information that Scindia and Bhoonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. "It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed," writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. A lieutenant of the 78th, who had behaved well at the attack of Ahmednuggur, had been appointed by the general to act as his brigade-major.* That lieutenant was Colin Campbell, who afterwards served under Wellington in the Peninsular war. From the similarity of name he has been sometimes mistaken for the Sir Colin Campbell, who in 1857 and 1858 was the sagacious commander-in-chief of the forces of India, and whose distinguished services raised him to the peerage as Lord Clyde. The young lieutenant's description of the battle of Assye, contained in a private letter of the time, is the clearest description of this extraordinary conflict which we have seen.† "The general," says Campbell, "immediately formed his plan." In his latter years, the Duke of Wellington related to "an early and intimate friend" how "he formed his plan:"

"I was indebted for my success at Assye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also; but my native guides all assured me, that the river was impassable in this part, and the superior force of the enemy would not permit me to have it examined. I was rather puzzled; but at last I resolved to see what I could of the river myself, and so, with my most intelligent guides and an escort of (I think) all my cavalry, I pushed forward till I could see with my glass one village on the right or near bank of the river, and another village exactly opposite on the other bank, and I immediately said to myself, that men could not have built two villages so close to one another, on opposite sides of a stream, without some habitual means of communication either by boats or a ford—most probably by the latter. My guides still persisted that there were neither; but on my own conjecture, or rather reasoning, I took the desperate, as it seemed, resolution of marching for the river—and I was right. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, and on which Assye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the

* "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 361.

† It is published, as a note, in the "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 184.

battle—the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."*

The battle of Assye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoys, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We continue the spirited narrative of Colin Campbell:—

"The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed: some of the corps, I think, waited too long, wishing to bring forward their guns, which could be of no service. The line moved rapidly (I may say without firing two rounds) and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them. Things at this period did not go on so well on our right, owing to some mistake of the piquets in having, when ordered to advance, inclined to their right, which brought the 17th regiment into the first line. Major Swinton went to the piquets, and asked them why they did not move on? On his return to his regiment he found that numbers of his officers and men had fallen. He immediately moved forward. At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately, and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii. p. 513.

to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhampoor. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Scindia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the Rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, general Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Scindia and Bhoonsla. The troops had marched a great distance, on a very hot day; but, although late, the general determined to encounter the long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up on the plains of Argaum. Their line extended above five miles. That great array was soon broken by the resistance of the British infantry, when they were attacked. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mogul, and the Mysore cavalry.* This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilghur, a strong place thus described by general Wellesley: "The fort of Gawilghur is situated in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee. It stands on a lofty mountain on this range, and consists of one complete inner fort which fronts to the south, where the rock is most steep; and an outer fort, which covers the inner to the north-west and north. This outer fort has a third wall, which covers the approach to it from the north by the village of Labada. All these walls are strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers."† Colonel Stevenson broke ground near Labada on the 12th of December. Gawilghur was bombarded for three days, and the fort, heretofore deemed impregnable, was in the possession of the British on the 15th of December.

The Mahratta war with Scindia and Bhoonsla was at an end. The Rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Scindia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Baroach, Ahmednuggur, and his forts in the Douab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to receive the protection which was extended under the Subsidiary System to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The Governor-General tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would

* "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 556. † *Ibid.* p. 583.

come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

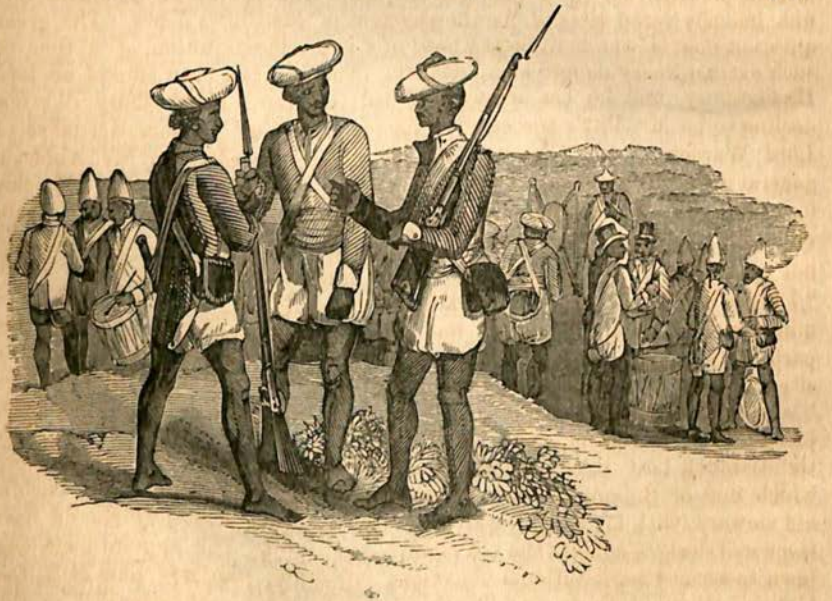
Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the Order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of "Dearth in India." * There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of our Indian empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present. Since 1804 there have been many famines, especially one very terrible in 1837, in the north-western provinces. Such a calamity has again occurred in 1860. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction during recent years of great canals for irrigation. The Eastern and the Western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal, are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public services had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a Member of Parliament. In 1822, when marquis Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, some allusions having been made in the House of Commons to the conduct of the Governor-General of India, twenty years before, as partaking of the spirit which distinguished all those possessed of despotic power, lord Castlereagh truly said, that when the marquis had to undergo a long investigation of his conduct, there was considerable delay "before he received that homage which was justly due to his talents and integrity, and which he did ultimately receive, in spite of all opposition."† It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away. Paull had

* "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. iv. p. 514.
† Hansard, N. S., vol. vi. col. 169.

sufficient notoriety during the short period he was before the English public. He fought a duel with sir Francis Burdett in 1807, and he terminated his career by suicide in 1808.

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th, fell in the attempt to save his men. His widow wrote an interesting account of the horrors of that night, having, almost miraculously, escaped with her little boy.* There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding-places and shot. The sons of Tippoo Saib, who were residing at Vellore, were suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys.



Sepoys.

It was wished to transform the turban into something like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British Government to

* "Plain Englishman," vol. ii. p. 437.

convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindoo population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that, unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land."*

The House of Commons has voted an Address to the king, for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, and a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The House was not unanimous in this vote. Mr. Windham objected, because "it has not been the usage of this country, or of mankind in general, to grant the highest rewards, unless in cases where merit has been crowned with success." He could not agree in awarding the highest honours to Mr. Pitt, "in the midst of the very ruin which his last measures had brought on." Mr. Fox praised the disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt's career as a minister—that "with regard to private emolument he had acted with a high degree of integrity and moderation." But, he said, "I cannot consent to confer public honours, on the ground of his being 'an excellent statesman,' on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which I had early been taught to consider as a bad one." The motion was carried by a majority of 169. The House of Commons has unanimously voted 40,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts. The great question now is, who is to be the head of a new administration, at a time of such extraordinary danger and difficulty. The post has been offered to lord Hawkesbury, and he has wisely declined it. Lord Hawkesbury did not decline to be Mr. Pitt's successor in the enjoyment of the lucrative office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at which, according to Mr. Abbot, a general dissatisfaction was expressed. On the 27th of January the king saw lord Grenville, and desired him to form a new administration. Lord Grenville told his majesty that he could not propose any arrangements which did not give Mr. Fox a distinguished place in the Cabinet. The king replied, "I know all that; have your arrangements ready by Wednesday." † The ministry of "All the Talents" was accepted without any hesitation on the part of the king. There were some incongruous materials in its composition. Lord Sidmouth could command forty or fifty parliamentary friends—"who constituted a species of armed neutrality far too powerful to be overlooked." ‡ He was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He brought with him, into the Cabinet, lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice—an arrangement which one of Sidmouth's friends described as reminding him of "a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil designs against the old family mansion." § The appointment was open to serious constitutional objections. Romilly, who was now Solicitor-General, thought there was "nothing illegal or unconstitutional" in this

* "Annual Register," 1806, p. 254.
† Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 32.
‡ "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 412. § *Ibid.* p. 417.

nomination; although "it is certainly very desirable that a judge should not take any part in politics." * Wilberforce expressed the general feeling when he deprecated the mischievous consequences of subjecting the decisions of our courts of justice to the influence of party attachments; or, which he thought of equal importance, of producing an impression on the public mind that such a bias existed. † Lord Campbell holds,—and there can be no higher authority,—that "the duties of Criminal Judge and Member of the Cabinet are incompatible." ‡ When the Ministry was finally constituted, Mr. Erskine (lord Erskine) became Lord Chancellor; lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department; Mr. Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Windham, Secretary of State for War and Colonies; and lord Henry Petty (the present lord Lansdowne), Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The financial measures of the new Ministry, however necessary, did not advance their popularity. Lord Henry Petty is described by the Speaker as "going through the whole financial state of the country in a clear, distinct, and comprehensive manner." But no lucidness of detail could reconcile the nation to the property-tax being raised to ten per cent. from six and a half per cent. Mr. Windham's plan for improving the condition of the soldier, by enlisting him for a stated period and not for life, was a real improvement in the constitution of the army. But Mr. Windham knew little of the character of the British people. He considered that he was a faithful advocate of popular rights when he resisted any attempt to legislate against bull-baiting. He believed that he was not wanting in public spirit when he would have rested the security of the land from invasion upon a vast standing army. He was an able and honest politician; but one whose alliance was as dangerous as his hostility. He brought odium upon the government by the discouragement he gave to that national feeling which the alarm of 1803 had called forth; and in his contempt of four hundred thousand citizens embodied for the defence of their country. Wilberforce writes, "I hear from Lascelles that administration is highly unpopular on account of Windham's treatment of the Volunteers." §

The trial of lord Melville, during this Session, upon the impeachment of the Commons in 1805, excited little interest in the public mind. On the 10th of May, Romilly, as one of the managers for the Commons, summed up the evidence for the impeachment. It was his first public appearance as a political leader; and, says Horner, "his success was as great as his friends predicted." The result of the trial gave to many opponents of the Tory party, as it gave to Horner, "much disgust and despondency with respect to public affairs." They considered the verdict—not guilty—"contrary to plain, strong, accumulated evidence." Nevertheless, there was no marked expression of dissatisfaction at his acquittal by the Peers on the 12th of June, after a proceeding which had lasted sixteen days. Nor did the people take more

* Romilly—"Diary," March 1.
† Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. p. 258.
‡ "Lives of the Chancellors." Erskine.
§ Wilberforce—"Life." vol. iii. p. 267.

interest in the protracted debates upon the charges against marquis Wellesley. There was one subject which did excite them—the rumours of a solemn inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, by virtue of a commission from the king to the Chancellor, lord Grenville, lord Spencer, and lord Ellenborough. The servants of the princess were examined. Romilly, as Solicitor-General, was engaged in these examinations; and, in his opinion, the principal charge against the princess, which arose out of her adoption of a child, was completely disproved. He adds that "the evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the princess was very favorable to her."* During six months this inquiry furnished ample scope for the exercise of curiosity. It terminated by the king referring the whole matter to his Cabinet; and, by their advice, his majesty sent a written message to the princess, saying that there was no foundation for the graver charges against her, but that he saw with serious concern, in the depositions of the witnesses, and even in her royal highness's own letter to him written by way of defence, evidence of a deportment unbecoming her station.† The hateful question of this unseemly deportment in its extent and consequences was long a source of prurient excitement, and of consequent injury to public morals.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was the member of the government upon whose influence all looked with anxiety—some with extravagant hope; some with causeless alarm. Would the king long agree with Mr. Fox, whom he hated, was the first question? The king not only tolerated Mr. Fox, but he soon came to like him. In a memorandum of the late princess Augusta, it is recorded that after Mr. Fox's return to power a gloom appeared to hang over the spirits of the king; but that after their first interview the cloud was evidently removed. The king said to his new minister, "Mr. Fox, I little thought that you and I should ever meet again in this place. But I have no desire to look back upon old grievances, and you may rest assured I never shall remind you of them." Mr. Fox, replied, "My deeds, and not my words, shall commend me to your majesty."‡ A base motive has been imputed to George III., in his ready consent to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet in 1806, as contrasted with the time when he would rather have hazarded the greatest of all evils than have allowed him to be a colleague of Mr. Pitt. "The king is said to have had early intelligence of Mr. Fox's days being numbered."§ We are unable to trace, in any of the Correspondence and Diaries which have appeared since this sentence was written, any apprehension amongst the colleagues of Fox, or amongst any other public men, as expressed earlier than two months after his appointment to office, that he was in ill-health; or that a fear was entertained that he would soon be likely to be laid at rest by the side of his great rival. On the 5th of March, Wilberforce enters in his Diary, that consulting with Fox on the question of Abolition he found him "quite rampant and playful, as he was twenty-two years ago, when not under any awe of his opponents."‖ But

* Diary in Romilly's "Memoirs," June 7, 1806. † *Ibid.* February 29, 1807.
‡ "Quarterly Review," vol. cv. p. 482.
§ Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," vol. iii. p. 313.
‖ Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. p. 259.

the Speaker records that on the 31st of March Mr. Fox was taken ill at the House of Commons, and that Mr. Cline, the eminent surgeon, entertained a very bad opinion of his case, general symptoms appearing of a dropsical habit.* Three days after, Fox spoke for an hour in the House of Commons on Windham's military plans. At the end of April, the same diarist records that Mr. Fox was "advised to retire for a time from his unceasing attention to business; which he positively refuses to do at this period." He had, indeed, no common work in hand which required the exercise of his vast ability, his energy, and his discretion. He died on the 13th of September, having been engaged to the last in consultation with his colleagues on two great points of national policy. In the House of Commons, in January 1807, lord Howick thus described the leading aspirations of Mr. Fox in the last conversation of the two friends on the 7th of September: "On that occasion he told me, that the ardent wishes of his mind were, to consummate before he died, two great works on which he had set his heart, and these were, the restoration of a solid and honourable peace, and the abolition of the slave-trade."† In the one object, he did not live to see the unsuccessful issue of a negotiation with France which was begun soon after his entrance into office. In the other object he had the happiness of being partially successful; but the final success was reserved for his colleagues, as the one great measure of permanent good which they accomplished during their brief tenure of power.

The history of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade is a history of individual efforts, carried on, through many years, with unexampled zeal and perseverance; and taken up, again and again, by the British Legislature, amidst slight hopes of success against an opposition resolute to defend a traffic, of which the enormity of the evil was reconciled to many minds by the magnitude of the profits. Truly, for the few enthusiasts who entered into a contest with the great merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, whose ships carried every year fifty thousand captive negroes from the African coast to the West India Islands—truly, for such as Thomas Clarkson, "it was an obstinate hill to climb."‡ In looking back to the growth of public opinion on the subject of African slavery, some may believe that the triumphant exclamation of Cowper, "Slaves cannot live in England," had reference to an earlier time than that of lord North's administration. It was through the exertions of Mr. Granville Sharp, that it was solemnly declared "that a slave, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and becomes a free man." We quote the words of Blackstone, who refers to the great case of the negro Somerset, as reported in the State Trials. That case was not decided till 1772. To the Society of Friends in England belongs the honour of the first united efforts to prevent the continuance of the Slave-Trade, against which they petitioned parliament in 1783. Clarkson was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor of the University announced as the subject of a Latin Prize Essay, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" Clarkson obtained the prize. He has recorded

* Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 48.
† "Hansard," vol. viii. col. 324.
‡ Wordsworth's "Sonnet to Clarkson."

that after having read his Essay in the Senate House, on returning to London on horseback, he sat down disconsolate on the turf by the road-side, asking himself if the horrible facts stated in his own composition could be true? "Here a thought came into my mind that, if the contents of my Essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end." Timidly he asked himself, a young man of twenty-four, if the business of his life lay in that direction? He was intended for the Church. He thought that there were few labourers in the vast field which was always present to his agitated imagination; and that in that field he would work in his "great task-master's eye," better than in the field where the labourers were many. He translated his Essay into English, with additional facts. He became known to some zealous Quakers. He obtained introductions to Wilberforce, Pitt, and Fox. Henceforth the cause was in the hands of men whose voices would go through the world, and would speak trumpet-tongued to the justice of mankind. From this time to 1788, Clarkson pursued his great object in the most practical manner—by the collection of a vast body of details, totally new to the English people, which he published in 1788. These facts he gathered together by incessant labour; by obtaining evidence, often at his personal peril, amongst the seafaring population of the great commercial ports. The difficulty of finding a disinterested witness was almost insurmountable. He searched fifty-seven vessels to find one sailor who had been serving in the Canterbury slave-ship, and had gone up the river Calabar with the canoes of the natives, when they seized all the inhabitants of a village, and carried them off, men, women, and children. Narratives such as this roused the feelings of the country; the feelings, we mean, of families who pondered over those horrors, as dangers from without, and dangers from within, gathered around the land, and who thought that God would not bless their nation whilst it tolerated such crimes. It was a time when in this, as in every other instance, men were afraid to touch any foul ulcer of the commonwealth lest the vital parts should be endangered by the attempts to cure. Slaves were property, some said; destroy slavery and you render all property insecure. We have matters of more consequence to attend to than what you term negro wrongs, said others. The interests, so called, of the West Indies were for a long time paramount, amidst the sophistries and indifference of either party in Parliament. At length Wilberforce came, with his persuasive eloquence and his influence over Pitt, and the cause of the Abolition gradually grew into shape. In 1788, Wilberforce being seriously ill, Pitt carried a Resolution binding the House of Commons to consider the circumstances of the Slave Trade early in the ensuing Session. From that time the Abolition of the Slave Trade was never suffered to pass wholly out of the view of the English Parliament. Wilberforce and his immediate friends, who looked upon the Abolition as a great religious question, were indefatigable. Pitt, who had to deal with the matter as a statesman, was often held, perhaps unjustly, to be lukewarm. The motions of the Abolitionists were uniformly defeated in the House of Lords. In the House of Commons they were carried twice—in 1792 and in 1796—by small majorities. In 1804, Wilberforce carried his Bill by a majority of 75. Although lost in the Upper House, he was now sanguine of its ultimate success. It was, however, lost in the Commons in 1805. In 1806, under the ministry of lord Grenville and Mr.

Fox, a Bill introduced to the Peers by the First Lord of the Treasury, prohibiting British subjects from engaging in the trade for supplying foreign settlements or the conquered colonies, was carried. This almost unexpected success called for new efforts. On the 10th of June, Mr. Fox proposed a Resolution "that this House, conceiving the African Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable." The motion was carried by 114 against 15. In moving his Resolution Mr. Fox used these touching words: "So fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what will be the object of my motion this day, that if, during the forty years that I have now had the honour of a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty." On the 19th of June, Mr. Fox spoke, for the last time, in the House of Commons. There is a pleasant reminiscence of this, his last attendance in parliament, in the Diary of lord Colchester. In the room behind the Chair he drank tea with the Speaker, whilst the evidence upon the Oude charge against lord Wellesley was being discussed in Committee. They gossiped pleasantly upon a variety of subjects;—upon the dark ages, which Fox denied to be so dark as we were apt to represent them; upon Livy's history, which he looked upon as a beautiful romance; upon the Greek historians; upon political economy, and his little faith in Adam Smith, and in the other economists, whose reasons were so plausible but so inconclusive; on the eminence of the Greeks in arts and arms, which he chiefly attributed to their abandonment of pursuits, such as those of commerce and manufactures, which engaged modern nations. "In this desultory talk he was extremely pleasant, and appeared to please himself." * A week later, Wilberforce records in his Diary, that William Smith, after they left the House, was talking of Fox constrainedly; "when at last, overcome by his feelings, he burst out, with a real divulging of his danger—dropsy. Poor fellow! how melancholy his case! he has not one religious friend, or one who knows anything about it. How wonderful God's Providence! How poor a master the world! No sooner grasps his long sought object than it shews itself a bubble, and he is forced to give it up." †

The second great point upon which Mr. Fox had set his heart, when he accepted office, was the conclusion of a sound and honourable peace. He had not received the seals as Foreign Secretary longer than ten or twelve days, when he had occasion to address M. Talleyrand upon a very singular occurrence; which he felt it his duty, "as an honest man," to communicate to the French minister. A person informed Mr. Fox that he had lately returned from Paris, and had something to impart which would give him satisfaction: "I received him," says Fox, "alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the ruler of

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 70.
† "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iii. p. 268.

France; and that for this purpose a house had been hired at Passy, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk." Mr. Fox caused the man to be detained, and wrote to Talleyrand, in continuation of this statement, that he could not, according to our laws, detain him long; but that the wretch should not be sent away till full time had been gained to avert any danger. The letter was laid before Bonaparte, who upon reading it said, "I recognize here the principles of honour and of virtue by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated." On the 5th Talleyrand sent to Fox a copy of the emperor's speech to the Legislative Body. It contained these words: "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens." On the 26th of March the Secretary for Foreign Affairs wrote a long despatch to the French minister, in which he stated that he had submitted the private letter to the king; that his majesty's wishes were uniformly pacific, but that a safe and lasting peace was what the king had in view, and not an uncertain truce; that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens had been variously interpreted; but that the true basis of a negotiation would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle: "That the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." Many were the letters that passed between Fox and Talleyrand; in which the simple and straightforward style of the Englishman contrasts in a striking manner with the involved sentences, well adapted to conceal his thoughts, of the subtle Frenchman. Fox set out by assuming that the negotiation was to be conducted as by "two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane." This correspondence went on up to the 14th June, the British minister insisting that the negotiation should be conducted with reference to the British alliance with Russia, and the French minister as constantly refusing to treat upon that principle. The negotiation then took another shape. Lord Yarmouth was amongst the Englishmen detained in France at the commencement of the war. Talleyrand induced him to be the medium of a communication with the Court of St. James's, of a private and confidential conversation, in which Talleyrand would explain the sentiments and views of France. At a second interview, Talleyrand told lord Yarmouth that the restoration of Hanover should be no difficulty; that the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily should be no difficulty. Full powers were then sent to lord Yarmouth to negotiate; which he properly held back till he had seen more clearly what was really meant. Talleyrand had gone from his former propositions with regard to Sicily. At the end of July lord Yarmouth communicated to Mr. Fox that a separate treaty had been concluded between Russia and France. This was a great discouragement to the successful termination of the negotiation. But Fox still persevered in his endeavours for peace; and directed the earl of Lauderdale to proceed to Paris as a plenipotentiary, although he feared that no peace could be concluded upon terms which would be admissible. The negotiations were begun upon the principle of the *uti possidetis*—the principle of retaining what each party possessed. The French government shifted from that position. Meanwhile the emperor

of Russia repudiated the treaty which a rash if not treacherous agent had concluded. This fact was known in England on the 4th of September. Mr. Fox died on the 13th. The diplomatic intercourse was prolonged till the 1st of October, when lord Howick wrote to lord Lauderdale, that after six months of negotiation, there could be no reason why France should not give a plain and decisive answer upon points which had been so long under consideration. In the last note of Talleyrand which preceded the final rupture of the negotiation, he said, "The event will disclose whether a new coalition will be more disadvantageous to France than those which have preceded it. The event will also disclose whether those who complain of the grandeur and ambition of France should not impute to their own hatred and injustice this very grandeur and ambition of which they accuse her." When the papers were laid before Parliament, in January, 1807, lord Howick, who, in common with his party, had maintained that in the negotiations for peace, in the time of Mr. Pitt, the English government was chiefly to be blamed for their failure, now said that in the negotiations of 1806, "there never was any opportunity of procuring such terms as would have been adequate to the just pretensions, and consistent with the honour and interests, of this country." At that time the predictions of Talleyrand as to the issue of a new coalition had been partly accomplished. Lord Howick saw then what all true-hearted Englishmen began to see: "The event is in the hands of Him who giveth the victory. But one thing is clear—the progress of Bonaparte has never yet been stopped by submission, and our only hope, therefore, is in resistance, as far as we can resist his ambitious projects. We have done what our honour and duty called upon us to do. When this instrument of vengeance may be deprived of his terrors, I know not; but we may at least look to the honour and independence of this country as secure against all his attacks, and while this country exists as an honourable and independent nation, there will still remain some hopes of restoring that political balance in Europe which has for the present been overturned." *

Thus, one of the two great objects upon which Fox had set his heart had utterly failed. More than a month before his death, he had almost ceased to hope for the accomplishment of this object. The failure was not to him a fatal blow, as Austerlitz was to Pitt; but the protracted negotiation wore his spirit, breaking down under disease, and his end came on rapidly. The final despatch from lord Lauderdale was received by him on the 7th of September, the day of his last interview with lord Howick. He died at the duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, being unable to bear the journey from Downing-street to his beloved St Anne's Hill. He was buried with all public honours on the 10th of October. The grave of Fox in Westminster Abbey is within six yards of the grave of Pitt.

"The mighty chiefs sleep side by side." †

Most of that generation, who had looked upon the battles of these chiefs during a quarter of a century—fierce battles, but rarely wanting in chivalrous respect each for the other,—most men felt what Francis Horner expressed,—

* "Hansard," vol. viii. col. 323.
† Scott—"Introduction to Marmion."

"The giant race is extinct; and we are left in the hands of little ones, whom we know to be diminutive, having measured them against the others." *

We must turn back to the disreputable contests between the House of Commons and John Wilkes, to see the opening of the career of the great parliamentary advocate of liberty; of the never-failing enemy of oppression; of the constant opponent of war. The young orator of 1769 was not then a tribune of the people.† He soon took his proper position by the side of Burke and Barré, as the greatest master of "argumentative vehemence." ‡ His acceptance of office as a member of the Coalition ministry, and his ejection from power by Pitt, made them rivals. Their different views of the French Revolution made their rivalry life-long. But what noble rivalry! What a contrast in the very nature of the eloquence of these orators—the sustained majesty of the one; the rapid transitions of the other; the withering sarcasm opposed to the passionate invective; the proud self-assertion checked by the generous tribute of genius to genius. No two statesmen, so dreaded for their mental powers, so hated and suspected by the violence of party, were ever more beloved in private life, or had more devoted friends. They were each loved with an attachment stronger than that of political ties—with the love that the genial nature, more than the towering intellect, endues with constancy, even beyond the grave. §

Whilst the ministry of Grenville and Fox were negotiating for peace, with all honesty of purpose, Napoleon put himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine. This was not an empty title of honour for the emperor of the French. It was a result of the humiliation of the emperor of Germany, and of the terror which France was holding over the head of the king of Prussia. It placed the minor States of Germany under the absolute control of Napoleon; it destroyed all nascent feeling of Germanic unity; it confined the contest for Germanic independence to Austria and Prussia, always disunited and jealous; and it compelled the greater of these powers to renounce the proud title of the successor of the Cæsars, and to be content with the humbler dignity of emperor of Austria. The treaty for the federal alliance of the States that separated themselves from the empire of Germany, to place themselves under the protection of a new chief of the empire, was signed on the 15th of July. The king of Prussia made no resistance to this confederacy, for he had hoped to form another union of States in the north of Germany of which he should be the head. He was soon taught by Napoleon to have humbler aspirations. He had been bribed by the possession of Hanover into acts of hostility towards Great Britain in the exclusion of British vessels from her ports. The British government retaliated by a blockade of the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Trave, and also by an embargo upon Prussian vessels in the ports of the United Kingdom. The king of Prussia found that there was danger in quarrelling with the Court of St. James's. France had no hesitation in proposing to take out of the mouth of Prussia the bait which she had greedily snatched at.

* "Life," vol. i. p. 373; Letter of 15th September.
† *Ante*, vol. vi. p. 293.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 343.
§ In the "Life of William Pitt," by Earl Stanhope, there is a parallel between the two statesmen, written in a candid and impartial spirit—vol. i. p. 238 to 251.

Hanover was to be restored to George III. The king of Prussia had begun to find that the ties which bound him to France were no silken fetters; that he was despised by his great ally; that his people were becoming indignant at the humiliating position of their sovereign, and impatient of the loss of their commerce in consequence of the British blockade. There was something more to raise the indignation of the Prussian people than the degradation of their sovereign or the loss of their trade. They had a foretaste of the tyranny with which the military slaves of Napoleon's will endeavoured to put down any manifestation of public opinion in opposition to that will. On the frontiers of Prussia was collected a large French army, occupying territories of Austria and of free States, and levying excessive contributions. In the imperial city of Nuremberg, a bookseller, John P. Palm, was arrested by order of the French government; as five other publishers had also been arrested in other towns. Palm was dragged from his house to the fortress of Braunau, and he was there shot by the sentence of a French military commission. He had published a book calculated to rouse a national spirit in Germany, but which his captors described as seditious writings tending to excite the populations to insurrections against the French armies. The merciful tribunal at Braunau offered the publisher his pardon, if he would give up the author of the book. He refused; and he was murdered. A touching letter which Palm wrote to his widow, a few hours before his execution on the 26th of August, was printed and extensively circulated in Germany. One yell of indignation rose against the foreign tyrant. There was another power rising up against Napoleon than the power of kings and cabinets—the power of opinion. The king of Prussia was compelled to yield to this power; and for a season he was crushed under the iron heel of the conqueror. He was tardily making up his mind to break his chains whilst lord Lauderdale was negotiating at Paris. Before the British envoy had quitted Paris, Napoleon had set off with the determination to cut short the vacillation of Prussia, by one blow which should destroy all the ascendancy which the House of Brandenburg had acquired since the days of Frederic the Great. England was no prompter in the contest for which Prussia was now preparing.

Compared with the mighty warlike operations over Germany during the autumn of 1806, the exertions of the British arms read like trifling episodes of a great epic. In November, 1805, a Prussian and British force had landed in Naples, without opposition by the Neapolitan court, which had professed neutrality whilst the war of the coalition of Austria and Russia against France was in progress. This was an opportunity for Napoleon. From his camp at Schönbrunn, on the 27th of December, 1806, he addressed a proclamation to an army appointed to enter Naples: "The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign. Its existence is incompatible with the tranquillity of Europe and the honour of my crown. Soldiers! march; throw into the waves, if they wait for you, the weak battalions of the tyrant of the seas." His brother Joseph was at the head of this army. Napoleon in a few weeks wrote to this brother, "My will is that the Bourbons shall have ceased to reign at Naples. I intend to seat on that throne a prince of my own house. In the first place you, if it suits you."* Whether it suited, or not, the

* "Letters of Napoleon to Joseph," vol. i. p. 74.

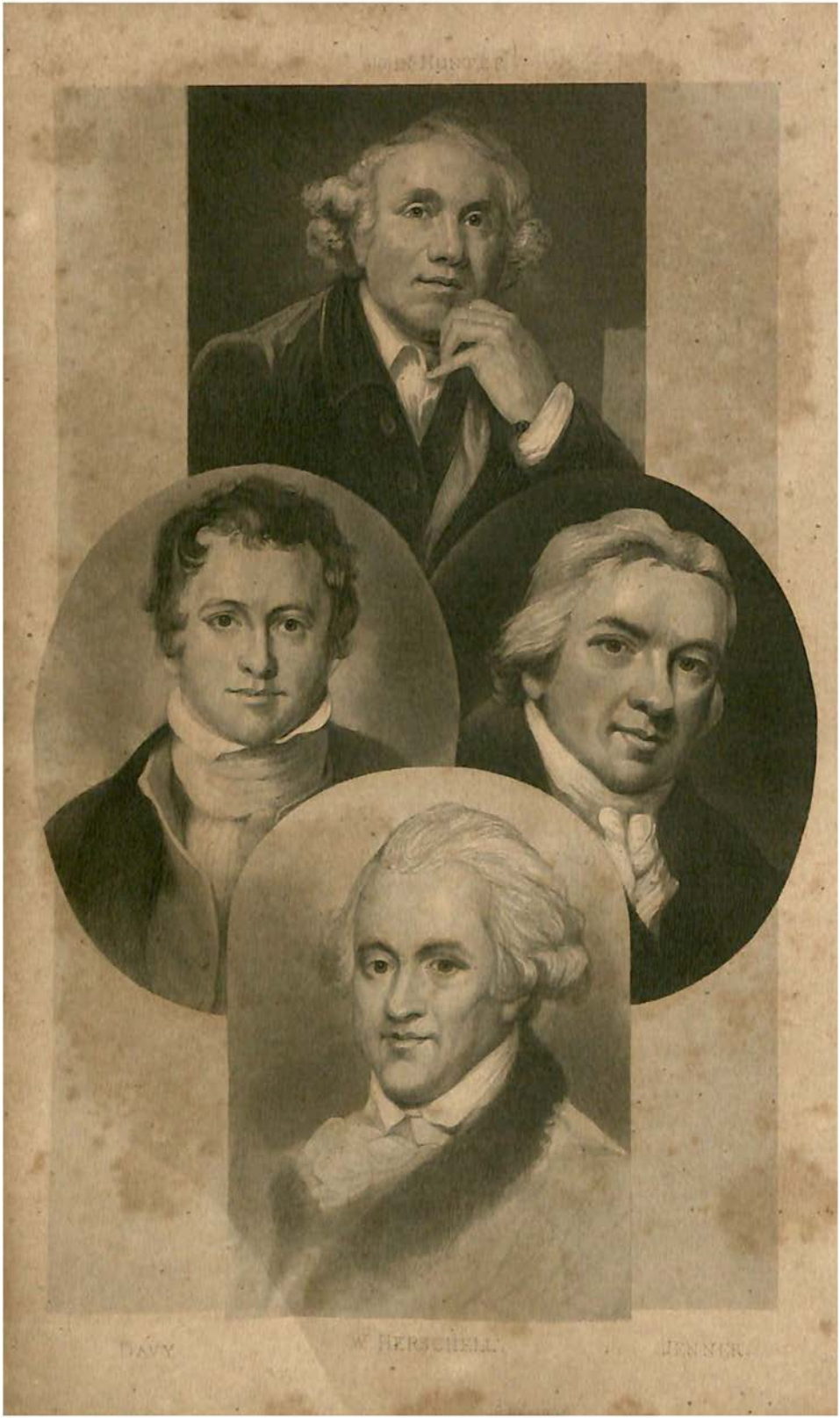
command was sufficient; as it was sufficient for brother Louis, who was proclaimed king of Holland in June. Joseph entered the city of Naples on the 15th of February; the king withdrew to Palermo; and Joseph caused himself to be proclaimed king on the 30th of March. In Sicily there was a British army commanded by sir John Stuart. Sir Sidney Smith had the command of a squadron at Palermo. The people of Calabria were discontented under their French masters; and Stuart was urged by the court of Naples to render them assistance. He landed near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria on the 1st of July. The French general Reynier collected his forces, and directed them towards the place of disembarkation. "I wished to march immediately on the English, to throw them into the sea," he writes to king Joseph. The English did not wait upon the beach to be thrown into the sea. They marched to the interior, and on the 4th fought the battle of Maida,—a battle which has given a name to a district of London. It was quickly decided—not by cannon or musketry, but by the bayonet. Reynier has related his defeat with unusual candour. When within half-gun-shot of the English, which remained carrying arms, the drums of the French regiments beat the charge. On they rushed, as the English battalions opened their fire. "But," says Reynier, "when they had only fifteen steps to make in order to reach the enemy's line with the bayonet, and destroy it, the soldiers of the 1st regiment turned their backs and fled. Those of the 42nd perceived the movement; and, though they had only a few more steps to take, began to hesitate, and followed the example of the 1st. As soon as I perceived the flight of the 1st regiment I turned towards the second line, to charge with that, but the Poles were already in flight." * It was all over. The slaughter of the flying French was terrific. There was an officer in Reynier's army, more known as a man of genius—one of the wittiest of pamphleteers after the Restoration of the Bourbons—Paul Louis Courier, who writes to a friend after this battle,—"the adventure is grievous for poor Reynier. We fought no-where. All eyes are upon us. With our good troops, and forces equal, to be beaten in a few minutes! Such a thing has not been seen since the Revolution." † The victory was decisive; but there were no permanent advantages from the victory. The Calabrian insurgents drove the French out of the province. But they returned after sir John Stuart had left; and there was a protracted and a cruel warfare of soldiery against peasantry, with the usual result of such unequal conflicts.

The news of the battle of Maida which reached London on the 2nd of September made the English pulse beat a little higher; but it did not produce half the excitement of the news of the taking of Buenos Ayres, which news arrived on the 13th. What did it matter to the eager hopes of commercial men that sir Home Popham had accomplished this great adventure without orders from home? He had commanded the naval force at the taking of the Dutch Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in January—an important conquest, which, whether for good or for evil, we have retained ever since. The Spanish colonies on the Rio de la Plata were considered to be ill-defended; and sir Home Popham determined to make a dash at a

* Reynier to Joseph, July 5.

† "Œuvres de P. L. Courier," tome iv. p. 113 (Bruxelles, 1828).

region reported to be so rich in treasure and merchandize, and so capable of affording a great opening to British commercial enterprize, that he would be justified in acting upon his own impulse. Having obtained from the general at the Cape the assistance of some troops, he arrived in June at the mouth of La Plata. Buenos Ayres was taken without opposition, with a great booty in the Treasury, and vast stores in the shipping on the river. The triumphant man sent home a circular addressed to the mercantile and manufacturing towns in Great Britain, which drove the speculators wild. Not the Scotch when they colonized Darien sent out such wonderful cargoes of goods as were sent in 1806. When the cargoes arrived Buenos Ayres had again changed masters. Under the command of a French colonel in the Spanish service, an attack was made on the British troops in the city; and after a sanguinary conflict they surrendered as prisoners of war. There was a more fatal termination of the South American enterprizes in the following year. Thus it was, and thus it had been, from the commencement of the war in 1793. Year after year the armies of England were engaged in what the greatest of her commanders described as the most ruinous of systems—the carrying on "a little war." Expeditions were again and again organized, to operate rather as distractions of the enemy than to produce any permanent impression upon the issue of the contest. Whilst Napoleon rapidly directed a great and overwhelming force upon one point, England was attempting enterprizes in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in America, some of which had a temporary success, others a lamentable failure; but in all of which the bravery of her troops amply proved what a large army of such men could do, if fairly brought to grapple even with the veterans of Marengo or Austerlitz. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for seven years before, vast as were the sums expended upon small achievements, the government of George III. could never "screw its courage to the sticking-place," to conduct a war against the aggressions of the Republic and the ambition of Napoleon, upon a scale that might emulate the vigour with which the government of Anne conducted the war against the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth.


DAVY
W. HERSCHELL
JENNER

Medal struck on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Napoleon takes the field against Prussia—Positions of the Prussian and French armies—Battle of Jena—The French enter Berlin—The new Parliament meets—Bill passed for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Proceedings which resulted in a change of Ministry—A great Constitutional Question—The new Administration—Parliament dissolved—Battle of Eylau—Cold encouragement of England to the Allies—Expeditions to various points—Expedition to the Dardanelles—Its failure, and that of other Turkish expeditions—Expedition against Buenos Ayres—Its lamentable results—General Whitelock—Meeting of the new Parliament—Battle of Friedland—Peace between Russia and France—Treaty of Tilsit—Secret articles of the Treaty become known to the British government—The Danish fleet—Expedition to Copenhagen—Bombardment—Surrender of the Fleet.

On the night of the 25th of September, Napoleon, accompanied by the empress, and by Talleyrand, left Paris. There was something more important to accomplish than remaining at the Tuileries for the mystification of lord Lauderdale. The French emperor proceeded with his usual rapidity to Mayence; and from Mayence to Wurtzbourg, where German potentates and German generals came to bow before his greatness. Around him was his army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, divided into nine corps. There were three Prussian armies, of which the principal army of fifty-five thousand men was commanded by the king in person, with his nephew, the duke of Brunswick, as his lieutenant-general. This was the famous general who advanced into France at the beginning of the Revolution, and raised a spirit in the people, that, begun in patriotism and a passion for liberty, degenerated into a passion for conquest. The duke was now seventy-one years of age. He had resigned the command of the Prussian and Austrian forces in 1793, and for thirteen years had been looking upon the great contests of Europe without taking any part in the struggle. The issue of one of the most tremendous conflicts of a time when the whole system of military tactics was changed, was now confided to a pupil of Frederick the Great. He was confronted with Napoleon, with Bernadotte, Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney.

Augereau, Murat, Bessières, Lefebvre,—commanders who were formed in a school of warfare which, utterly disregarding the routine of the parade ground, and the systematic and slow manœuvres of a past time, rapidly concentrated large masses for the attack of an enemy, indifferent to the amount of carnage in their own ranks so that the opposing force was annihilated. The ancient duke had some notions that he had discovered the secret of French success. He was for advancing against Napoleon's legions, and boldly attacking them. But time was an important element in these calculations. The Prussians, before they moved to attack, were holding councils of war; discussing plans; attempting to negotiate; and, as a preliminary to pacific overtures, desiring the haughty emperor immediately to withdraw his troops beyond the Rhine, and to commence his retreat on the 8th of October. Napoleon replied by an instant march into Saxony, after issuing a proclamation to his soldiers which concluded by saying that the Prussians would find that the hostility of "the great people" was more terrible than the tempests of the ocean.

The Prussian armies were posted on the Saale, in the vicinity of Erfurt, Gotha, and Eisenach. The outposts of the Prussians and French were close to each other on the 8th of October. Battles of separate divisions had been fought, as the Prussians advanced to meet their antagonists. They were compelled to relinquish the offensive system, which was incompatible with the tardiness and irresolution of their commanders. All that bravery could do would be done. All that patriotism could do would be stimulated into chivalrous enthusiasm, when the beautiful queen of Prussia rode from rank

Queen of Prussia.

to rank of the soldiery, and exhorted them to fight for their country. Bonaparte sneered at the queen in one of his bulletins: "We seem to behold Armida in her madness setting fire to her own palace." But something, without which patriotism and bravery are of little avail, was wanting to Prussia. On the night of the 13th of October the Prussian watch-fires extended for six leagues. The fires of the French under Napoleon spread over a small space, of which the central fires lighted up the summit of the Landgrafenberg on which Napoleon bivouacked. On the morning of the 14th of October he attacked that portion of the Prussian army which, under

the command of the prince of Hohenlohe at Jena was unprepared for an immediate assault. The main body was at Auerstadt; and was attacked by Davoust. Thus, this great battle, which decided the fate of the Prussian monarchy, is sometimes called the battle of Jena and sometimes the battle of Auerstadt. By whatever name this fatal day of the 14th of October is known, in that double battle, in which two hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, with seven hundred pieces of cannon, twenty thousand Prussians were killed or wounded, and above thirty thousand were taken prisoners. The king fled from the field; the duke of Brunswick received a

Frederick William III., King of Prussia.

shot in his eye, of which wound he died on the 10th of November. All the principal fortified towns surrendered to the French, without resistance. In the northern provinces the Prussian generals, Blücher and Lestocq kept some regiments together. All the rest of the great force that was on the banks of the Saale in October was broken. On the 25th the French, under the command of Davoust, entered Berlin. Napoleon made his triumphal entry on the following day. On the 15th of November, he wrote to his brother Joseph, "the Prussian army and monarchy have ceased to exist." * On the 20th of November he issued from the palace of the House of Brandenburg the celebrated decree against the commerce of England, known as the Berlin Decree. The ambition of Napoleon could scarcely be satiated by the destruction of the monarchy that Frederick the Great had built up; for Russia was still in arms; England was still unscathed. His project of invasion was laid aside, to give place to a project quite as impracticable—that of putting England into a condition of isolation with the rest of Europe. He now writes to Joseph, "the news of what has just happened has thrown London into consternation. The occupation of Hamburg, which I have just effected, and the declaration of the blockade of the British islands, will increase this uneasiness."

At this moment marshal Lannes wrote to the conqueror at Berlin, that the soldiers of his corps, having heard a proclamation addressed to the great army, had cried out "Live, the Emperor of the West!" In the name of his

* "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 2-2.

corps, the politic Lannes desired to know whether in future he might address his despatches to the Emperor of the West? No answer was given; but the idea took possession of the soul of Napoleon. The enthusiasm of the soldiers, says Thiers, divined his ambition. It inspired him with a profound joy. He kept his own counsel, whilst he cherished in secret his passion for this title.* Emperor of the West! But how so, whilst England was in arms? Perish then her commerce! The Berlin Decree went forth, followed by that of Milan; and upon the raft of Tilsit the emperor of the French, and the emperor of all the Russias, agréed to divide the world, the one as Emperor of the West, the other as Emperor of the East.

From battle fields and triumphs we turn to a warfare that looks less magnificent, but which is nevertheless not without its influence in the affairs of nations—the party conflicts of the British Parliament; the ministerial changes of the British Monarchy.

After the death of Mr. Fox, the ministry of lord Grenville felt itself weak in parliament. No statesman of commanding ability had joined the government. Lord Holland was the only new member of the administration. Mr. Canning resisted an overture to take office. A dissolution was resolved upon. The result was favourable to the administration; and they had a considerable majority when the new parliament met on the 15th of December. The great subject of debate was on the papers which related to the negotiation for peace with France. The able and spirited speech of lord Howick, in which he advocated an amount of resistance to Napoleon which even the keenest war partizan could not disapprove, gave the ministers a triumph without a division. The financial propositions of lord Henry Petty contemplated an annual system of loans, to make provision for a permanent state of warfare, setting a portion of these loans aside at accumulating interest, to constitute a sinking fund for their redemption. These schemes have passed "into a limbo large and broad," which statesmen have long since deserted. The great work of this session was the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. On the 23rd of February, 1807, the House of Commons decided by the vast majority of 283 to 16, that the House should go into Committee on the Slave-Trade bill, the second reading having been previously carried, as it had been carried in the Lords. When sir Samuel Romilly burst into unusual eloquence, in describing the feelings with which Mr. Wilberforce would that night lay his head on his pillow, as the preserver of millions of his fellow-creatures, as contrasted with that man who had waded to a throne through slaughter and oppression, the House shouted again and again, even as uneducated multitudes shout when their feelings are deeply stirred by impassioned oratory. The bill was read a third time on the 18th of March; was passed, with some trifling amendments in the Lords; and received the royal assent on the 25th of March. On that day the Grenville ministry delivered up the seals of office. They had not been ejected from the counsels of the sovereign by a parliamentary majority. They had been required by the king to give a pledge which no constitutional minister could give. They had, somewhat indiscreetly, it is held, but as many will think most conscientiously, brought forward the question, though in a very limited shape, which drove Mr. Pitt from office in 1801. There were

* "Histoire du Consulat et l'Empire," tome vii. and tome xvii.

too many "friends of the king" ready to take advantage of their indiscretion. They were excluded from power; and for nearly a quarter of a century the party of the Whigs was the party of Opposition.

On the 5th of March, 1807, lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament. He asked, was it prudent, was it politic, when we were contending with such a powerful enemy, to prevent a large portion of the population of the country from contributing to the common defence? Mr. Perceval denounced the proposed bill, as one of the most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. On the 18th of March lord Howick postponed the second reading of the bill. He was not authorized, he said, nor would it accord with his duty, to enter into any explanation on the subject. The king had then declared against the bill. Lord Sidmouth had sent in his resignation. The king's mind was diligently made known. The expectants of office, even those who advocated the measure of Catholic relief, would sacrifice every consideration to the comfort of the king. The ministers saw their danger, and in deference to the earnestly expressed wishes of his majesty, consented to withdraw the measure on Roman Catholic enlistment. Mr. Abbot enters in his Diary of the 18th of March, "The duke of York, duke of Portland, and lord Eldon have been very busy for the last ten days; and the tone at Windsor very triumphant over the yielding ministers."* The ministers did not yield an unqualified abandonment of their desire to avert the dangers of Ireland by concession. They sent a cabinet minute to the king on the 15th of March, stating that those of his confidential servants who had promoted the bill in parliament now abandoned the whole measure; that it was intended as the first step towards a system of policy which they thought essential to the interests of the empire; that although they had endeavoured to prevent the Catholic petition from being brought forward, they must necessarily declare their own individual opinions in its favour whenever agitated in parliament; and, that their sense of duty required them to propose at any time, from time to time, such measures towards the Catholics, as should in their judgments most contribute to the security and tranquillity of Ireland.† This abstract of the cabinet minute, by the Speaker, from a copy shown to him, is more circumstantial than any account we have seen of the ministerial proceeding. The immediate cause of the termination of the ministry is stated in a letter of lord Grenville to the Speaker: "On the merits of the measure which has led to this consequence, I fear we are not wholly agreed in opinion. But that measure is not the point on which the government is now at issue. We had decided to let it drop; but there has been since required of us a written and positive engagement never, under any circumstances, to propose in the Closet *any* measure of concession to the Catholics, or *even connected with the question.*"‡ If the ministers had given such a pledge they would have been fitter ministers of the Sublime Porte than of the court of St. James's. They might have said to their sovereign,

"This is the English, not the Turkish court."

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* Lord Colchester's Diary, vol. ii. p. 102. † *Ibid.*, p. 103. ‡ *Ibid.*

They refused to give the pledge required; and the king very quickly formed a new administration. The constitutional question of the danger to which the country would be exposed, if ministers should bind themselves by pledges to their sovereign not to give advice that might be disagreeable to him, was ably maintained in a spirited debate on the 9th of April, when Mr. Brand moved a Resolution, "that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential Servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of the empire." The resolution was met by a motion for reading the other orders of the day. The Opposition sustained a most unexpected defeat, having a majority against them of thirty-two in an extraordinarily full House. On that occasion sir Samuel Romilly declared, that the true question before the House was, whether it was not a high crime and misdemeanor in any minister in the confidence of the king to subscribe to a pledge that he would not offer any advice to his majesty which might appear to him to be essential to the interests of the empire. There was another constitutional question mooted in this debate —that there could be no exercise of the prerogative in which the king could be without some adviser. The new ministers had avowed that the king had acted without advice. They disowned the responsibility, but they could not escape from the constitutional inference—that by accepting office they had assumed the responsibility.* Mr. May, in his recent excellent work, says, "no constitutional writer would now be found to defend the pledge itself, or to maintain that the ministers who accepted office in consequence of the refusal of that pledge, had not taken upon themselves the same responsibility as if they had advised it."† The holders of office had now a majority over those whom the king had turned out. The alarmists of the Church took part with the king; and the ministers, knowing the value of the old popular cry of "No Popery," dissolved the parliament at the end of its first session.

The new ministry,—of which the duke of Portland was the nominal head, but of which Mr. Perceval, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the real leader,—enrolled lord Eldon as Chancellor, Mr. Canning as Foreign Secretary, lord Hawkesbury as Home Secretary, and lord Castlereagh as War and Colonial Secretary. The duke of Richmond was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary. There were other holders of high office, who were long associated with the fortunes of the great party upon whom the conduct of affairs now devolved—lords Bathurst, Camden, and Westmorland. The deliberations of Parliament were soon terminated. It was prorogued by commission, and a dissolution announced, on the 27th of April. His majesty was "anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection." The people, thus addressed, understood little of constitutional questions. They had a horror of any approach to conciliation of the Catholics of Ireland, whatever the most enlightened statesmen of either party might think was just. They had a natural sympathy with the personal feelings of their king, now advanced in years, with the infirmities of age coming fast upon him, for he was nearly blind. The Corporation of London addressed the king as the

* Hansard—vol. ix. † May—"Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 27.

preserver of our religion, laws, and liberties, and the protector of the religious interests of his people.* The party cry was "King and Constitution," at a time when the successful attempt to merge the responsibility of the king's ministers in the irresponsible power of the king, had given the constitution as rude a shock as any encroachment of the old days of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong."

On the point of leaving Downing-street, lord Grenville wrote to his brother, "The deed is done, and I am again a free man, and to you I may express, what it would seem like affectation to say to others, the infinite pleasure I derive from my emancipation." To continue actively to participate in the conduct of the war on the continent would have appeared a hopeless task, even to the sanguine mind of Mr. Pitt. After Austerlitz, the great minister was reported to have said, "Tear up the map of Europe." It was frightfully torn after the Prussian humiliation at Jena. That it would ever be joined again now appeared very improbable, although the Prussian and Russian forces had, in February, made a determined stand at Eylau. At this place in Eastern Prussia, was fought, on the 9th of February, one of the most terrible battles of the great war. The remnant of the Prussian army had been enabled to form a junction with the main Russian army under general Benningsen. The French, at the end of November, had entered Warsaw; where the prospect of national independence, to which Napoleon had given an equivocal encouragement, ensured the French a welcome reception. Napoleon himself entered Warsaw on the 19th of December. The French armies had crossed the Vistula, and had taken up their winter quarters from Elbing to Warsaw. They wanted rest; but the active Russian general allowed them no rest. He attacked Bernadotte on the 26th of December; and in the battle of Pultusk the French found that their emperor had undervalued the enemy with whom he had to deal. He had written to Cambacérès, before crossing the Vistula, "All this is child's-play, to which I must put an end."† He could not "finish with all his enemies" as quickly as he expected. Bernadotte, under the orders of the emperor, moved to Thorn, on the Vistula, in the expectation that Benningsen would follow, and that Napoleon would go forth and fall upon the too eager Russian. But Benningsen was not so easily entrapped. He retired to Preussisch Eylau, a small town in the circle of Königsberg. Here he was followed by Napoleon, with eighty thousand men, according to the Russian accounts. Some French historians admit sixty-eight thousand. Thiers maintains that only fifty-four thousand were in the field. He estimates the Russians at seventy-two thousand, with eight thousand Prussians. There was probably no great disproportion of numbers on either side. The French, says Thiers, had the confidence of success, and the love of glory; the Russians had a certain fanaticism of obedience, which led them blindly to defy death. Some may think—which the historian evidently does not think—that the fanaticism of duty is more to be admired than the presumption of vanity Napoleon had passed the night of the 7th of February at the house of the postmaster, in the little town of Eylau, situate on a small eminence. As the

* "Annual Register," 1807—April 22.
† Thiers, tome vii. p. 216.

winter morning broke, the emperor stood in the churchyard, straining his eyes to watch the movements of masses of Russians in the plain below. A keen east wind was blowing; the snow was falling thick and fast; he was scarcely aware that a detachment of Russians was upon him, from whose hands he was only rescued by the devotion of his guard. The battle soon became general; and the dreadful struggle went on till ten o'clock at night. For hours the advantage on either side was very doubtful. When darkness fell upon the combatants there was still no victory. The next morning Napoleon looked upon the field of battle, and there beheld thousands of dead and dying; horses struck down; cannon dismounted;—all lying amidst frozen ponds and drifts of snow, whilst burning hamlets and farms added to the horror of the scene. Napoleon, for once, seemed to feel the "one touch of nature" which "makes the whole world kin." This spectacle, he cried, should inspire princes with the love of peace and the horror of war.* His heart was scarcely affected by what was not agreeable to his taste to look upon. He had made an experiment of dressing some regiments in the white uniform of the old days of the Lilies. He turned shuddering from the patches of blood which the white cloth made too conspicuous. He would, in future, have nothing but blue for his soldiery. The butcher's blue frock hides the blood; but nevertheless there is the same blood on the floor of the slaughter-house.

For more than four months it was expected that important results would have ensued from the vigorous resistance which Napoleon had encountered at Eylau. The king of Prussia had rejected his propositions for peace; the Russians had been reinforced; the emperor of the French had ordered a new conscription, the third within seven months, and France was losing heart. Had there been a vigorous war ministry in England when the Allies applied for assistance, some great result might have been obtained. Lord Howick answered their application by stating that, "the Allies must not look for any considerable land force from Great Britain." A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted—a very petty and therefore very useless aid. The emperor of Russia had asked for a loan of six millions from the government. The government proposed to sanction a private loan, upon a complicated security for interest—that the Russian duties upon British merchandize should be levied in British ports. Great Britain had other modes of employing her money and her arms than in carrying on war upon a great scale. Whether her government were Whig or Tory, there was the same passion for little expeditions. A writer of remarkable powers of sarcasm has described what Bonaparte would do, if his counsellors "were taken from the English political caste." He would "delay doing anything until the season for operations was nearly gone by; he would then probably treat a little, and be duped by his allies, and cavil and wrangle a good deal, and quarrel with some of them, and excite a hatred of all of them and of himself, and a contempt of his plans among his own subjects. But, all these preliminaries of failure being settled, he would at last come to his operations; and his policy would be to get up a number of neat little expeditions, equal in number to the things he wants to take—just one for each

* Thiers, tome vii. p. 395.

thing."* This is a masterly description of the councils, in 1806, of the Whigs, who bequeathed their policy to their Tory successors in 1807. But it was not directed against the Whigs. It was published in October, 1808, and was intended as a philippic against the first measures of the Peninsular war, which it was predicted would fail, as most other military efforts had failed, in producing any real effect upon the issue of the contest. There was a great deal of truth in what was said, and never more truth than if applied to the "neat little expeditions" of the ministry of lord Grenville and lord Howick, to which it was not meant to apply.

In February, 1807, Mr. Thomas Grenville is at the head of the Admiralty. He does not quite approve of the measures of his colleague, Mr. Wyndham, who is at the head of the War department. He writes, "Wyndham is sending out Whitelock to command at Plata. I know not why, for I do not believe that he is a bit better than Auchmuty." Sir Samuel Auchmuty, after the unfortunate result of Popham's attempt upon Buenos Ayres, had been sent out with a reinforcement of 3000 men. He found that he could do nothing at Buenos Ayres; and had attacked Monte Video. He took this fortified seaport by assault, with a severe loss. When Whitelock was sent out "to command at Plata," the government knew nothing of the success of Auchmuty; and his orders were to place his forces, united with those of general Crauford, under the command of general Whitelock. We shall have presently to speak of their operations at Buenos Ayres, in June. It is curious to note the want of harmony in the British government in undertaking these enterprizes. Thomas Grenville says, "I am more than ever convinced that all those distant combinations are of necessity subject to so many chances, that I have little stomach to them; but, in spite of my feeble opposition, our military projectors are running after one expedition, and one general with another and another, till, in military language, the battalions are all clubbed, and no man knows where to find an entire company."† Of his own management of naval expeditions, Mr. Thomas Grenville is very confident. An imposing force is to be sent to the Dardanelles, to co-operate with our ally, the emperor of Russia, against whom the Porte had declared war, we suspecting that the French influence was becoming paramount over the English influence at Constantinople. The Admiralty has its favourite commander in its eye. "The Russian minister," writes Grenville, "has the modesty to propose that a Russian admiral shall command the combined naval force at the Dardanelles."‡ The proud confidence in the valour and sagacity of a British admiral was amply justified by the memories of Howe and Nelson, and by the living examples of Collingwood and Sidney Smith. Sir John Thomas Duckworth was vice-admiral of the white; he was, moreover, a Knight of the Bath—an honour conferred upon him in 1801, on his return from taking quiet possession of the Danish West India islands.§ Great was the astonishment of Mr. Thomas Grenville, a few weeks after he went out of office, to find that the expedition to the Dardanelles could not have been worse managed, even

* The article appeared in the "Edinburgh Review," October, 1808; and was attributed to Mr. Brougham. See "Horner's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 437.

† "Court, &c., of George III." vol. iv. p. 123.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

§ James—"Naval History," vol. iv. p. 183.

if a Russian admiral had commanded. "Duckworth's business and his orders plainly directed him to insist upon the surrender of the Turkish fleet, or to burn it, and to bombard the town. Why he has done neither, and has retired to give them time to make this enterprize impossible, I cannot guess; but am mortified at being disappointed of a triumph which I had thought was as certain as the sailing of the expedition."* It is scarcely necessary to enter into any lengthened detail of this most ridiculous adventure, which degraded the British flag in the eyes of all the world. The French ambassador at Constantinople was general Sebastiani; the English ambassador was Mr. Arbuthnot. The Russian ambassador had gone on board an English ship; the French and the British ministers remained, each threatening sultan Selim with the vengeance of their courts if he did not conform to their wishes. But Sebastiani had something better than threats to offer—the invincibles of Napoleon should come to chase away the Russian armies who were on the frontier. Lord Collingwood in January was cruising off Cadiz, when he received orders from the Admiralty to detach a force to the Dardanelles; and, "as the service will require much ability and firmness in the officer who is to command it, you are to entrust the execution thereof to vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth." Collingwood left little discretion to the ability and firmness of the officer that he had not the usual liberty of a chief-in-command to select. He recommended Duckworth not to allow any negotiation to continue more than half-an-hour; as any proposition to treat would probably be to gain time for preparing resistance or securing the Turkish ships. Duckworth, with seven sail of the line, and smaller vessels, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, having received little damage from the fire of the castles at the mouth of that strait. By an unhappy accident, the Ajax, of seventy-four guns, had been previously burnt. But the force was large enough for complete success. The Turkish fortifications along the Dardanelles were dilapidated. When the fleet appeared before Constantinople the Sultan was alarmed, and would gladly have yielded. But Sebastiani exhorted him to do what Collingwood foresaw would be done—to gain time by negotiation. For days Duckworth sent threatening notes, and persuasive notes, and notes that showed clearly that nothing was to be attempted. Meanwhile the skilful Sebastiani had taught the Turks how to defend their shores. Cannon were mounted upon works at which the whole population laboured day and night. Troops lined the coast. All the passage down the Dardanelles assumed a very different aspect from that which the British saw as they passed up. The longer the fleet stayed before Constantinople the greater would be the danger; and on the 1st of March, during the course of thirty miles, the gauntlet was run through a constant fire. From the castles of Sestos and Abydos enormous granite shots, wondrous missiles which British sailors had never before seen, were discharged, breaking in decks, snapping masts, and producing a consternation such as no ordinary bombardment would have occasioned. The actual loss in this ill-fated expedition was less than might have been expected—about three hundred men killed and wounded. Attempts were made in parliament to investigate the causes of this extraordinary event. But the successors of the Whigs

* "Court," &c., vol. iv. p. 169.

appeared to be tenderly disposed towards their rivals, at a time when a great amount of obloquy had fallen upon themselves, for their scheme of an expedition which, although a signal success, was considered, as that of the Dardanelles was considered, impolitic and unjust. Other expeditions against the Ottoman power had been sent forth by the government of lord Grenville. On the 20th of March, Alexandria capitulated to a force of 5000 men embarked at Messina. But at Alexandria there was apprehension that the troops would soon be in want of provisions unless Rosetta was taken possession of. General Frazer, with 1500 men, marched into the town, and was soon driven back with great loss, having been received with a heavy fire from the houses and windows of the inhabitants. Another British force of 2500 men was sent under general Stewart; and that little army had to retreat with a loss of a third of its number. The affair of Alexandria ended by the evacuation of Egypt by general Frazer, on condition that the British prisoners should be surrendered.

The most fatal result of the various projects by which the Whig government acquired the reputation of being the unluckiest of war-administrators, was that of the great expedition against Buenos Ayres. The ministry, as it now appears, had asked the advice of sir Arthur Wellesley, which he gave in November, 1806, and in February, 1807. That advice is chiefly confined to military affairs, which, to be successful, required to be arranged upon a large scale. In February, he says, "the late occurrences at Buenos Ayres shows that we ought not to rest entirely upon the accounts which we have received of the inefficiency of the Spanish military establishments in America." * Upon the political question he is not then so decided. He observes, "that all those who have communicated their ideas to his majesty's government upon the subject of the Spanish dominions in America have recommended that they should have in view a revolution, instead of a conquest, in their proceedings." The protection of an independent government would fall upon Great Britain, but he does not see how she is to be compensated for the expense and inconvenience which such protection would entail. All the hopes of assistance from the natives which have been entertained by persons who have written upon Spanish America are founded as much upon their wishes for an independent government, as upon their hatred of their masters, the Spaniards.† In February, 1808, when it was seriously contemplated to send out an expedition, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley himself, to co-operate with general Miranda in the liberation of Spanish America, he decidedly says (after the adventure which ended calamitously in 1807), "From what has lately passed at Buenos Ayres, and from all that I have read of these countries, I am convinced that any attempt to conquer them, with a view to their future subjection to the British crown, would certainly fail; and, therefore, I consider the only mode in which they can be wrested from the crown of Spain is by a revolution, and by the establishment of an independent government within them." ‡ General Whitelock, on the 28th of June, landed with 7800 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. They were before the city, which was nearly invested, on the morning of the 5th of July, when an attack was ordered, each division to enter upon

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 58. † *Ibid.*, p. 50. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

the street opposite to it, and march through its particular street, till it reached the last square near the river Plata. In this progress the troops were to advance with unloaded muskets, two corporals marching at the head of each column with tools to break open the doors of the barricaded houses. The doors would not yield; the windows and roofs were crowded with the hostile population; and a terrible fire mowed down the advancing soldiers. Trenches had been dug in the streets; and cannon planted there swept away hundreds with grape shot. Auchmuty, in spite of these obstacles, made himself master of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post; and another place of strength had been taken, when the action was ended at nightfall. Two thousand five hundred British had been killed and wounded, or were prisoners. General Linieres, the commander in the city, addressed a letter next morning to general Whitelock, offering to give up the prisoners, and those made in the previous year, if he would desist from further attack, and withdraw the British forces from La Plata. Monte Video was of course to be surrendered. Whitelock agreed to these degrading terms; returned home with a whole skin; ran great risk of being torn to pieces by the English populace, who nicknamed him general Whitefeather; was tried by court-martial, and was declared "totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military

Buenos Ayres.

capacity whatever." There can be little question that Mr. Wyndham was decided in the appointment of an incompetent man, by that preponderating

influence which, in those days, rendered a minister, unless he were resolved to maintain his responsible authority, the slave of court favouritism and of base jobs. From these influences the country would not readily have escaped unless a man had arisen, to prescribe his own will to courts and ministers,—to achieve success by the invincible force of his own sagacity, and yet to keep within the bounds of duty.

The new Parliament assembled on the 22nd of June. On the 26th, upon an Amendment to the Address, the strength of parties was tested in the fullest house ever recorded. Of 505 members present, not counting the Speaker and four tellers upon the division, 356 voted with the government. The Royal Speech, delivered by Commissioners, referred to the disappointment of the efforts of his majesty's squadron in the Sea of Marmora, and to the losses sustained by our gallant troops in Egypt. Nevertheless, his majesty had thought it right to adopt such measures as might enable him, in concert with his ally the emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity of bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion. His majesty's endeavours had been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which he is connected with the powers of the continent, and of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France. Four days after this speech had been delivered, came the news of the battle of Friedland. The efforts of the powers of the continent were at an end. Prussia was crouching at the victor's feet; Russia was scheming with him to divide the empire of the world, and they were taking sweet counsel together for the destruction of Great Britain. According to the agreeable arrangement of these potentates, the hostilities against the Sublime Porte were to be brought to a conclusion by Alexander and Napoleon dividing the Turkish empire—Alexander becoming Emperor of the East, as Napoleon was to be Emperor of the West.

After the great battle of Eylau the Allied armies and the French armies remained for several months inactive. Reinforcements were necessary to each, for repairing the terrible destruction of that day when the falling snow covered thousands of the dead and dying. Napoleon had proposed peace to Alexander, but Alexander refused the proffered terms. He expected aid from England; but the succour did not come in time. The Russians determined to act for themselves. Early in June they attacked the French lines, and were repelled. A great encounter then took place at Heilsberg; and on the 14th of June a general battle was fought at Friedland, which broke the Russian spirit, terminated the campaign, and made the two emperors, for a season, the dearest of friends. Eight days after the victory, which was won on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, an armistice was concluded, and Napoleon addressed a proclamation to his army from his camp at Tilsit. "From the banks of the Vistula we have arrived on the banks of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. . . . You will return to France, covered with laurels, after having obtained a glorious peace which bears a guarantee for its duration. It is time that our country should live in repose under shelter from the malign influence of England." That shelter was to be found in the new friendship of Alexander—of Alexander, who, only a few days previous, had written to George III., "that there was no salvation to himself

or to Europe but by eternal resistance to Bonaparte." * On the 9th of July, Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph: "Peace was signed yesterday, and ratified to-day. The emperor Alexander and I parted to-day at twelve o'clock, after having passed three weeks together. We lived as intimate friends. At our last interview, he appeared in the Order of the Legion of Honour, and I in that of St. Andrew." †

On the 25th of June, the armies on each bank of the Niemen beheld an extraordinary preparation for some grand scenic display. In the middle of the river, near the town of Tilsit, was moored a large raft, upon which was raised a pavilion of the richest stuffs that could be furnished in a district so remote from luxurious capitals. From one bank of the Niemen Napoleon took boat, accompanied by four of his great officers. From the other bank Alexander took boat, accompanied by five of his suite, princes or generals. The two potentates met on the raft at the same moment, and they embraced each other, amidst the shouts of the soldiery. They then entered the pavilion unaccompanied, and there held a long conversation on matters of high import. Historians take upon themselves to relate what passed at this secret conference and in other private conversations. M. Thiers is careful to show that Napoleon seduced Alexander by his caressing words—flattering the monarch and flattering the man—and he gives us many of the fine speeches in which the pliant Tartar was won to swear an eternal friendship, founded chiefly upon a mutual hatred of England. ‡ Some Russian writers excuse the violent professions of esteem for Napoleon on the part of Alexander, by attributing them to his profound dissimulation. One thing is clear—that Napoleon obtained all that he wanted in the Treaty of Tilsit, and especially in its secret articles. The articles that were patent took away whole provinces from Prussia, and gave her back some territory which Napoleon would also have taken, but which was restored at the intercession of Alexander. Out of the spoils of

Emperor Alexander I. of Russia.

Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe was formed the kingdom of Westphalia, of which Jerome Bonaparte was to be king. The Prussian provinces of

* Malmesbury, "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 398.
"Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 249.
‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome vii. p. 627 to 633.

Poland were to be erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and bestowed upon the king of Saxony, with the exception of one province, which Russia coveted. King Louis and king Joseph were to be recognized by Russia, as well as all Napoleon's creations of new subject states, and his willing instrument, the Confederation of the Rhine. But in addition to the secret articles of this Treaty, there was a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Russia, of which the conditions were to be inviolably secret. M. Thiers says, that under the title of "Secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit," many conditions absolutely false have been published. "The English, especially, to justify their ulterior conduct towards Denmark, have brought to light many pretended articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which were communicated to the cabinet of London by diplomatic spies. But," continues M. Thiers, "through authentic and official documents which were open to my investigation, I am able for the first time to give the veritable stipulations of Tilsit, public as well as secret." * We will recapitulate the articles of "*le traité occulte*," thus brought to light by the French historian. It contained an engagement, on the part of Russia and of France, to make common cause under all circumstances; to unite their forces by land and by sea in every war which they should have to maintain; to take arms against England, if she did not subscribe to the mediation of Russia to establish peace between herself and France; to make war against the Porte, if she did not subscribe to the mediation of France to establish peace between herself and Russia, and in case this mediation was refused, to rescue the European provinces from the vexatious authority of the Porte, except Constantinople and Roumelia. Moreover, the two powers agreed to summon, in common, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Austria, to concur in the projects of France and of Russia: that is, to shut their ports against England, and to declare war against her. This is the text of the treaty to be kept inviolably secret, as given by the historian of the Empire. It is added, by some writers, that Napoleon imparted to Alexander his schemes of placing members of his family on the thrones of Portugal and Spain, and that a treaty to this effect was concluded.†

"While this was passing in the North," writes lord Malmesbury, "a plan was forming here of surprising the Danish fleet. Ministers had received the most undoubted information (and, strange to say, the *first* information came through the prince of Wales to the duke of Portland in an audience he had at Carlton House in May) that, by the assistance of this fleet, Bonaparte intended to invade the north-east coast of England; and this came from Portugal, whose fleet Bonaparte also wanted. The Regent of Portugal rejected the proposal, and communicated it to us. The Danes accepted it, were silent at the time, and afterwards denied it." ‡ Our Foreign Secretary immediately made preparations for anticipating the hostile submission of Denmark to the commands of Napoleon. These preparations went on, without apparent haste, till after the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, when Mr. Canning obtained a knowledge of the Secret Articles. How he obtained that knowledge he never would disclose. The "Memoirs of Fouché,"—now

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome vii. p. 628.
† Alison, "History of Europe," vol. vii. p. 308.
‡ "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 399.

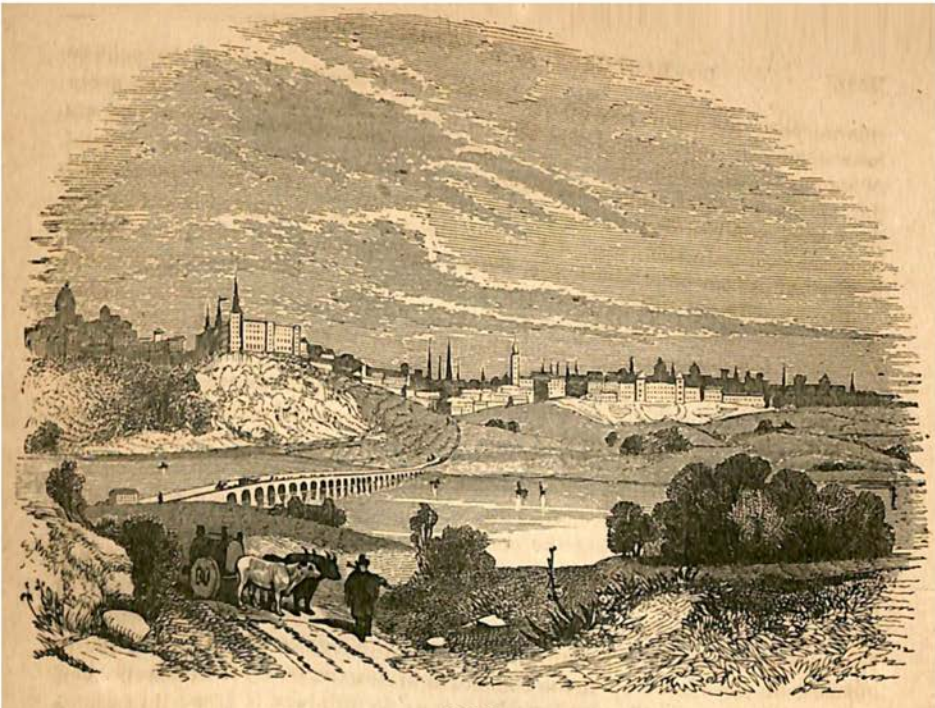
generally believed to be the genuine revelations of a notable intriguer,—contain the following passage: "About this time it was that we learned the success of the attack upon Copenhagen by the English; which was the first derangement of the secret stipulations of Tilsit, by virtue of which the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France. Since the death of Paul I., I never saw Napoleon give himself up to such violent transports of passion. That which astonished him most in that vigorous *coup-de-main* was the promptitude with which the English ministry took their resolution."* Bonaparte suspected Talleyrand, says Fouché. According to another authority, some humbler person was the medium of communication to the British government. Mr. Stapleton, private secretary to Mr. Canning, says, that an individual was concealed behind a curtain of the tent on the raft, and heard Napoleon propose to Alexander, and Alexander consent to the proposition, that the French should take possession of the fleet of Denmark.† That Talleyrand should have betrayed the counsels of his master, at the height of his power, is just as improbable as that any "rash, intruding fool" should have been the rat behind the arras, whilst Bessières and Duroc, Benningsen and Ouwarrow, were watching on either side of the pavilion on the Niemen. Without the knowledge of any special provision that the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France, the general agreement of the treaty that Denmark and other powers should be compelled to join Russia and France, in a war against England, was sufficient to render a measure of hostility towards Denmark justifiable upon the great principle of self-defence. "No expedition was ever better planned, or better executed, and none ever occasioned more clamour." ‡

On the 12th of August, Mr. Jackson, an envoy from England, arrived in Copenhagen, to demand the delivery of the Danish fleet to lord Gambier, the British admiral, who was in the Sound with twenty-seven sail of the line, and many smaller vessels, in company with a fleet of transports, conveying twenty-seven thousand land-troops. The demand of Mr. Jackson was accompanied with an assurance that the fleet should be taken care of in British ports, and restored upon the conclusion of peace with France and Russia. The Crown Prince of Denmark indignantly refused; and prepared for defence. The British land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, the command of the reserve being entrusted to sir Arthur Wellesley. He had been called from his civil duty as Secretary for Ireland, to take this military duty. The troops were landed on Zealand on the 16th. They were not opposed; and they closely invested Copenhagen on the land side, erecting powerful batteries. Numerous bomb-vessels were ready also to pour their fire from the sea upon the devoted city. Congreve-rockets were there to be tried for the first time. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with his customary moderation, would have preferred "an establishment upon Amag, as a more certain mode of forcing a capitulation than a bombardment. . . . . I think it behoves us to do as little mischief to the town as possible, and to adopt any mode of reducing it, rather than bombardment." § The bombardment did take

* Quoted in Mr. Robert Bell's "Life of Canning," p. 237.
† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 125 (1859).
‡ Malmesbury, "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 399.
§ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 9—Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, August 28.

place; in spite of one more effort for averting it, by a proclamation on the part of the British commanders that they would withdraw their forces, if the fleet were surrendered as a deposit to be restored at the close of the war. The Crown Prince replied by a proclamation which was a declaration of war, and by ordering the seizure of all British ships and property. The bombardment was commenced with fatal vigour, and continued for four days. The conflagration of the city, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, were amongst those occurrences of the war which are most painful to look back upon. The Danish navy and arsenal were surrendered on the 8th of September. Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to conduct the negotiation. He writes on the day on which he concluded the settlement with the Danish commissioners, "I have only to observe upon the instrument, that it contains the absolute and unconditional cession of the fleet and naval stores, and gives us the possession of those military points which are necessary in order to enable us to equip and carry away the vessels. This was all that we wanted; and in everything else I did all in my power to conciliate the Danes." * His wise conclusion was not acceptable to violent politicians, who wanted some further evidences of our power. Enough had been done for our own safety; too much had been done to satisfy the honest, but not very politic, indignation of those who felt like Francis Horner. He had "endeavoured for awhile to view it as one of the extreme cases of that necessity which has no law;" but he turned aside from "the intricacies of state expediency to the daylight of common justice and old rules." † The state expediency is now held to have been justly paramount.

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 21—Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, Sept. 8.
† "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 411.



Madrid.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Isolation of Great Britain—Hostility of Europe—Bonaparte's Continental System—His plans for becoming master of the Peninsula—French invasion of Portugal—The Regent of Portugal flies to the Brazils—Charles IV. of Spain abdicates—He, and Ferdinand his son, entrapped by Napoleon at Bayonne—Insurrection at Madrid—The Spanish Juntas ask the aid of England—Sympathy of the English people—Sir Arthur Wellesley sent with troops to Portugal—Successes of the Spaniards—Zaragoza—Victory of Wellesley at Vimiero—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore marches into Spain—Napoleon takes the command of his army in Spain—Moore's retreat—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Sufferings of his army—National gloom—Charges against the duke of York—Parliamentary inquiry—The Duke resigns—Lord Cochrane's enterprise in Aix Roads—Austria declares war against France—Sir Arthur Wellesley takes the command at Lisbon—Passage of the Douro. Intelligence of important events.

THE Royal Speech, delivered by Commissioners, on the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 21st of January, 1808, was of greater length, and bore upon more important points of Foreign Affairs, than any similar document during the most stirring years since 1793. The view of our position with relation to the rest of the world was not cheering. Britain seemed to have reached that extremity of isolation which the Roman poet described, and which the French emperor desired to establish as a political fact. The treaty of Tilsit, said the Speech, confirmed the influence and control of France over the powers of the continent; and it was the intention of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy against this kingdom. For

this purpose, the whole of the naval force of Europe was to be brought to bear upon various points of the British dominions, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. It was an indispensable duty to place these fleets out of the reach of such a confederacy. Painful but necessary measures of force were successful with regard to Denmark. The fleet of Portugal had been secured from the grasp of France, and was then employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy. The determination of France to excite hostilities between Great Britain and Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had been too successful. These powers had withdrawn their ministers from London. The machinations of the enemy had prevented the war with Turkey being brought to a conclusion. The king of Sweden alone had resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon our alliance. The government of the United States had refused to ratify a treaty of amity and commerce agreed upon in 1806, and was making pretensions inconsistent with our maritime rights. In consequence of the decree by which France declared the whole of the British dominions in a state of blockade, subjecting the manufactures and produce of the kingdom to seizure and confiscation, his majesty resorted to a measure of mitigated retaliation; but that being ineffectual, other measures of greater rigour had been adopted by Orders in Council. This was, indeed, a catalogue of ills. In spite however, said the Speech, of the difficulties endeavoured to be imposed by the enemy upon the commerce of this country, its resources had during the last year been so abundant as to produce a great increase of revenue.

Gloomy as was the prospect arising out of this frank explanation—England without one ally but the young king of Sweden, whom some deemed chivalrous and others deemed mad—France, whose territory was extended far beyond the wildest ambition of her old race of kings, under an emperor who was the real suzerain of Naples, of Italy, of Switzerland, of Holland, of Germany—America subject to the will of a President who had ever been a hater of England, and was now anxious for open war,—gloomy as was this prospect, was there any ray of hope to illumine the darkness? The historian of the French empire points to this single ray in a brief sentence. To the universal dominion of Napoleon there was only one thing to be desired—nothing more, than "the submission of *peoples* to this gigantic edifice." * During fifteen years of war, England, in her system of subsidies and coalitions, had seen only Kings as allies. The time was coming when she was to look upon Nations for her friends. During that year of 1808 she found out the chink in her enemy's armour, and she soon proved that he was not invulnerable.

The hatred of the people of many countries to the domination of Napoleon received an immense impulse from the tyrannical enforcement of the Decrees which constituted what is called his Continental System. The eulogists of Napoleon's glory, and the believers in the vocation of France to rule the world, are compelled to admit that the decay of his power may be dated from the attempt to destroy England by shutting out her commerce from every port of Europe. "If this interdict had been maintained some years, England would probably have been obliged to yield," says M. Thiers. "Unhappily,

* Thiers, "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 869.

the continental blockade was to add to the exasperation of peoples obliged to bend to the exigencies of our policy." * It was not enough to exasperate many populations by handing over ancient States to new masters; by creating kings out of the many sons of the lawyer of Ajaccio; by endeavouring to amalgamate communities wholly different in their laws, their customs, and their creeds; to play with the masses as if they were the pawns of the chess-board. He must cut off the sources of their industrial wealth; he must forbid to mankind, whether enemy, or subject, or allied, or neutral, that interchange of produce and manufactures which were necessary to the prosperity, and even to the existence, of producer and consumer. The defence of the continental blockade was, that it was the retaliation of a measure of the British government in May, 1806, when all the ports between Brest and the Elbe were declared in a state of blockade. Napoleon, in the preamble to the Berlin decree, proclaimed that the places declared by England in 1806 to be in a state of blockade were ports before which she had not a single vessel of war. This was wholly untrue. It was not a paper blockade—"*blocus sur le papier, imaginé par l'Angleterre.*" † So far from being a paper blockade, there was a sufficient force to maintain it—a principle recognized by all publicists as constituting the validity of an interference with the right of neutrals to trade with a hostile country. On the contrary, the Berlin decree declared the British islands in a state of blockade, when France had no ships on the sea to make the blockade real instead of nominal. But this decree went much further. It not only prohibited all commerce and correspondence with the British islands, but it declared every English subject to be a prisoner of war who was found in a country occupied by the troops of France or of her allies. It declared all property belonging to an English subject to be lawful prize. It prohibited all trade in British manufactured goods. It declared all merchandize coming from Great Britain or her colonies to be lawful prize. It shut out every vessel that had touched at any port of Britain or her colonies. By the Milan decree of December, 1807, the British dominions *in all parts of the world* were declared to be in a state of blockade; and all countries were prohibited from trading with each other, in any articles produced or manufactured in the countries thus placed under interdict. This latter decree was alleged to be in retaliation of the British Orders in Council of November, 1807. Of the impolicy of these Orders of the British government we shall have to speak in another chapter. We have at present to confine ourselves to that first decree of Napoleon, whose attempted enforcement upon Portugal in August, 1807, was the alleged cause of the French invasion of that kingdom. It thus led to the great series of events which terminated in the deliverance of Europe from the crushing despotism of the man who was at the height of his power, when he made the extravagant attempt by rash decrees to fetter the freedom of human action, in the indispensable supply of human wants—by decrees which, carrying with them a natural impossibility of execution, rendered the tyrannical machinery by which they were vainly attempted to be enforced, not only odious but despicable, and produced a conviction that the "gigantic edifice" was built upon the sands. Bourrienne, who in 1807 was the *chargé d'affaires* of

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xvii. p. 868. † *Ibid.*, tome vii. p. 223.

France at Hamburg, says that the emperor having ordered him to provide an immense supply of clothing for the armies in Prussia, he authorized a house at Hamburg, in spite of the Berlin decree, to bring cloth and leather from England. Had the decrees, he states, relative to English merchandize been observed, the French troops would have perished with cold. Licences, he tells us, for the disposal of English goods were procured at a high price by those who were rich enough to pay for them. Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, whilst the government carried it on extensively. Under Davoust's rule at Hamburg a poor man had nearly been shot for having introduced a loaf of sugar for the use of his family, whilst Napoleon was perhaps signing a licence for the introduction of a million of sugar loaves. Bourrienne sums up many such instances, by saying, "It is necessary to witness, as I have, the numberless vexations and miseries occasioned by the unfortunate Continental System, to understand the mischief its author did in Europe, and how much that mischief contributed to Napoleon's fall." *

Whenever the emperor of the French was reposing after the fatigues of battle fields, the world might be assured that new schemes of aggrandizement were shaping themselves in his mind into some decided course of action. He was passing the summer of 1807 in the pleasant shades of Fontainebleau, revolving various devices for making himself master of Spain. The fate of Portugal was presumed to be determined by a secret treaty—the treaty of Fontainebleau—between Napoleon and Charles IV. of Spain, by which a partition was made of that kingdom, and by which Godoy, the favourite of the Spanish court, should be endowed with a portion of the spoil, and be prince

Joseph Bonaparte.

of Algarves. But Napoleon had far higher objects in lending his ear to the petty intrigues and disgraceful quarrels of the king of Spain and his son

* See "Memoirs of Napoleon,"—translation published in 1830—vol. iii. chap. xxv.

Ferdinand—in propitiating Godoy, and pretending to make family alliances with the Spanish Bourbons. He intended to eject the House of Bourbon from their throne; but this project required to be worked by tentative approaches. Fraud was to go before violence. The dethronement of the House of Braganza was an easier process. It should precede the more difficult operation of entrapping the king of Spain and his son, and holding them in durance, before he could write to his brother Joseph, "I destine this crown for you." * The ejection of the prince-regent of Portugal was to be accomplished by a simple exercise of military force.

On the 12th of August, 1807, the French ambassador at Lisbon presented a note to the Portuguese government, requiring, by the 1st of September, the prince-regent of Portugal to emancipate himself from English influence by declaring war, confiscating all English merchandize, closing his ports against English vessels, and uniting his squadrons to the navies of the Continental Powers. Unless he did so, the ambassador would demand his passports. Lord Strangford, our ambassador at Lisbon, knew the force that was put upon the Portuguese government, and did not resent the declaration of war that the prince-regent was compelled to make. The prince, however, refused to confiscate English property. Useless as he knew his remonstrances would be, they gave him a breathing time; and he advised the English merchants to sell their goods and depart the kingdom. On the 19th of October the French general Junot crossed the Bidassoa, with orders to march across Spain, and make himself master of Lisbon and of the fleet by the 30th of November. "On no account halt in your march even for a day," wrote Napoleon on the 2nd of November. The urgency of his orders made Junot disregard every obstacle presented by the violence of the rains, the badness of the mountain roads, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence. After crossing the Portuguese frontier, and before reaching Abrantes, this army was almost wholly disorganized. Its wretched condition was not known in Lisbon—a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants—or resistance would probably have been made before the court yielded to the fear of some impending calamity. The apathy of the government and the people has been stated as the result of the conviction that the army of Junot was only an advanced guard of the legions that were collected at Bayonne; and that another course than that of open resistance was necessarily determined upon. As the French advanced, the Portuguese government sequestrated, or made a show of sequestrating, the property of the few merchants that remained in Lisbon. Lord Strangford then withdrew on board the English fleet in the Tagus. It is generally stated by historians, French, Portuguese, and English, that our ambassador, having received a copy of the 'Moniteur' of the 13th of November, which contained these words, "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign," transmitted the newspaper to the prince-regent, who immediately decided on flight to the Brazils. M. Thiers maintains that no such words appear in any 'Moniteur' of that date, or near it. But he states that in the 'Moniteur' of the 13th of November is an article, evidently dictated by Napoleon, on the four English expeditions in 1807—those of Copenhagen, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Buenos Ayres—which article contains this passage: "After these four expe-

* Letter of May 11, 1808.

ditions, which so well determine the moral and military decline of England, let us speak of the situation in which they leave Portugal at this day. The prince-regent of Portugal loses his throne. He loses it, influenced by the intrigues of England. He loses it, because he has not been willing to seize the English merchandize at Lisbon. What does England do, this ally? She regards with indifference what is passing in Portugal . . . . The fall of the House of Braganza will remain a new proof that the destruction of whatever power attaches itself to England is inevitable." * There is little to choose between the meaning of the pithy sentence and of the lengthened argument. The prince-regent now took his resolution. The British ambassador returned on shore to aid him in carrying out his purpose. The sailors of our fleet made the most strenuous exertions to fit out the Portuguese fleet of eight sail of the line, three frigates, and twenty-three other vessels. On the 29th of November, the archives of Portugal, the treasure, the plate and other valuable effects, having been got on board, a train of carriages moved to the quay of Belem, conveying the prince-regent, his mother the queen who had been many years insane, and the two princesses of the family. A crowd of attendants and other court fugitives accompanied them. Altogether, fifteen thousand persons left Lisbon on the 29th of November. They were going to the great dependency which Portugal had held uninterrupted by any hostility for a hundred and two years—a land of vast natural riches, but one which the parent state governed upon the narrowest principles of monopoly. From the time when the seat of government was transferred from Lisbon to Brazil, the colony prospered in a new life. In 1815 it became a constituent part of the Portuguese empire. As the British fleet saluted the Portuguese squadron as it passed down the Tagus, the sun became eclipsed; and a superstitious dread came over the population. The French, as the last of the royal fleet cleared the bar, came within sight of the Tagus—a ragged and starving remnant of a great army. The prey that they were to seize was gone. They were enough for the occupation of the city—enough to levy contributions on the country—enough to induce the belief that Portugal would never be separated from its French masters. The delivery of Portugal from the thraldom of Napoleon was to turn upon the speedy manifestation of popular resistance to his fraud and oppression in Spain.

Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, the heir of the Spanish crown, was just entering upon the twenty-fourth year of his age, when he addressed a letter to Napoleon which produced very memorable consequences. His wife had died in 1806—a woman of firm mind, who had endeavoured to rescue her imbecile husband from the wretched state of pupilage in which he had been kept by his infamous mother and her paramour Godoy. Ferdinand solicited the protection of Napoleon; described the humiliation to which his father and himself were reduced by the favourite; and expressed his wish to be united to a princess of Napoleon's family. Godoy discovered what was passing; and having persuaded Charles IV. that Ferdinand was conspiring against his life, the prince was arrested. With the weakness of his character, he was terrified into the acknowledgment of a conspiracy to dethrone his father—a confession for which it is believed there was no foundation, except in the

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome viii. p. 340, note.

secret correspondence with Napoleon. Meanwhile, Portugal was in the occupation of Junot. French soldiers were constantly crossing the Bidassoa, and planting themselves in frontier fortresses. The Court became alarmed; and Godoy persuaded the king to follow the example of the prince-regent of Portugal, and seek in the rich possessions of Spain in the New World that security which the revolutions of the Old World denied to crowned heads. Ferdinand was hesitating what to do; when the people of Madrid, who had always felt a compassionate affection for the prince of Asturias, resolved that he should not be removed by force; and the guards at Aranjuez revolted, and would have taken the favourite's life had not the prince interfered to save him. This was on the 17th of March. On the 19th, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of his son, who took the title of king of Spain and the Indies. The king; in the decree which transferred the crown, asserted that his abdication was his spontaneous act. In a letter to Napoleon he said that he had been forced to abdicate, and had no hope but in the support of his magnanimous ally. The exiled emperor said to O'Meara, "When I saw those *imbécilles* quarrelling and trying to dethrone each other, I thought that I might as well take advantage of it, and dispossess an inimical family." * No Englishman would have thought it a calamity that this miserable race should have been set aside by the will of a misgoverned people. But that the father and the son should have been lured out of Spain by devices such as kidnappers could not have excelled, and then compelled to deliver up the proud Spanish people to the rule of an insolent foreigner, filled up the measure of the English wrath against the inordinate rapacity of the man who did not conquer this land of historic renown; but whom they regarded as "a cutpurse,"

> "That from a shelf the precious diadem stole,
> And put it in his pocket."

On the 21st of April, Ferdinand was in the hands of the betrayer at Bayonne. On the 30th the old king and queen were in the same clutches. Godoy had been previously seized by Murat, and sent under guard to Napoleon, who had reached Bayonne on the 14th of April. On the 2nd of May there was an insurrection at Madrid, upon the people learning that Ferdinand was entrapped into the power of the French emperor. On the 6th of May Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph, "King Charles has yielded up to me his right to the throne, and he is about to retire to Compiègne with the queen and some of his children. A few days before this treaty was signed, the prince of Asturias abdicated; I restored the crown to king Charles. . . . There was a great insurrection at Madrid on the 2nd of May; between thirty and forty thousand persons were collected in the streets and houses, and fired from the windows. Two battalions of fusileers of my guard, and four or five hundred horse, soon brought them to their senses. More than two thousand of the populace were killed." † Five days after, he again writes to Joseph,—"The nation, through the Supreme Council of Castile, asks me for a king, I destine this crown for you." What the nation was really asking for was,—help from England. The insurrection at Madrid was quickly followed by popular agitations throughout the country. Provincial juntas

* "Voice from St. Helena," vol. ii. p. 167—edit. 1822.
† "Correspondence with king Joseph," vol. i. p. 317.

were established in many districts. The supreme junta of Seville proclaimed Ferdinand VII., and declared war against France. The new king came to Bayonne, and proposed a Constitution to a junta there assembled of submissive nobles. The people flew to arms.

The British nation was not slow to manifest its deep sympathy with the Spanish patriots. Two deputies from Asturias had left Gijon in an open boat, and were picked up at sea by one of our frigates. "They were received with open arms," says Malmesbury. The veteran diplomatist wanted some grander envoys to arrive than an Asturian hidalgo and an Asturian attorney. "Canning would not listen," he says. Canning wanted no better assurance of the spirit of the people than those chosen by the people could afford him. On the 15th of June, Sheridan, in the House of Commons, made a speech which electrified the country. He was convinced that there never existed so happy an opportunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. He would do nothing by driblets. If a co-operation with Spain were expedient it should be an effectual co-operation. "Bonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success. He has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him." * Sheridan moved for papers, which Canning said would be inconvenient to produce; but Canning's answer left no doubt as to the intentions of the cabinet: "There exists the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. In endeavouring to afford this aid it will never occur to us to consider that a state of war exists between Spain and Great Britain." There were a few expressions of doubt and despondency in Parliament; but it was impossible to resist what Wilberforce described as the universal feeling. "Every Briton joined in enthusiastic prayers to the great Ruler of events, to bless with its merited success the struggles of a gallant people, in behalf of everything dear to the Christian, the citizen, and the man."† When the Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of July, the government was pledged by the royal Speech to "make every exertion for the support of the Spanish cause." On that day an Order in Council announced that hostilities against Spain had ceased. There had been great promptitude in the action of the British government. On the 14th of June, sir Arthur Wellesley had received from the duke of York his appointment to the command of a detachment of the army, "to be employed upon a particular service;" and, on the 30th of June were sent his full instructions from lord Castlereagh for the employment of a body of troops, to afford "to the Spanish and Portuguese nations every possible aid in throwing off the yoke of France."‡ He was told in these instructions that "his majesty is graciously pleased to confide to you the fullest discretion to act according to circumstances for the benefit of his service." And yet sir Arthur Wellesley's "fullest discretion" was left at the absolute command of two superior officers. He sailed from Cork for Corunna on the 12th of July. On the

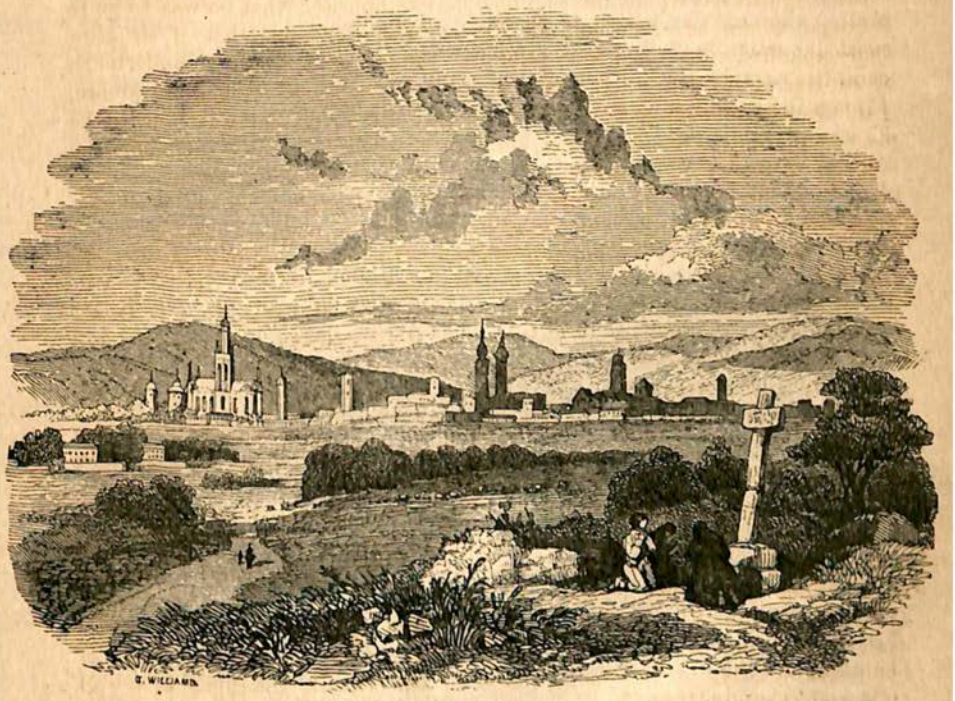
* "Hansard," vol. xi. col. 889. † *Ibid.*, vol. xi. col. 1145.
‡ "Despatches," vol. iv. p. 160.

15th, lord Castlereagh writes to him that the command of the troops is entrusted to sir Hew Dalrymple, and to sir Harry Burrard as second in command. Nevertheless, lord Castlereagh points out to sir Hew Dalrymple the great hero of the Mahratta war as "an officer of whom it is desirable for you, on all accounts, to make the most prominent use which the rules of the service will permit."* The "rules of the service" subjected the man who had given the best evidence of his great military genius to the command of two generals, whose exploits were better known in the private records of the Horse Guards than in the annals of their country. Sir Arthur Wellesley's division comprised nine thousand men. Another corps, under sir John Moore, which had just arrived from the Baltic, numbered eleven thousand men. These two detachments were to co-operate. But their united efforts were to be directed by sir Hew Dalrymple and sir Harry Burrard. Moore had shown in Egypt of what metal he was made. When he waited on lord Castlereagh to receive his instructions, he was apprised that he was to go to Portugal, where he would find sir Arthur Wellesley; but that, if sir Hew Dalrymple had not arrived from Gibraltar, the operation would be undertaken by sir Harry Burrard. "It was thus indirectly notified to sir John Moore, that, after commanding in chief in Sicily and Sweden, he was now to be placed subordinate to two officers, the first of whom had never served in the field as a general."† Moore expressed his feelings in somewhat strong terms. He had not to endure the bitter mortification which Wellesley experienced, when, in the moment of victory, he was compelled to leave his triumph incomplete, at the bidding of "an ordinary general in opposition to a great captain."‡

"The character of the Spaniard," writes lord Malmesbury, "is to let everything be done for him, if he finds any one disposed to do it, and never to act till obliged to do so."§ Before anything was done for the Spaniard by England, he was obliged to act, and in many things he acted well. There were great difficulties in his acting at all. The provincial juntas, who directed the course of hostilities to the French, were independent bodies, acting each for its own province; not having a federal unity which would be content to place those executive powers which were in a temporary desuetude under some authority competent to represent the monarchy, which, as the Spaniards expressed its condition, was in a state of widowhood. England had abundantly provided arms, ammunition, and pay for large native armies. But there was no one governing power to direct their employment in masses against the enemy, who would seek to overwhelm them by the magnitude of his forces. Still, in the early stages of the contest, the Spaniards well employed the means which they possessed. In June, the French general Dupont had marched from Madrid to Andalusia; given Cordova up to pillage; and committed atrocities which roused the people to fury. The Spanish general Castanos, with an army sent against Dupont by the Junta of Seville, won the battle of Baylèn, and compelled the French to surrender at discretion on the 21st of July. Aragon was defended by its people under

* "Despatches," vol. iv. p. 31.
† "Life of Sir John Moore," vol. ii. p. 104.
‡ Napier. § "Diaries," vol. iv. p. 415.

the command of Palafox. The siege of Zaragoza, the capital of the province, was commenced by the French on the 15th of June. They carried some of the outer works, but on forcing their way into the city were encountered with a heroism such as the conscripts of Napoleon had rarely beheld in the standing armies of the continental monarchies. The exploits of Augustina, the amazon of Zaragoza, inspired as much courage into the besieged as Joan of Arc had inspired at the siege of Orleans. The trenches were open for forty-nine days. The city was bombarded for twenty-one days. But nothing could shake the courage of its defenders. The French raised the siege on the 4th of August. A fortnight before this termination, Napoleon had written to the new king Joseph, who was beginning to despond, "Do not doubt for an instant that everything will end sooner and more happily than you think."* He adds—"All goes well at Zaragoza." On the 24th of July, Joseph is still



Zaragoza.

more alarmed. He writes to Napoleon, "Your glory will be shipwrecked in Spain. My tomb will be a monument of your want of power to support me." The confident emperor replies: "To die is not your business, but to live and conquer; which you are doing and shall do. I shall find in Spain the pillars of Hercules, but not the limits of my power."† On the 9th of August he gives him the comfortable assurance that before the autumn Spain

* "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. i. p. 333. † *Ibid.*, p. 339.

will be inundated with troops. "The English are of little importance. They have never more than a quarter of the troops that they profess to have. Lord Wellesley* has not four thousand men, and, besides, I believe that they are directed towards Portugal."

On the 1st of August, sir Arthur Wellesley was on shipboard, off the Mondego river. He was landing his troops at Figuiera, a difficult task on an iron coast. He had heard, from the letter of lord Castlereagh, of general officers, senior to him, being sent out, and sir Hew Dalrymple to take the command. To the duke of Richmond he writes, "I hope that I shall have beat Junot before any of them shall arrive, and then they will do as they please with me."† On the 7th, major-general Spencer's corps joined the army. With ten thousand British and five thousand Portuguese, sir Arthur Wellesley then prepared to march towards Lisbon. On the 17th he defeated at Roliça the French under Laborde. The numbers of the enemy were much smaller than our numbers, but Laborde had the advantage of position. Sir Arthur the next day writes to the duke of Richmond: "The action was a most desperate one between the troops engaged. I never saw such fighting as in the pass by the 29th and 9th, or in the three attacks made by the French in the mountains. These were in their best style."‡ On the 20th he was at Vimiero, having been joined by general Anstruther and general Acland with their corps. He had now an army of seventeen thousand men. Junot had joined Laborde and Loison at Torres Vedras, and their united force was about fourteen thousand men, of whom sixteen hundred were cavalry. Early in the morning of the 21st, the French attacked the British in their position. Sir Harry Burrard had arrived on the night of the 20th. "He did not land," sir Arthur writes to his friend, the duke of Richmond, "and as I am the most fortunate of men, Junot attacked us yesterday morning [the 21st] with his whole force, and we completely defeated him."§ The principal attack on the British was on the centre and left; the sea being in their rear, and the French still pursuing their favourite delusion of driving the English into the ocean over which they tyrannized. The attack was repulsed. Kellermann then attacked with the French reserve, and he also was driven back. "Broken by these rough shocks, the French, to whom defeat was amazement, retired in confused masses."‖ Junot's left wing and centre were discomfited. The road of Torres Vedras, the shortest road to Lisbon, was uncovered. The French general, Brennier, was taken prisoner, and having asked a question with reference to the reserve being engaged, which implied that the attacks had all been in vain, "the English general, judging the French power exhausted, and the moment come for rendering victory decisive, with the genius of a great captain, resolved to make it not only decisive on the field, but of the fate of Portugal."¶ When the action was nearly over, sir Harry Burrard had landed. There was a powerful force in hand for further operations. Not more than one half of the British army had been engaged. Ferguson's division was close upon the retreating force of Solignac when Burrard commanded him to halt. Sir Arthur designed to push on to Torres Vedras,

* *Sir* and *Lord* seem equivalents to the French.
† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 95.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 119. § *Ibid.*, p. 122.
‖ Napier. ¶ *Ibid.*

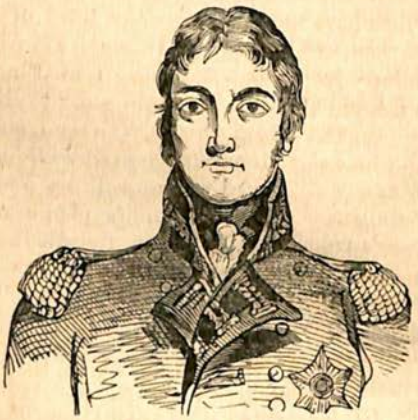
which if he had reached before Junot, he would have cut him off from Lisbon. When Ferguson was interrupted, Solignac joined Junot, who regained his position at Torres Vedras. The great project of the British general "was stifled as soon as conceived." Sir Arthur's superior officer "could not comprehend such a stroke of war." In a private letter, he pours out his griefs. "The French got a terrible beating on the 21st. They did not lose less, I believe, than four thousand men, and they would have been entirely destroyed, if sir H. Burrard had not prevented me from pursuing them. Indeed, since the arrival of the great generals, we appear to have been palsied, and everything has gone on wrong." * The great generals! Seldom, indeed, was this equably minded man stirred into even a mild expression of contempt. He had, however, more to endure. He had to bear his share of public indignation at the Convention of Cintra for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. An indefinite suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, with a view to this evacuation. On the 23rd of August, sir Arthur Wellesley wrote to lord Castlereagh: "Although my name is affixed to this instrument, I beg that you will not believe that I negotiated it, that I approve of it, or that I had any hand in wording it." † He thought it right to allow the French to evacuate Portugal, "as soon, and at as little cost of honour as we can." Sir John Moore had arrived with his corps on the 21st, and his troops were nearly all landed when hostilities were suspended. They were ordered to re-embark. Had sir Arthur's plan of operations been persevered in, and Moore's troops had not been re-embarked, we should have been in a situation, he says, "to have refused the French any capitulation, excepting on the terms of their laying down their arms." No wonder that the people of England were indignant that twenty-six thousand soldiers should have been landed in France, at the expense of the English government. They should have bestowed their indignation upon those who deserved it.

Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived in London at the beginning of October. On the 5th of September, he had written to lord Castlereagh, "It is quite impossible for me to continue any longer with this army; and I wish, therefore, that you would allow me to return home and resume the duties of my office." ‡ Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley were all recalled home. Sir John Moore remained at Lisbon, having been appointed to command the army. Sir Arthur rejoices to find that he was placed under the command of Moore, "than which nothing," he says, "can be more satisfactory to me. I will go to Corunna immediately, where I hope to find you." But a Court of Inquiry was ordered on the subject of "the late transactions in Portugal;" and Wellesley was detained to be examined. He had to bear much before the publicity of these proceedings was to set him right in public opinion. He was accused, he heard, of every crime of which a man can be guilty, excepting cowardice. "I have not read one word that has been written on either side; and I have refused to publish, and don't mean to authorize the publication, of a single line in my defence." § The Inquiry took place in November; and it ended in a formal disapprobation of the armistice and convention, on the part of the king, being communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple.

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 127. † *Ibid.*, p. 122.
‡ "Despatches," vol. iv. p. 147.
§ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 151.

Neither of the two "great generals" was again employed. One advantage was gained by the Convention. The Russian fleet in the Tagus was delivered up to the British.

Sir John Moore, late in October, began his march into Spain, "to co-operate," as his instructions set forth, "with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French." He was to lead the British forces in Portugal; and to be joined by sir David Baird, with ten thousand men, to be landed at Corunna. On the 11th of November, Moore had crossed the boundary between Portugal and Spain, and his advanced guard had reached Ciudad Rodrigo. Two days after, he was at Salamanca. Instead of finding Spanish armies to co-operate with, he learnt that the French had routed and dispersed them. Napoleon had himself come to command his troops; and had arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November. Moore was separated from Baird by a



Sir John Moore.

wide tract of country. He had divided his own army, having received false information that the direct northern road was impassable for artillery, and having consequently sent sir John Hope by a circuitous route. He remained for some time at Salamanca, inactive and uncertain. Mr. Frere, the British ambassador, urged Moore to advance to Madrid. The clever schoolfellow of Canning, who wrote admirable burlesque, was not the best judge of a military operation, and took a sanguine view of what popular enthusiasm might effect in Spain. The people were ignorant and presumptuous; their rulers were either imbecile or treacherous. Madrid was soon in the hands of the French; and the delusion of Mr. Frere that the capital could be preserved was at an end, before Moore completely felt how hopeless an advance would be. He made a forward movement against the advanced corps of Soult; and then, learning that the French armies were gathering all around him, he determined to retreat. Some partial successes had attended the British general's advance; but an intercepted letter from Napoleon convinced him that he could only save the army by retiring. Sir David Baird had previously joined him. Moore had abandoned all hopes of defending Portugal, and had directed his march towards Corunna. He commenced his retreat from Sahagun on the evening of the 24th of December. On the 27th Napoleon wrote to Joseph, "If the

English have not already retreated, they are lost; and if they retire, they will be pursued so vigorously to their ships that half of them will never re-embark." * On the 31st he wrote from Benevento, "The English are running away as fast as they can." † Running away is not exactly the term for a retreat during which the retiring army constantly turned upon the pursuers, always defeating them, and on one occasion capturing general Lefebvre. This exploit was one of several brilliant efforts in which lord Paget, afterwards the marquis of Anglesey, distinguished himself. But there were other dangers than that of the pursuing enemy. The winter had set in with terrible severity; the sufferings of the troops were excessive; disorganization, the common consequence of a retreat, added to their danger. Moore saved his army from destruction by an overwhelming force when he carried it across the Esla. The troops effectually destroyed the bridge by which they passed the swollen stream; at which foresight Napoleon affected great indignation: "The English have not only cut the bridges, but have undermined and blown up the arches; a barbarous and unusual use of the rights of war, as it ruins the country to no purpose." ‡ The destruction of the bridge of Castro Gonzalo delayed the advance of the French for two days. Moore thus saved his army from the attacks of fifty thousand French under Napoleon, who were hastening to overpower a force less than one third of the number which he led. But Moore could not save his men from their own excesses, which made enemies of the inhabitants of every place through which they passed. They murmured and were disobedient. The general, in his Orders, said, that "the situation of the army being arduous, called for the exertion of qualities most rare in military men. These are not bravery alone, but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardship; obedience to command; sobriety and firmness in every situation in which they may be placed." § Despondency had taken possession of the troops. At Astorga, Napoleon writes on the 2nd of January, "It is probable that more than half of the British army will be in our power; the English themselves think so." ‖ Some of the newspapers of London, having experience of the failure of many warlike enterprizes against the French, had become the most confiding believers that resistance to Napoleon and to his invincible armies was altogether vain. This was long the creed of Whig orators and writers—rational enough at first, but betraying a factious and petty jealousy when the bulk of the people had warmed into hope and confidence. Francis Jeffrey, in December, wrote to Horner, "Murray tells me that you have still hopes of Spain. I have despaired utterly, from the beginning; and do not expect that we are ever to see ten thousand of our men back again—probably not five thousand." ¶ The evil foreboding was not far from being realized. The French historians believe that the British army would have been wholly destroyed, if the emperor had remained to strike the final blow. At Astorga he received despatches which indicated that war with Austria was close at hand. He gave up the pursuit of Moore to Soult.

At Lugo, on the 7th of January, the British general halted his exhausted

* "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. i. p. 387. † *Ibid.*, p. 388.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 388. § "Life of Moore," vol. ii. p. 188.
‖ "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. ii. p. 3.
¶ "Life of Horner," vol. i. p. 438.

troops, determined to give battle to Soult. The conflict was declined; and on the British marched to Corunna. On the 11th, when they had ascended the heights from which Corunna was visible, there was the sea,—but there were no transports in the bay. The troops met with a kind reception in the town; and their general applied himself to make his position as strong as possible, to resist the enemy that was approaching. On the 13th Moore wrote his last despatch to lord Castlereagh. The French, he says, "are now come up with us; the transports are not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one. . . . . It has been recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect." On the evening of the 14th the transports arrived. The sick and wounded were got on board; and a great part of the artillery. Cavalry would have been useless on the broken ground where Moore took his position, so the men were dismounted, and the horses were killed. Fourteen thousand British remained to fight, if their embarkation were molested. The battle of Corunna began at two o'clock on the 16th of January. Soult had twenty thousand veterans, with numerous field-guns; and he had planted a formidable battery on the rocks commanding the valley and the lower ridge of hills. Columns of French infantry descended from the higher ridge; and there was soon a close trial of strength between the combatants. From the lower ridge Moore beheld the 42nd and 50th driving the enemy before them through the village of Elvina. He sent a battalion of the Guards to support them; but through a misconception the 42nd retired. Moore immediately dashed into the fight; exclaimed "Forty-second, remember Egypt," and sent them back to the village. Meanwhile, major Napier, who commanded the 50th, was taken prisoner. He, who was to be the conqueror of Scinde, would there have ended his career, had not a French drummer rescued him from the barbarity of the enemies who denied him quarter, after he had received five wounds. The British held their ground or drove off their assailants; and victory was certain under the skilful direction of the heroic commander, when a shot from the rock battery struck him on the left breast and shoulder, tearing away the flesh and breaking the ribs. He was dashed to the earth; but he continued calmly sitting surveying the battle at Elvina, until he was assured that his brave fellows were triumphant. Sir David Baird, the second in command, had also been carried off. Moore was placed in a blanket. His sword-hilt crushed against his terrible wound, and it was attempted to be removed; but he said that he would not part with his sword in the field. He was carried into Corunna; and endured several hours of extreme torture before he yielded up his great spirit. But he had the consolation of knowing that the battle was won, and he died expressing a hope that his country would do him justice. The command had devolved upon general Hope, who thought that his first duty was now to embark the troops. Had he known that the ammunition of the French was exhausted, the victory might have been more complete. Darkness came on. The troops were returning from the scene of conflict to be embarked that night. The sound of a few distant guns was heard as their commander was laid in his grave, hastily dug, on the ramparts of Corunna. The noblest dirge that ever was written says—

"We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone,
But we left him alone with his glory."

Marshal Soult paid the tribute of a soldier to a soldier, and raised a plain monument on the spot where the English general had been killed. It bore this inscription:

"Hic cecidit Johannes Moore, dux exercitus, in pugnâ Januarii XVI. MDCCCIX. contra Gallos, a Duce Dalmatiæ ductos." *

Soult paid a more ample testimony to the merit of his adversary.— He said, in a letter to colonel Napier, of the 15th November, 1824, that sir John Moore knew how to profit everywhere by the advantages which the country offered him to oppose an active and vigorous resistance, and ended by sinking in a combat which ought for ever to honour his memory. Jomini, a military historian generally impartial, has described the retreat of Moore as nothing more than a flight. A later military historian, who recognizes the greatness of our country's heroes in this crisis of her fate, protests against this assertion. An army composed of young soldiers, commanded by officers without experience, and which, during eleven days, sustained without being shaken the pursuit of an army superior in numbers, composed of veteran troops, and led by such chiefs as Soult and Ney,—which, in spite of the eagerness of this pursuit, marched fifty-six leagues in eleven days, of which three were days of rest,—which, having reached the end of its march, maintained an obstinate fight and embarked in the presence of a superior enemy,—which, in fact, from the commencement of the campaign, had only lost, and left behind, 4033 men—such an army does not fly; it does not even make a precipitate retreat.† Happier was the lot of Moore than if he had returned to England, to be a mark for party virulence; to be the subject of a fierce controversy whether he ought to have marched to destruction under the advice of Mr. Frere, or tried to save his army by a retreat. The miseries of that retreat were in some degree a necessary consequence of the absence of that prevision which Moore had not the materials for forming. The great captain of the Peninsular war said he could only see one error in Moore's campaign—he should have considered his advance against Soult as a movement of retreat, and have sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. "But," says the duke of Wellington, "this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must be seen to be understood." Canning, in Parliament, spoke of the retreat and its precipitancy as a matter of deep regret. In private, he used stronger and less generous language. "Sir John Moore ought never to have been held up as an approved military authority for all he had done in Spain; for, if he had found the transports at Corunna, and returned without a battle, he must have been tried, and ought to have been disgraced." ‡ Want of accurate information of the disposition of the people, of the geographical features of the country, of the means of communication, of the power of

* Alison says that the tomb, since enlarged, bears this inscription: "John Moore, Leader of the English armies, slain in battle, 1809."

† Brialmont, "Histoire du Duc de Wellington," tom. i. p. 218.

‡ Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 179.

obtaining supplies, produced the indecision of the advance and the calamities of the retreat. But how much more reprehensible was the ignorance of the government at home—"Why," said Canning, "should government be ashamed to say they wanted that knowledge of the interior of Spain, which they found no one possessed? With every other part of the continent we had had more intercourse: of the situation of Spain we had every thing to learn." * This confession of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was heard, says Southey, "with astonishment by the thoughtful part of the people, and not without indignation." The people, whether thoughtful or careless, felt the deepest commiseration for the sufferers in Moore's campaign, who came home to show what war was. There were nine hundred women landed at Plymouth who had followed the army. On board the transports they were separated from their husbands, and for the most part they were ignorant of their fate. The hospitals were filled with wounded and sick; and some of the troops brought back a pestilential fever. In their sorrow and pity the people forgot their indignation at what they were told had been the conduct of the campaign by the government; and whilst they gave a tear to the memory of the brave general who died at Corunna, they despised the attempts of some journals to load his character with obloquy. "The newspapers sounded the pulse of the public as to laying all blame on sir John Moore, but that nail would not drive." †

The Convention of Cintra and the Retreat to Corunna produced a national gloom and despondency proportioned to the sanguine hopes with which the first great popular resistance to Napoleon had been hailed. There was little public confidence in further operations in the same direction. And yet the Opposition in Parliament had no public support when they proposed to abandon Spain and Portugal to their fate; and to keep our troops at home to resist a probable invasion. The reasonable doubts of the success of any future military enterprize were carried to their height, when the country was suddenly startled by charges against the duke of York, which not only laid bare the vices and follies of his private character, but involved the certainty that he had unworthily bestowed his patronage at the Horse Guards. On the 27th of January, colonel Wardle's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Commander-in-chief with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the army, and in raising levies for the army, was referred to a Committee of the whole House. From the 1st of February to the 20th of March the almost undivided attention of the House of Commons, and of the country, was bestowed upon the contemptible details of the degradation of the king's second son, filling one of the most important offices of the State, in being the dupe of the artifices of an abandoned woman, Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke. The evidence that was given at the bar of the House of Commons occupies hundreds of pages in Hansard's Debates. It was a source of amusement in every society, from the saloons of St. James's to the pot-houses of St. Giles's. It was an occasion of disgust to every well-regulated mind. Wilberforce writes in his Diary, "This melancholy business will do irreparable mischief to public morals, by accustoming the public to hear

* Debate of May 9—quoted in Southey's "Peninsular War," vol. iii. p. 378.

† Lord Bulkeley to the marquis of Buckingham—"Court and Cabinets," &c., vol. iv. p. 311.

without emotion of shameless violations of decency." * The Speaker gravely records an example of the universal interest in the ridiculous correspondence of the duke with his mistress—"The joke in the streets among the people is, not to cry 'Heads or Tails,' when they toss up halfpence, but 'Duke or Darling.'" † The Debates in the House are so necessarily coloured by party-feelings that we cannot arrive at any just conclusions from their perusal. There were, however, two men in the House, of singular fairness, whose private opinions during the course of the inquiry may be referred to. Sir Samuel Romilly has this entry in his Diary: "It was established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the duke had permitted Mrs Clarke, his mistress, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recommendation; and that she had taken money for the recommendations. That the duke knew she took money, or that he knew that the establishment, which he had set on foot for her, was partly supported with the money thus illegally procured by her, did not appear otherwise than from her evidence." ‡ Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 17th of February, wrote to the duke of Richmond, "The love-letters have created a terrible impression. They prove that the duke allowed Mrs. Clarke to talk to him on the claims and requests of officers, and that she had prevailed upon him to recommend Mr. O'Meara to the king as a preacher. . . . . The impression is strong against the duke both in and out of the House. People are outrageous in the country on account of the immorality of his life, which makes no impression in town." § On the 19th sir Arthur writes, "I am convinced that he cannot continue to hold his office, and that if the present ministers endeavour to support him in it, they will be beat in Parliament." ‖ On the 17th of March, Mr. Perceval moved, "That the House, having examined the evidence in the investigations of the duke of York's conduct, and having found that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, had been imputed to him, are of opinion that the imputation is wholly without foundation." The motion was carried by 278 to 196. It was not such an acquittal—such a declaration of innocence, the duke deemed it—as would allow the Commander-in-chief to retain his office, in defiance of public opinion. On the 20th of March Mr. Perceval announced in the House of Commons the resignation of the duke of York. The king communicated to the minister that his son had resigned his office; but he added "that he must ever regret any circumstances which have deprived him of the duke of York's services, in a situation where his zealous and impartial conduct had been no less conspicuous than his strict integrity." All men were ready to admit that the Commander-in-chief had been assiduous in the discharge of his duties; and had done much to improve the condition of the soldier. Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote, "we shall be able to prove that the business of his office is conducted in the most regular manner." Of the nature of the corruption sir Arthur gives an emphatic opinion: "There has appeared in the last two days a general system of swindling, applicable to all the offices of the State, in which Mrs. Clarke has been most active, and a

* Life, vol. iii. p. 402.

† Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 174. The Speaker, not familiar with the slang of the streets, writes "Heads *and* Tails," &c.

‡ "Diary," February 13.

§ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 575. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

great gainer . . . . These transactions, which have deservedly created so much indignation, have been carried on by the scum of the earth." * Colonel Wardle became a popular idol; but he quickly sank into contempt, when an upholsterer obtained a verdict against him of 2000*l.* for the cost of furnishing Mrs. Clarke's house.

The news of a great naval success came in April, to furnish some compensation for the disasters of the retreat to Corunna, and to inspire a confidence that Britain still held the empire of the sea. Thomas lord Cochrane was a popular favorite as Member for Westminster; and he was looked up to by the nation as one who by his extraordinary daring gave promise of being the true successor of Nelson. Although opposed to the government, he was chosen by the Admiralty to conduct a most difficult and dangerous enterprize, under the orders of lord Gambier. Serving with lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, he performed a series of the most brilliant achievements in the "Impérieuse" frigate. He was selected in 1809, to conduct an attack by fire-ships on the French squadron, which was blockaded in Aix Roads, by our Channel fleet. He performed this task in a way in which few commanders could have done so much by skill and intrepidity. Ten line of battle ships and four frigates, with a gun ship, were moored behind a boom, half a mile in length, in a deep channel, their flanks covered by a shoal on one side, and by batteries on the other. Cochrane went in with his fire-ships and frigates on the night of the 11th of April. The explosion vessel broke the boom and scattered terror and destruction through the French squadron. Four ships of the line were taken at their anchorage, and were blown up. The remainder slipped their cables and ran on shore. Captain Cochrane made signal to his admiral, when daylight came, that seven other vessels might be destroyed. Lord Gambier thought the attempt too hazardous. In Parliament lord Cochrane refused to concur in the vote of thanks to lord Gambier, who was consequently, in 1810, tried by Court-Martial and acquitted of neglecting or delaying to take measures for completing the destruction which his officer had partially accomplished. The charges against lord Gambier have been revived by the statements of lord Dundonald in his Autobiography; and the admiral has been defended in his Memoirs recently published. The controversy is of too professional a nature to allow of any examination here. The people of 1809 rejoiced that there was a seaman capable of such enterprizes. The people of 1860, when lord Dundonald was borne to Westminster Abbey, after a long life of undeserved obloquy and neglect, lamented that the party feelings of a time of violent politics—perhaps something also of his own impetuous and independent character—should have made the exploit of Basque Roads the last of his services to his own country.

After the forces under Junot had evacuated Portugal according to the conditions of the Convention of Cintra, sir John Cradock was left in the command of the British troops in that country. Soult invaded the northern provinces from Galicia, and took possession of Oporto on the 29th of March. The Regency at Lisbon earnestly implored the aid of the British government; and it was determined to render that aid most effectual by entrusting the

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 567.

conduct of the war to the one general who appeared capable of coping with its difficulties. Sir John Cradock was removed to Gibraltar; and, on the 2nd of April, sir Arthur Wellesley was ordered to replace that officer, and to proceed without delay to Lisbon. When Napoleon suddenly gave up the pursuit of sir John Moore, on the receipt of intelligence of the disposition of Austria to renew the conflict with him, he lingered for a little while on the frontier, and then proceeded to Paris. Here he made ample preparations for another campaign in Germany. The German people were strongly excited by the resistance in Spain to the domination of France. It was probably difficult for the Austrian government not to go along with this popular spirit. On the 6th of April the archduke Charles issued a proclamation in which he said the liberty of Europe had taken refuge under their banners. On the 9th Austria declared war against Bavaria, the ally of France; and the Austrian armies crossed the Inn. Napoleon left Paris on the 13th of April. On the 17th he was at Donauwerth, on the Danube. The struggle instantly began, which was terminated by the peace of Vienna on the 14th of October. On the 22nd of April sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon. His work in the Peninsula was not done, till, in February, 1814, he had cleared Portugal and Spain from their invaders.

There was no delay or indecision in the movements of sir Arthur Wellesley from the day when he set his foot on Portuguese ground. His

Oporto.

business was first to drive the French from Oporto. On the 9th of May he moved with sixteen thousand British troops from Coimbra. On the 11th

he crossed the Douro. To take sixteen thousand troops across a river is not an easy task under any circumstances; but "how to pass a river, deep, swift, more than three hundred yards wide, and in the face of ten thousand veterans guarding the opposite bank,"—this is the question asked by the first of military historians. On the convent height stood "a great captain, searching with an eagle glance the river, the city, and the country around." Sir Arthur saw where he could force a passage, "his means being as scanty as his resolution was great, yet with his genius they sufficed."* On the 12th the British obtained a victory, which compelled Soult to retreat from Oporto, leaving many sick and wounded. The conqueror published a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to be merciful to the wounded and prisoners. The French in their retreat were harassed and killed by the people of the villages. The roads were strewed with the carcases of horses and men who were put to death before the British advanced guards could save them. "This last circumstance," says sir Arthur, "is the natural effect of the species of warfare which the enemy have carried on in this country. Their soldiers have plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure."†

Thus far had the British general accomplished his great task with surpassing skill. He told his story with his accustomed modesty, in his Despatch of the 12th of May. The praise is for his officers and his men: "They have marched in four days over eighty miles of most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops."‡ The Opposition in Parliament, with few exceptions, were, as they too long continued to be, so hopeless of success, and so unjust and ungenerous in refusing to recognize the merits of the commander who was opening a new career for the army of England as glorious as the triumphs of her fleets, that we can scarcely wonder at the vexation of sir Arthur Wellesley, when he read the parliamentary proceedings of the 31st of May.§ On the 21st of June, he writes from Abrantes to the friend who had sent him the newspaper,—"I am very indifferent what the opinion is of our operations. I shall do the best I can with the force given to me; and if the people of England are not satisfied, they must send somebody else who will do better." As to one charge he felt that it was an imputation upon his honour: "I see that Mr. Whitbread accuses me of exaggeration, which is, in other words, lying."‖ His system in describing his operations was entirely opposed to that of Napoleon. "To lie like a bulletin" was an art of war which he had no ambition to acquire.

In the days before steam-navigation, before railways, before electric telegraphs, the proceedings of statesmen and of warriors had to be regulated by the arrival of news rather than by the dates of occurrences in distant places which despatches recorded. In 1809, "the posts come tiring on." Rumour goes before, "stuffing the ears of men with false reports." Parliament rose on the 21st of June; and soon after came official intelligence, in rapid succession, of great events, on the Danube, on the Scheldt, on the Tagus. It is curious to compare the dates of arrival of intelligence in

* Napier. † "Despatches," vol. iv. p. 344. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 325.
§ See the Speeches of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Ponsonby, in Hansard, vol. xiv.
‖ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 292.

London, and the dates of the events. The Speaker writes in his Diary,—
"Whilst I was in the country, news arrived—

"July 21.—Of Bonaparte passing the Danube, and defeating the Austrians." The final battle of the campaign, Wagram, took place on the 6th of July. The armistice, which took place on the 10th, was known in London on the 27th.

"August 8.—Of the descent on Walcheren and investment of Flushing." The disembarkation took place on the 30th of July, the expedition having sailed on the 27th.

"August 16.—Of sir Arthur Wellesley's defeat of the French at Talavera." This victory was gained on the 27th of July.

In narrating these events we shall see how the knowledge of them bore upon the measures of the English government; or ought to have borne. Each event had a distinct relation to the others. The course of history is like the progress of a well-conducted fiction, in which no incident is without its bearing upon the plot. But we shall also see what amazing changes have been wrought by the rapidity of communication in our own day. Had steam and electricity proclaimed to the English Cabinet in the middle of July the news of the armistice between Austria and France, it is clear that the most rash administration would not have ordered an expedition to sail on the 27th, as a diversion to Austria, when Austria's war was ended. Assuming that the sailing of the expedition had been countermanded, and the news of the battle of Talavera on the 27th of July had travelled from the Tagus to the Thames at the beginning of August, it is clear that the most supine ministry would have sent to Portugal a large proportion of those troops which were shipped for the Scheldt: the necessary weakening of the British army by the sanguinary battle might thus have been speedily repaired. When the news did come, the opportunity was gone. Earl Temple (afterwards duke of Buckingham) writes to his father,—"We have not the means of reinforcing Wellesley. If half the troops which are now knocking their heads against Flushing were available, an important blow might still be struck in Spain."* The victory of Talavera, most men thought, would have no permanent results for good, because the French were too strong. Living in the times which knew of no such triumphs of science as we enjoy, the government could form no certain combinations when they attempted large operations upon different points. They could only speculate upon results in detail, and they too often speculated wrongly. It was the folly of that day to attempt too much and too little; to make a show of activity in many quarters without directing a great effort upon one paramount object.

* "Court and Cabinets of George III.," vol. iv. p. 353.

Lisbon

CHAPTER XXIX.

The nations of Europe roused to resistance against France—The battle of Eckmuhl—Napoleon retires to the island of Lobau—Insurrection of the Tyrolese—Battle of Wagram—Austria concludes a Peace—The Tyrolese subdued—Expedition to the Scheldt—The British land in Walcheren—Flushing bombarded—Its surrender—The Marsh Fever breaks out—Fatal termination of the Expedition—The battle of Talavera—Alarm in England—Disquiet of ministers—Duel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—The Jubilee—Question of Parliamentary Privilege—Committal to the Tower of sir Francis Burdett—Portugal—Lines of Torres Vedras—The campaign of 1810—Almeida—Battle of Busaco—Wellington retires within his Lines.

When the Session of Parliament was closed on the 21st of June, 1809, events in Germany justified the assertion in the royal Speech, that the resistance in Spain against the usurpation and tyranny of the French government had "awakened in other nations of Europe a determination to resist, by a new effort, the continued and increasing encroachments on their safety and independence." M. Thiers candidly says, "The odious act at Bayonne, the difficulties that had arisen in Spain, had all at once, throughout Germany as well as in Austria, excited indignation and restored hope." * Every man in Prussia,

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome x. p. 56.

from the peasant to the noble, was ready to revolt. In the countries in alliance with France—in Saxony, in Westphalia, in Bavaria, in Würtemberg, in Baden—the people, oppressed by the presence of troops, by conscriptions, and by taxes, complained that each of their sovereigns had sacrificed his country to his personal ambition. In the Tyrol, the hardy mountaineers, who were attached by old hereditary ties to the House of Austria, bore impatiently the yoke of Bavaria, to which crown they had been annexed, and were ready to rise in insurrection. It was a crisis that was worthy of heroic efforts, if Europe were to be free.

The first great operations of the war gave no very decided advantage to Napoleon, although his bulletins spoke of partial victories as final triumphs. The battle of Eckmuhl on the 22nd of April was followed by the entry of the French into Vienna on the 13th of May. But the archduke Charles had reinforced his army, and was advancing rapidly along the left bank of the Danube, to prevent the enemy crossing from the right bank, on which Vienna is situated. In the great stream of the Danube is the island of Lobau, nearly three miles in length, and nearly two miles in breadth. To this island Napoleon determined to transport his army. This was an operation of no common difficulty; but it was accomplished by incessant labour in constructing a great bridge upon boats, held in their places by anchors, or by the weight of cannon taken from the arsenal of Vienna. From Lobau there was a smaller stream to cross, by a similar bridge, before a landing could be effected on the open plain on the left bank. On the morning of the 21st of May, the army of the archduke Charles saw from wooded heights the army of Napoleon crossing the lesser branch of the river, and pouring into the great level called Marchfeld. As the French formed their line, the village of Aspern was on one flank; the village of Essling on the other flank. On the 21st and 22nd of May, the most sanguinary contest of the war here took place. "It was a battle," says Thiers, "without any result but an abominable effusion of blood." Never before was the all-conquering emperor in so dangerous a position as when the day closed upon this horrible carnage. He could not return to Vienna; for the river had risen, and the Austrians had floated down the main stream great balks of timber, and numerous fire-ships, which swept away the boats and their bridge. Napoleon could only return to the island of Lobau. Here he retreated, carrying with him thousands of wounded soldiers. The place afforded small means for their cure or comfort; and there was soon little difference between those who died in the battle-field and those who were borne from it to a lingering death.

Shut up in the island of the Danube, the French emperor was strengthening his position, and waiting for events. They were of a mixed character. The heroic partizan, colonel Schill, and the duke of Brunswick, who had headed the German insurrection in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, had failed. Schill was killed in Stralsund. The duke of Brunswick, with a few troops, embarked for England. The Tyrolese were in active resistance to the Bavarians; and their first successes gave a new impulse to the sentiment that when the German people should rise against their oppressors, as "the herdsmen of the Alps" had risen, the day of deliverance was at hand. That day was for awhile postponed. Andrew Hofer, the innkeeper in the valley

of Passeyr, and three other resolute friends, led the revolt which broke out on the 8th of April. The Bavarians entered the province with 25,000 men. From mountain to mountain the signal fires had been lighted, which called forth the bold peasants to seize their rifles, and march to attack the Bavarians in the gorges of the hills, and even in the towns which they held in strength. Halle was taken; Innspruck surrendered after an obstinate defence. After the French occupied Vienna, the Tyrol was invaded by two French and allied armies. The Tyrolese fled not at their presence. They defeated the French and Saxons in the valley of the Eisach. The vanguard of four thousand Bavarians under the duke of Dantzic was destroyed. A new mode of warfare spread dismay amongst the disciplined troops, who thought they were marching to an easy conquest. As they wended their way unsuspectingly through passes where perpendicular rocks rose on either side, voices would be heard from above, shouting, "Let go your ropes." Then would descend masses of rocks and timber, crushing and burying the columns, whilst the unerring rifles picked off the few who fled from the overwhelming ruin. The duke of Dantzic speedily retreated from the dangerous mountains. But Hofer dared to encounter him in a pitched battle, and the innkeeper won the victory.

Such were the tidings that reached Napoleon in the island of Lobau. The inaction of mutual exhaustion was coming to an end. To Napoleon inaction was generally insupportable. He appeared busily employed in constructing massive bridges from the island to the left bank of the Danube; but he was secretly collecting the materials for another work. On the night of the 4th of July the whole of his army crossed the stream, by a bridge hastily thrown over an unguarded point. On the morning of the 5th the French moved in order of battle towards the entrenched camp of the Austrians, which was to resist the passage over the Danube so ostentatiously prepared. The archduke Charles quitted his entrenchments, abandoning the country between Enzensdorf and Wagram. He had lost the opportunity of attacking the French as they crossed the river in that one night, and confronted him as if by miracle. He now retired to a strong position on the elevated table-land of Wagram. From this locality the great battle of the 6th derives its name. The number of soldiers engaged in the work of mutual destruction was between three and four hundred thousand. The French historians claim to have killed or wounded twenty-four thousand Austrians; and admit to have lost eighteen thousand in killed or wounded. But the sturdy resistance of Austria had deranged some of Napoleon's grandest plans of ambition. "He had renounced the idea of dethroning the House of Hapsburg, an idea which he had conceived in the first movements of his wrath." * He would humiliate Austria by new sacrifices of territory and of money. The time was fast approaching when the conquering *parvenu* would demand a daughter of the House of Hapsburg in marriage, completing the triumph of his proud egoism by divorcing the woman who had stooped from her rank to wed the Corsican lieutenant of artillery. Austria sued for an armistice; and the armistice led to a peace. Two of the conditions of the peace of Vienna, which was signed on the 14th of October, were more

* Thiers, tome x. p. 478.

degrading to Austria than the loss of territory. One was that she should give no succour to the Tyrolese who had so nobly fought for her independence. The other was, that she should unite with all the rest of the enslaved continent in the exclusion of the commerce of England—of England, her ally, that was affording the most effectual co-operation by exertions in Spain; and had attempted by a small expedition to Naples, and a vast expedition to the Scheldt, to divert the levies of France from going to the aid of the French armies that were fighting against Austria on the Danube and in Italy. England was ill-timed in her assistance; she was unlucky; but her good-will was not the less sincere. Napoleon returned to Paris; and left his marshals to put down the spirit in Germany which a humiliating peace could not compromise, and which the system of terror could not wholly extinguish. Fifty thousand French and Bavarians marched into the Tyrol; hunted the peasantry from hill to hill; set a price upon the head of Andrew Hofer; and procured his arrest by treachery. He was tried by court-martial at Mantua, and condemned to death. The majority of French officers were averse to the sentence being executed. There was a respite; but an order from Paris left no choice. He was shot on the 20th of February.

The history of the fatal expedition to Walcheren might be sufficiently traced in the Papers presented to Parliament, and in the Minutes of Evidence taken before a Committee of the whole House of Commons.* But time has opened other sources of information. The materials are ample for a narrative, interesting in itself, and instructive for warning against official neglect, ignorance, and presumption. We are enabled to add a few details from an unpublished journal.†

Sir David Dundas succeeded the duke of York as Commander-in-chief, on the 18th of March. On the 24th he was called to a Cabinet meeting. He was informed that an immediate attack on the island of Walcheren was contemplated; that there were nine or ten sail of the line in the harbour of Flushing, not in a state to proceed to sea; that our navy had a large disposable force; and that fifteen thousand land forces would be necessary for the operation. Could such a force be at once assembled? Sir David Dundas said that such a force could not at once be provided; that the corps which had returned from Spain were in very indifferent health, and their military equipment was in a very defective state. Preparations went on to complete the remains of sir John Moore's army for service; and volunteers from militia regiments were gradually drafted into regiments of the line. But the scheme had assumed a more formidable character, when lord Castlereagh, on the 29th of May, stated to sir David Dundas that his majesty's government felt it their duty to investigate, having formidable means at their disposal, how far it was possible to strike a blow against the enemy's naval resources in the Scheldt, "including the destruction of their arsenal at Antwerp, and the ships of war stationed in different parts of the Scheldt between Antwerp and Flushing." The answer of the Commander-in-chief, on the 3rd of June, was not encouraging. He thought that an attack upon Antwerp was a

* See Hansard, vol. xv. Appendix, col. 1 to 639, and vol. xvi. Appendix, col. 1105 to 1130.

† "Narrative of the Expedition," by an Officer employed—MS. of 200 pages, in the possession of the Author of the "Popular History."

service of very great risk. On the 18th of June, lord Castlereagh directed that 35,000 infantry and 1800 cavalry should be held in readiness for immediate embarkation. Sir David Dundas was not consulted as to the appointment of the commander of the expedition, although he knew that it was meant to appoint lord Chatham. There were equally important persons with whom no consultation was held. Sir Lucas Pepys, the Physician General to the forces, was acquainted with the nature of the disorder to which soldiers were subject in the island of Walcheren. The medical officers of the army were not informed where the expedition was going, and therefore could not make any particular preparation. With Mr. Thomas Keate, Surgeon General of the army, there was no consultation. He knew perfectly well the nature of the complaint prevalent in Walcheren at the season when the expedition was about to sail; and had confidence been reposed in him he should have recommended precautions that might have lessened the malady. On the 16th of July, "our trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, John, earl of Chatham," received his instructions, as the commander of a large division of his majesty's forces, to attack and destroy the naval force and establishments in the Scheldt, acting in conjunction with the commander of the naval portion of the armament, sir Richard Strachan. The whole amount of the land-force, according to the list transmitted to lord Chatham, was 39,143 infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The naval force comprised 35 sail of the line, 5 ships of 50 and 44 guns, 18 frigates, and 160 sloops, gun-brigs, bomb-vessels, gun-boats, &c. The army was encamped on Southsea common and on the hills around Portsmouth. The ships of war were assembled at Spithead, ready to take a portion of the troops on board, whilst others were received by transports. The weather was the finest of a fine summer. Gazers from all parts came to look upon the most magnificent expedition that ever left the British ports. The ostentatious preparation was out of harmony with the affected secret of its destination. The French and Dutch knew thoroughly well what was intended. The English army and navy were to be kept in the dark, so that the mystery should not be divulged and find its way to Flushing and Antwerp. Yet the first order issued, whilst the troops were embarking, was one against taking quarters "unsanctioned by the Burgomaster."

On the 25th of July this great armament sailed from Portsmouth to the Downs. During the three days on which it ran down the English shore, every height was crowded with people. "Of all the displays that I have ever seen," says the writer of the MS. Journal, "the finest was that which opened on us as we rounded the South Foreland. The sea was literally covered for miles with shipping, and all was animation. Upwards of a thousand sail were rolling at anchor off Deal, and among them six enormous three-deckers that looked like castles. All England seemed to have collected on the coast. Boats were sweeping in all directions among the fleet. Hundreds of parties from the shore were rowing about among us. The bands of the regiments were playing, bugles sounding, and in the heavy swell of a north-east gale flag and cannon signals were perpetually busy. The whole had an incomparable look of spirit and triumph, and was an actual display of power that we proudly felt the world beside could not equal."

On the 28th of July, at daybreak, the first division of the fleet, with sir

Richard Strachan, and the earl of Chatham on board, sailed from the Downs. A larger division followed on the 29th. On the 30th twenty thousand men landed on the isle of Walcheren. Middleburgh, the chief town, was immediately surrendered. The French troops were driven into Flushing. Other operations were attended with complete success. Every obstacle was quickly removed that would have prevented Antwerp being taken by a sudden and well-combined movement of the naval and military forces. The French ships at Flushing had withdrawn and had gone up the Scheldt. No English squadron pursued. The garrison of Antwerp had only 3000 men. Napoleon said to O'Meara that if a few thousand men had been landed at Wilhemstadt and marched direct to Antwerp, it might have been taken by a *coup-de-main*. After the fleet had got up, that was impossible. Bahtz, the key to both channels of the Scheldt, was taken by sir John Hope on the morning of the 3rd, and the whole of South Beveland was in his possession. All the energy of the first operations had no other ulterior object, in the eye of the Commander-in-chief, than the taking of Flushing, and the occupation of Walcheren. It would seem as if the earl of Chatham had known that Napoleon held that Flushing was impregnable; and that it had become a point of honour with him to prove that the great emperor could be sometimes mistaken. From the palace of Schönbrunn, whilst negotiating a peace with Austria, Napoleon wrote on the 6th of October to his minister of war at Paris,—who had apprised him of the appearance off Walcheren of the English armament,—"They will not take Flushing, since the dykes can be cut; they will not take the squadron, for it can ascend to Antwerp." * Ten days later, this provident administrator, who never suffered any circumstances in his vast empire to be indifferent to him, showed how much better he understood what our army would experience than the war minister who directed the expedition. Napoleon then wrote, "Before six weeks, of the fifteen thousand English who are on the isle of Walcheren not fifteen hundred will be left. The rest will be in the hospitals. . . . . The expedition has been undertaken under false information, and has been ignorantly calculated." †

The enemy that was gathering around our troops,—far more dangerous than the batteries of Flushing,—was soon perceptible. The investment of the place was completed, before a bombardment commenced on the 13th of August. The troops slept, for the most part, in the open air. In his MS. Journal the officer writes: "Towards morning we found ourselves wrapped in that chill, blue, marshy mist rising from the ground, that no clothing can keep out, and that actually seems to penetrate to the inmost frame. And this we always found the morning atmosphere of Walcheren,—the island covered with a sheet of exhalation, blue, dense, and fetid." The positive orders which Napoleon had sent from Schönbrunn, that general Monnet, the commander of Flushing, should cut the dykes, were now carried into effect. On the 11th, the sea-dyke extending from the right flank of Flushing on the land side to the canal of St. Joostland, was cut. The water spread over the fields, filled the ditches, and forced the besiegers to abandon some parts of the trenches. There was no time to lose. The bombardment commenced upon a scale that was perhaps unequalled in any previous siege. Batteries of

* Thiers, tome xi. p. 452—"Lettres relatives à Walcheren." † *Ibid*, p. 460.

heavy ordnance fired incessantly night and day upon the devoted town. The Congreve rocket was employed with fearful effect. Ten line of battle ships, on the morning of the 14th, ranged along the sea line of defences, and kept up a cannonade for several hours. Flushing was on fire in every quarter. At last after three days the governor agreed to surrender, on the condition of the garrison becoming prisoners of war. The occupation of the Dutch fishing town was the prize that cost twenty millions of money. The siege operations were conducted by sir Eyre Coote, lord Chatham "having hoped, had circumstances permitted, to have proceeded up the river." * His lordship, whose vocation, according to an epigram not far from the truth, was to eat, and to sleep, contrived to console himself for his disappointment in not going up the river, to encounter Bernadotte, who had arrived at Antwerp with a great army. He rested happily at Bahtz; where his existence was proclaimed by two turtles sprawling upon their backs in his garden, ready for the art of the commander-in-chief of the kitchen who accompanied him.†

And now came the dread event which Napoleon had predicted. Lord Chatham wrote home on the 29th that he was obliged to close his operations with the capture of Flushing. He adds, "I am concerned to say, that the effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year is felt most seriously, and that the number of the sick already is little short of three thousand." The morning fogs began to be heavier and more penetrating. The soldiers, who had been kept up by the animation of the siege, now sank, exhausted and despairing. They were carried into close barracks at Middleburgh, where the fever raged more and more, and the barracks all became hospitals. The surgeons were unsupplied with bark and other necessary medicines. The medical officers themselves were seized, and either died or were disqualified for attendance. Proper supplies of medicine and of wine from England were coming as soon as routine could bestir itself. The main army was ordered home, and with them went lord Chatham. But fifteen thousand men were left in Walcheren "for the protection of the island." The despatches of sir Eyre Coote, from the 31st of August to the 23rd of October, contain the most distressing accounts of the progress of the fever. Thousands had died. Four thousand sick had been sent to England. Sixteen hundred more were about to be sent; and then the hospitals would still contain four thousand sick, who must have been abandoned to the French in the event of their landing. Every one who had thought or read knew what would be the consequence of sending forty thousand men to Zealand in August, and of their continuing there for two or three months. Every one suspected what might happen, except the ministry, and especially the Secretary-at-War. Sir John Pringle's book on the "Diseases of the Army" was known to common readers; but it was unknown, or unheeded, in Cabinet Councils, where some members were assiduously engaged in the laudable endeavour to circumvent a colleague, yet leaving him to the consequences of his own incapacity; and others thought that whatever he did was right, as long as he did not go before his party in any large or liberal views. Mr. John Webb, the Inspector of Hospitals, reported to lord Castlereagh, on the 11th of September,—when the ravages

* Despatch, 16th August.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. iv. p. 356.

had begun, and statesmanship at last had taken counsel of science,—that, independent of the existing records of the unhealthiness of Zealand, every feature of the country exhibited it in the most forcible manner;—the canals communicating with the sea, covered with the most noisome ooze; every ditch loaded with matter in a state of putrefaction; the whole island little better than a swamp; scarcely a place where water of a tolerable quality could be procured; the children sickly, and many of the adults deformed. The endemic diseases of the country, remittent and intermittent fevers, says the Inspector, begin to appear about the middle of August, and continue to prevail until the commencement of frosty weather. He adds one important fact, after describing how the disease had spread in the army with a rapidity almost unexampled in the history of any military operation, that "those men who may be attacked with fever, and recover from it, will have their constitutions so affected by the shock, that their physical powers, when called into action hereafter, will be very materially diminished." * The "Journal of an Officer" describes what was endured by thousands of the sick. After a month's suffering he was carried to Flushing; shipped on board of a frigate; when in the Downs, the ship was telegraphed that the hospitals were full; went on to Spithead; and was borne ashore fainting. "My recovery was long doubtful, and when it at last commenced, it was long imperfect. The venom of the marsh-fever had a singular power of permeating the whole human frame. It unstrung every muscle, penetrated every bone, and seemed to search and enfeeble all the sources of mental and bodily life. I dragged it about with me for years." Such was the end of the great Armada that sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July, with a pomp and power that had never been equalled since another Armada came to a like fatal termination of vain hopes and blind confidence. The calamity which England had sustained had a most serious effect upon the progress of the war in Spain and Portugal. In the summer of 1810, the operations of lord Wellington were fatally crippled by the want of men to supply his losses. His earnest request for more aid from home was thus answered by lord Liverpool on the 2nd of August: "Now, with respect to reinforcements to your army, I am under the painful necessity of informing you that the effects of the fever contracted by our army last year in Walcheren are still of that nature that, by a late inspection, we have not at this time a single battalion of infantry, in Great Britain and Ireland, reported fit for service in the field, with the exception of the infantry of the duke of Brunswick's corps." † Walcheren was evacuated on the 23rd of December. Then came inquiries in Parliament. The ministry made every effort to screen lord Chatham from a vote of censure, which was prevented only by very small majorities. The character of the army and navy was not injured. The disgrace rested with the commander; with the Secretary-at-War; and with the members of the Cabinet, who believed him incapable, and had not the courage to enforce their belief.

After the retreat of Soult from Oporto, sir Arthur Wellesley, at the beginning of July, entered Spain. On the 20th, he made a junction with the Spanish army under Cuesta, at Oropesa. Marshal Victor was in position at

* Hansard, vol. xv. Appendix, col. xii.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 508.

Talavera. His outposts were attacked on the 22nd by the Spanish and British; and Victor, retiring to Torrijos, was joined by Sebastiani, and afterwards by king Joseph. Cuesta was obstinate and conceited. Taking his own counsel, he pushed on alone to attack the French, and was driven back to the British army, on the Alberche. With the greatest difficulty he was persuaded not to fight in a position where he would have been destroyed. In a sulky mood, he left to sir Arthur Wellesley the command of the two armies. The British general retired six miles to Talavera, where he had previously chosen his field of battle, and which he had strengthened by some earthworks. On the 27th, the French crossed the Alberche, and there was a partial contest, in which they were repulsed. On the 28th, the French renewed the attack. From nine o'clock of that morning till noon, the two armies reposed. It was the calm before the storm. The heat was excessive, and the French and English soldiers quitted their ranks, and assuaged their thirst in the little stream that separated their several positions. The scene was suddenly changed The French drums beat the *rappel;* the eagles were uplifted; the columns formed, and the battle commenced. They first attacked the left, which was weak; then fell upon the right; and later in the day threw their force upon the centre of the line. A formidable battery was making fearful havoc. The centre was giving way, when sir Arthur Wellesley ordered the 48th regiment to descend from the height which they occupied, and meet the brunt of the fight. The scattered masses rallied. The English general hurled a charge of cavalry upon the French columns; and the victory was won. In writing to a friend in India, sir Arthur Wellesley said, "The battle of Talavera was the hardest fought of modern times. The fire at Assaye was heavier, while it lasted; but the battle of Talavera lasted for two days and a night. Each party engaged lost a fourth of their numbers." * To another friend he writes, "We had certainly a most fierce contest at Talavera, and the victory which we gained, although from circumstances it has not been followed by all the good consequences which we might have expected from it, has at least added to the military reputation of the country, and has convinced the French that their title to be called the first military nation in Europe will be disputed, not unsuccessfully." † "This battle," says Jomini, "recovered the glory of the successors of Marlborough, which for a century had declined. It was felt that the English infantry could contend with the best in Europe." Very few Spaniards were engaged. Sixteen thousand English, of which number many had been recently taken from the militia, repulsed thirty thousand French veterans. Napoleon was furious at the results of the battle of Talavera. He wrote from Schönbrunn to general Clarke, that he should express to marshal Jourdan the emperor's extreme displeasure at the inaccuracies and falsehoods in his report. "He says that on the 28th we were in possession of the British army's field of battle—that is to say, of Talavera, and of the table land on which their left flank rested; whilst his subsequent reports, and those of other officers, say the exact contrary, and that we were repulsed during the whole day. . . . Tell

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 431. † *Ibid.*, p. 387.

him that he might have put what he pleased into the Madrid newspapers, but that he had no right to disguise the truth to government." * The next day the emperor wrote to his Minister of Police a memorandum, to be expanded into articles in the Journals: "Lord Wellesley is beaten in Spain. Surrounded in his rout, he seeks his safety in a precipitate flight under excessive heat. In quitting Talavera, he has recommended to the duke of Belluno five thousand sick and wounded that he was obliged to leave there. If affairs had been properly conducted in Spain, not an Englishman would have escaped; but nevertheless they are beaten. Comment on these ideas in the journals. Demonstrate the extravagance of the ministers in exposing thirty thousand English, in the heart of Spain, against a hundred and twenty thousand French, the best troops in the world, while at the same time they sent twenty-five thousand others to come to grief (*se casser le nez*) in the marshes of Holland." † In these hints for his journalists of Paris, Napoleon exaggerated the painful facts which the English general readily admitted. He was obliged to retreat, for Soult had suddenly appeared with fifty thousand men. He was surrounded by immense armies; he did leave, to be guarded by Cuesta, fifteen hundred of his sick and wounded; when Cuesta marched away and left his charge, sir Arthur did recommend them to the humanity of the French generals, who acted generously towards them, as sir Arthur Wellesley had acted towards the French at Oporto. He had confided too much in Spanish generals and in Spanish troops. He had trusted too much to the zeal and activity of the commissariat to furnish him supplies. Admiral Berkeley, who commanded in the Tagus, says: "Twice has the army been stopped for money, and twice for provisions. The horses starved, while ships, loaded with hay and oats from England, enough to furnish all the cavalry, were rotting and spoiling in the Tagus. The medical staff is as bad: as our army were dying away for want of medicines, while more than sufficient were in ships in the river." ‡ Nearly half a century was to slide on before such results of "ignorance and delay" were to be counted as monstrous things, that could never again shake the public confidence in official sagacity. The experience of one campaign taught sir Arthur Wellesley great lessons. In India he had acquired the power of regulating the commissariat upon the largest scale; in providing not only for men and horses, but for elephants and bullocks, and all the gorgeous cavalcades of an oriental camp. In his first campaign in Portugal, he had somewhat too much relied upon the War Office, and the Victualling Office, and the Transport Office. Each department did its own work in parallel lines, and never thought that the Division of Labour was worthless without the Union of Forces. He soon came to look sharply after the most apparently trifling details. But he also came to rely upon himself, and to leave the Spanish generals to their jealousies, and the Spanish juntas to their own conceits. His brother, the marquis (then ambassador in Spain), seeing that he could not bring the native authorities to act "with common spirit, honesty, or decency," advised him to return home. §

* "Correspondence with King Joseph," vol. ii. p. 66, August 21.
† Thiers, tome vi. p. 461—"Lettres de Napoléon."
‡ "Court, &c. of George III." vol. iv. p. 359.
§ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 372.

He remained to show how a resolute will and a clear head can surmount every difficulty.

The battle of Talavera won for sir Arthur Wellesley the name by which we shall henceforth speak of him—Wellington: first Viscount, then Earl, then Marquis, then Duke. By what name he was to be called was almost a matter of chance.* "Talavera" was thought of. Of "Wellesley" his brother wore the honours. "Wellington" was chosen—the household word for all time. In December the British army had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes. When his head-quarters were at Badajoz, in October, lord Wellington had gone to Lisbon, "to arrange finally for the defence of Portugal." He had conceived the grand project of the lines of Torres Védras. In January, 1810, his head-quarters were at Viseu; and he was in constant communication with lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, an officer of engineers, on the execution of this gigantic work. The scheme was not to be paraded before the world. It was to be proceeded with steadily and unostentatiously. He would claim no merit with the English government, or the English people, for preparing a stronghold, from which he might go forth to do battle with armies four times as strong as his own, and retire thither on any emergency, to laugh at their efforts to dislodge him. During the spring of 1810 he steadily devoted himself to the organization of the British and Portuguese armies. He was wholly left to his own resources. The government at home could send him no reinforcements. He had no support in their confidence that he would surmount the difficulties by which he was encompassed. At the end of October, four questions were put to him by lord Liverpool,† which required all his prudence and sagacity to answer upon his own responsibility. Wellington thought:—1. That if the Spaniards were commonly prudent, the enemy would require a very large reinforcement before they could subjugate the country: 2. He thought that if the French did not make an immediate attack upon Portugal, they would require an army of seventy or eighty thousand men to succeed, but he believed they would make the attack: 3. He thought that if they made the attack at once they would be successfully resisted: 4. He was convinced that if defeated his army could embark.‡ At the end of 1809 intelligence had arrived of the defeat of two Spanish armies; and then lord Liverpool talks as if all the efforts of the British and Portuguese armies for the defence of Portugal would be unavailing.§ In March, lord Liverpool apprises lord Wellington, "That a very considerable degree of alarm exists in this country respecting the safety of the British army in Portugal;" and that he "would rather be excused for bringing away the army a little too soon, than, by remaining in Portugal a little too long, exposing it to those risks from which no military operations can be wholly exempt."‖ He could not "recommend any attempt at what may be called desperate resistance." It must have been a satisfaction to Wellington, who cared very little for "alarm in England," and was not easily depressed by ministerial timidity, to have received the encouragement of the stout-hearted old king to persevere in the course which appeared right and

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 361.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 423.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 433.
† *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 412.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

safe in his own judgment. Colonel Herbert Taylor was then the official secretary to George III., who was nearly or totally blind. He had read to the king a private letter from lord Wellington to lord Liverpool; and he conveys to the minister his sovereign's sentiments upon the correspondence which had taken place. This letter of colonel Taylor, dated April 21, lord Liverpool forwards to lord Wellington. It contains the following passage: "The king observed that the arguments and remarks which this letter contains, the general style and spirit in which it is written, and the clearness with which the state of the question and of prospects in Portugal is exposed, have given his majesty a very high opinion of lord Wellington's sense, and of the resources of his mind as a soldier; and that as he appears to have weighed the whole of his situation so coolly and maturely, and to have considered so fully every contingency under which he may be placed, not omitting any necessary preparation, his majesty trusted that his ministers would feel with him the advantage of suffering him to proceed according to his judgment and discretion in the adherence to the principles which he has laid down, unfettered by any particular instructions which might embarrass him in the execution of his general plan of operations."* The worry from Downing-street continued, especially from the Treasury. In June, Wellington asks this question of the ministry—"Are we at war with France for the existence and independence of the country? and is it advisable to maintain the contest as long as possible at a distance from home? . . . I see more, and must know more, of what is going on here than others; and I certainly have no prejudice in favour of the continuance of our exertions here, founded upon any partiality for the business of guiding them. But I sincerely feel what I write—that if the resources of Great Britain were fairly applied to this contest, as they have been to any other in which the country has been engaged, the French would yet repent the invasion of Spain."†

When two Cabinet Ministers meet to fight a duel, and one is wounded, the natural consequence is, that the house divided against itself must fall. Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary at War, challenged Mr. Canning, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and they had a hostile meeting on Wimbledon Common on the 22nd of September. Canning was slightly wounded. It is scarcely possible to investigate the causes of this transaction without encountering the difficulties that arise from the partizanship of contemporary narratives. After the lapse of half a century the subject is scarcely worth investigation by a writer who has only to present a rapid view of the more important public affairs. Upon the surface it might appear that Canning had been intriguing for six months to remove Castlereagh from office for some motive of personal ambition. He "was much and unjustly blamed at the time."‡ The duke of Portland, the Prime Minister, wrote to the Chancellor in June, "The great object, and indeed the *sine quâ non* with Canning, is to take from lord Castlereagh the conduct of the war." Lord Castlereagh, in his letter of challenge, complained that Mr. Canning, after receiving a promise that the seals of the War Office should be transferred from their holder, continued to act with him as his colleague, and permitted him to originate the

* "Supplementary Despatches," p. 515. † *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 531.
‡ Brougham—"Sketches of Statesmen"—Canning.

Walcheren enterprize. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Canning several times tendered his own resignation, but was over-persuaded to remain in office,—believing that Castlereagh had been apprised by the duke of Portland, and other members of the Cabinet, of the desire and the intention to make the change which so materially affected the public service. Both the Secretaries of State were injured by the want of moral courage in the head of the government to do a disagreeable act—by telling the truth to take out of the hands of the War Minister the completion of a great enterprize which he had devised. The end of the affair was that Canning and Castlereagh both quitted the administration. The duke of Portland also resigned; and, long broken in health, died on the 29th of October. There were many difficulties in constructing a new administration. Mr. Perceval became Premier; the marquis Wellesley came from Spain to be Secretary for Foreign Affairs; lord Liverpool took lord Castlereagh's post as Secretary of State for the department of War and Colonies; the Secretary at War was lord Palmerston.

The 25th of October was celebrated throughout the kingdom as "The Jubilee"—the fiftieth anniversary of the accession to the throne of George the Third. Romilly considered "this Jubilee as a political engine of ministers;" but the people fell into the proposal of the celebration with a very hearty spontaneity. Romilly also thought that when posterity should look at the measures of the king's government, his popularity for many years would appear unaccountable.* The people were not only gay amidst bell-ringing, and bonfires, and dinners in civic halls. There was a feeling of enthusiastic attachment to their old sovereign, manifested amongst the many who pitied his growing infirmities; who sympathized with his sturdy hatred to Bonaparte and French domination; and who were not quite sure that what the wiser called his prejudices were not great public virtues. One thing the people dreaded—that this reign should come to a close; that the example of the domestic virtues that prevailed at Windsor should be succeeded by the licence of Carlton House; that the scandals about the princess of Wales—which rival factions were constantly speculating upon as weapons of political offence or defence—should become a source of national danger and disgrace when the unhappy quarrel should be between a king and a queen. Caroline of Brunswick could not be put aside as easily as Josephine Beauharnais. If the time should come, when the Fourth George should turn over the chronicles of the Eighth Harry to search for precedents, it would not suit the genius of representative government, that he should proclaim his will to his assembled family that his wife should be divorced, as Napoleon proclaimed his will at the Tuileries on the 15th of December; that an obsequious senate should confirm the dissolution of the marriage; and that the ruler of England should be free to look around for a Princess to share his throne, after the fashion in which the ambitious Corsican first threw the handkerchief at a Grand Duchess of Russia, and then—a slight hesitation being manifested—at an Archduchess of Austria. Such a crisis was postponed in England by the life of George the Third being prolonged beyond another decade.

When parliament was opened on the 23rd of January, the failure of the

* "Diary"—October.

expedition to Walcheren naturally became a subject of grave inquiry. The Opposition and the country were in ill-humour, and they mixed up their reproofs of the unhappy policy of the Scheldt enterprize with the operations of sir Arthur Wellesley, contending that the government which had given him a peerage must stand or fall by him. They little knew how time would accomplish this result in a different manner from that which they anticipated. The pension which was proposed to be granted to lord Wellington was carried by a very small majority. A constitutional question arose upon a motion of censure, moved by Mr. Whitbread, against lord Chatham, in presenting to the king a narrative of his proceedings in the Scheldt, with a request of secresy, and without communicating it to the other members of the cabinet. The motion was carried. Lord Mulgrave succeeded lord Chatham in the office of Master-General of the Ordnance. The constitutional law was sufficiently asserted without any further proceedings.

A time of great popular excitement was coming in England. The old question of Privilege, in which the House of Commons had manifested such an impotent tyranny in the case of John Wilkes, was about to be renewed in a struggle with a favourite of the democracy, who was bent upon asserting what he held to be popular rights. Sir Francis Burdett, the member for Westminster, was in 1810 the subject of a contest which had no real bearing upon the liberties of the people, but which gratified the vanity of one who aspired to be their leader. The interest of the war in the Peninsula; the marriage of Napoleon with a daughter of the emperor of Austria, by which his complete ascendancy over the continent appeared to be established; the commercial effects of the Orders in Council; the difficult problem of the depreciation of the Currency which was under discussion;—these matters became of small importance compared with the resistance of the member for Westminster to an order of the Speaker for his arrest. The turmoil was soon over, and as it had no lasting consequences our relation must be very brief. John Gale Jones, the manager of a Debating Society, on the occasion of the enforcement of the Standing Order for the exclusion of strangers during the Walcheren inquiry, issued a handbill, announcing that the Society had decided that the enforcement was "an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and render their representatives objects of jealousy and suspicion." Jones was brought to the bar; confessed himself the author of the bill; and was committed to Newgate, the House resolving that he having published a paper containing libellous reflections upon the conduct and character of the House, was guilty of a high breach of its privileges. Sir Francis Burdett, having made an unsuccessful motion for the discharge of Jones, published a violent letter in Cobbett's "Register," in which he contended that the House had no authority to imprison for such an offence. Sir Thomas Lethbridge, on the 27th of March, moved "that the publication of which Sir Francis had acknowledged himself to be the author, was a scandalous libel upon the rights of the House." There was a debate of two nights. Romilly doubted the right of commitment. The Master of the Rolls maintained the right, in which he was supported by some members of the Opposition, but who nevertheless objected to the agitation of the question. During the violence of debate there was an amusing interlude. Sir Joseph Yorke angrily called Whitbread "a brewer of

bad porter." There was a furious uproar. Whitbread, with perfect good humour, rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I rise as a tradesman to complain of the gallant officer for abusing the commodity which I sell;" and the House burst into laughter and approbation.* On the 5th of April, in an adjourned debate, the House divided at six in the morning upon the question whether the paper by sir Francis Burdett was a breach of privilege, an amendment for postponing the question for six months being rejected by a large majority. But the question whether the baronet should be committed to the Tower, or reprimanded, was carried by 190 against 152, the same morning at half-past seven. In the course of that day the populace began to break the windows of members who had taken part against their favourite. The tumult became serious on the 7th, when sir Francis declared his determination to resist the warrant for his committal, and to defend himself in his own house in Piccadilly. The Riot Act was read; the Guards were called out; several persons were wounded; and troops arrived from the country. On Monday, the 9th, the house of Sir Francis was broken open; and he was conveyed to the Tower, under a strong military escort. On the return of the troops they were grossly insulted and attacked by a furious mob, and several persons were killed when the soldiers at length fired, having had to fight their way through Eastcheap. The subsequent proceedings upon this question of privilege have been succinctly stated by a recent constitutional historian: "Overcome by force, sir Francis brought actions against the Speaker and the Sergeant, in the Court of King's Bench, for redress. The House would have been justified by precedents and ancient usage, in resisting the prosecution of these actions, as a contempt of its authority; but instead of standing upon its privilege, it directed its officers to plead, and the Attorney-General to defend them. The authority of the House was fully vindicated by the Court; but Sir Francis prosecuted an appeal to the Exchequer Chamber, and to the House of Lords. The judgment of the Court below being affirmed, all conflict between law and privilege was averted. The authority of the House had indeed been questioned; but the Courts declared it to have been exercised in conformity with the law." † When Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June, the imprisonment of sir Francis came to an end. A procession was announced to convey him home in triumph; but he departed secretly by water, and the mob followed an empty car to Piccadilly.

When Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June, the royal speech briefly alluded to the Peninsular war. It said, that Portugal, with the assistance of his majesty's arms, had exerted herself with vigour and energy, in making every preparation for repelling any renewed attack on the part of the enemy; and that in Spain, notwithstanding reverses which had been experienced, the spirit of resistance against France still continued unsubdued and unabated. The nation could scarcely have expected from this somewhat cheerless notice of the operations of the British army, with no mention of the British general, that he had been doing some useful work. His retreat to Portugal after Talavera had been denounced in Parliament as having converted victory into defeat. The Common Council of London presented a

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 242.
† May—"Constitutional History of England," vol. i. p. 450.

petition to the House of Commons praying that a pension of 2000*l.* a year should not be granted to viscount Wellington; conceiving it "to be due to the nation, before its resources shall be thus applied, that the most rigid inquiry should be made why the valour of its armies had been thus uselessly and unprofitably displayed."* The impatient tax-payers, who fancied that Wellington and his army were idling in Portugal, and would soon be obliged to return home, could not readily have believed, even if they had been told, that he had been accomplishing the greatest design that was ever conceived by military genius, for resting the future operations of the war upon no sudden and casual triumphs, but upon a comprehensive plan upon which his army's safety might be assured, if decisive battles could not at once be won. There had been six months of comparative inaction, which appeared to superficial observation as six months lost. From January till the end of April, Wellington remained in his head-quarters at Viseu, watching the movements of the French in Old Castile and Leon, who were evidently preparing for an attack on Portugal. There was doubt at home; but there was no doubt in the mind of the sagacious and provident commander. On the 31st of March, he wrote to colonel Torrens, "I am in a situation in which no mischief can be done to the army, or to any part of it. I am prepared for all events; and if I am in a scrape, which appears to be the general belief in England, although certainly not my own, I'll get out of it."† The time would come when the Correspondence of lord Wellington would show how profound had been his views and how accurate his calculations—extorting from the somewhat prejudiced although the ablest of the French historians of this great crisis, a striking eulogy, of which this is the substance: With a rare penetration he had formed a judgment upon the march of affairs in the Peninsula better than that of Napoleon himself. He had appreciated the force of resistance which national hatred, which climate and distance, opposed to the French; the draining of their forces when they arrived in the heart of the Peninsula; the want of unity in their operations under various generals. He entertained the conviction that the vast scaffolding of the grandeur of the empire was undermined in all its parts; that if England could continue to excite and to maintain by her succour the hatred of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, Europe, sooner or later, would throw off the yoke of Napoleon. "This opinion," continues M. Thiers, "which is the highest honour to the military and political judgment of lord Wellington, had become with him an invariable idea; and he persevered in it with a firmness of mind and an obstinacy of character worthy of admiration." All depended, says the historian, upon the resistance which he could oppose to the French, when he was driven into the extremity of the Peninsula. He had searched for, and had discovered with the rare accuracy of a *coup d'œil*, a position almost impregnable, from which he could brave all the efforts of the French armies. This position, which he has made immortal, was that of Torres Védras, near Lisbon.‡

But it was not alone the rare accuracy of a glance of the eye that determined upon these famous lines. Founded upon personal examination of

* Hansard, vol. xv. col. 601. † "Despatches," vol. v. p. 611.
‡ "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xii. p. 319 to 320.

every part of the ground, during a few weeks of October and November 1809, the Memorandum of lord Wellington to colonel Fletcher, commanding the Royal Engineers, is a masterpiece of large views and minute detail.* That Memorandum, altered afterwards in a few particulars derived from further personal surveys, was sufficiently exact for thousands of Portuguese labourers immediately to be employed, under British engineers, in the rapid construction of works, of which the cuttings of miles of railroad in a mountainous country can furnish but an imperfect idea of their colossal proportions. In one year, these works, behind which the city of Lisbon, the roadstead, the transports, the munitions of war, would be safe from all attack, were sufficiently complete to test the practical grandeur of their conception. A line of intrenchments was first constructed, about twenty miles in advance of Lisbon, running completely across the promontory from Torres Védras on the sea to Alhandra on the Tagus. The heights of Alhandra, rising perpendicularly from the river, ascended to Sobral, in the centre of the lines. The road to Lisbon on the bank of the Tagus beneath the heights was defended by barricades mounted with cannon. All the sides of the hills towards Sobral that were not sufficiently steep were cut into escarpments with prodigious labour. Their summits were crowned with forts, where heavy guns commanded all the avenues by which the enemy could approach. At Sobral, from which the hills descended on either side, was a plateau, where works of laborious construction supplied the place of natural inequalities of surface; and the whole of this position was strengthened by a citadel, which could only be taken by a regular siege. The chain of hills from Sobral to the sea was defended in a similar manner, by escarping the sides, by shutting up their gorges with redoubts, by connecting them with forts on their summits. The river Zizambre, which passed Torres Védras to the sea beneath the chain of hills, was rendered impracticable by dams. All the fortifications of these works, stretching thus for twenty-nine miles across the whole breadth of the promontory of Portugal, had their own magazines. Some contained six pieces of cannon; others contained fifty pieces. The arsenal of Lisbon had chiefly furnished the prodigious quantity of ordnance that was required. Some of the garrisons, all of which were permanently occupied by Portuguese, contained a thousand men. All the disposable British forces were to occupy the points of encampment supposed to be most liable to attack. A system of signals along the whole extent of the lines would have brought all the force within them upon a given point in a few hours. A second line of works had been prepared, in case the first line had been forced; and a third series of defences also were formed at the extremity of the promontory to keep an enemy in check had he overcome these stupendous arrangements for an army's safety. These secondary means were unnecessary. The redoubts and guns in battery of the first line presented such an array of power, that when the leader who had conceived this great work first tried its security in the autumn of 1810, Massena, who had been commanded by Napoleon to drive the English into the sea, at all risks, looked with his fifty thousand men upon the lines of Torres Védras for a month; saw that his proud course was staid; and retired with his starved and dispirited army, to

* "Despatches," vol. v. p. 234.

know that effectual barriers could be raised even against the progress of the invincible legions of the Republic and the Empire.

The summer was approaching when Massena took the command of the French forces in Old Castile and Leon. He had seventy-two thousand men under arms in the field. The name by which they were called, "the Army of Portugal," indicated the special service to which they were devoted. Wellington had about fifty-four thousand British and Portuguese. By the great exertions of marshal Beresford, the Portuguese had become valuable troops, and some were brigaded with the British army. In June the French invested Ciudad Rodrigo. It was bravely defended by the Spaniards till the 10th of July. Wellington was not strong enough to attempt its relief. He could only have advanced with thirty-two thousand men, having been obliged to leave nearly a third of his army to prevent the enemy in Estremadura from cutting him off from Lisbon. He saw Ciudad Rodrigo fall. The Spanish general, Romana, in whom the British general had great confidence, was as anxious as Wellington that Ciudad Rodrigo should be relieved; but neither of them could risk the attempt in the presence of a far stronger enemy. On the 15th of August, Massena commenced the siege of Almeida. It was defended by a Portuguese garrison, under the command of an English officer. Wellington moved forward to be ready to seize any opportunity for its relief. On the second night of the bombardment, a magazine, containing all the ammunition of the fortress, blew up; and the garrison were compelled to capitulate, the greater part of the town and the defences having been destroyed by the explosion. This accident disconcerted all the projected operations of the British army. Wellington had no fault to find with the unfortunate event of the surrender of Almeida;—except that he was not informed by telegraph of the misfortune which had happened, when he would have made an effort to have saved the garrison. As it was, he had made all his preparations for falling back.*

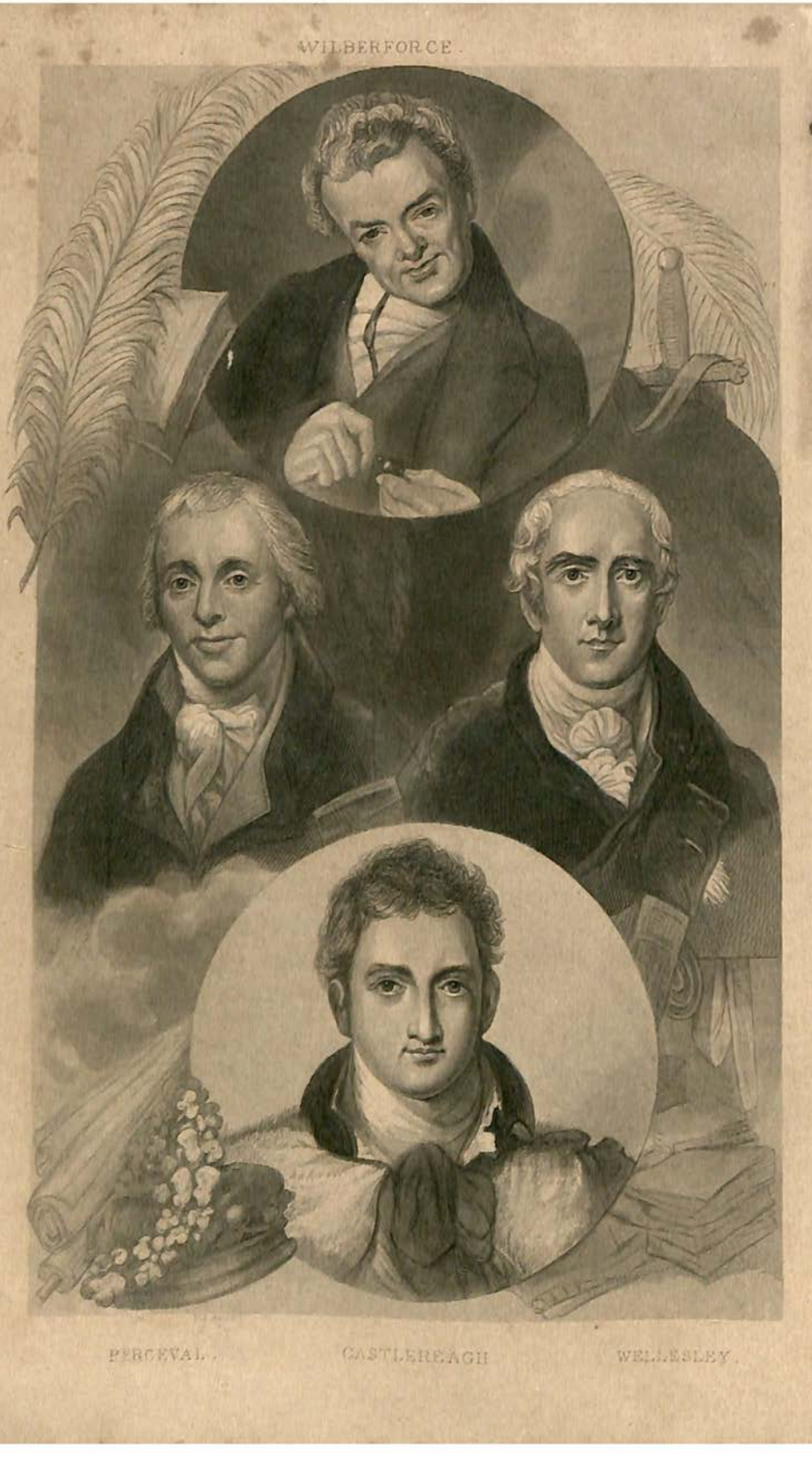
On the 26th of September, his army was collected upon the Serra de Busaco, in front of Coimbra. On the 27th the French attacked the right and left of the English position. They were repulsed; one column being driven down the hill by general Picton's division; another column compelled rapidly to retreat under a bayonet charge by general Crauford's division. The Portuguese fought well; and Wellington said, "They are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause."† "This battle," says Napier, "was fought unnecessarily by Massena, and by Wellington reluctantly." It is scarcely possible that Massena should have received the instructions of a letter written at St. Cloud on the 19th of September, in which Napoleon says to Berthier, "Send off an officer to-morrow with a letter for the prince of Essling, in which you will let him know that it is my wish that he attack and destroy the English . . . . I am too far off, and the position of the enemy changes too often, for me to give advice as to the way in which the attack should be conducted; but it is certain that he is not in a state to resist it."‡ But Massena knew that his despotic master had become impatient of Wellington's pertinacity, and that he must risk

* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 588.
† "Despatches," vol. vi. p. 475.
‡ "Letters to King Joseph," vol. ii. p. 143.

something. Thiers holds that the British general, however prudent, was unwilling to enter his lines as a fugitive, and that, when he should find one of those strong positions against which the impetuous bravery of the French would be likely to fail, he would fight a defensive battle, and then tranquilly retire.* The French lost four thousand five hundred men; the British and Portuguese, thirteen hundred.

On the 29th of September the allies, crossing the Mondego, began to retreat towards Lisbon. The sufferings of the inhabitants of a country in which two hostile armies are contending, and where the necessity for securing their own safety almost precludes compassion for the non-combatants, were never more forcibly displayed than in the course of the movements which followed the fall of Almeida. When the rear-guard of the British evacuated Coimbra, on the 1st of October, many of the inhabitants, who had remained—whilst Wellington was keeping the French at bay in the Serra de Busaco, instead of obeying his orders to remove out of the way of the enemy with their goods and provisions—now followed the army, encumbering the road with their sick and their aged and their children. But the great mass of the population in the line of the English march willingly obeyed the orders upon which the eventual safety of their homes depended, and fled towards Lisbon, leaving the towns and villages bare for the advancing French. Their losses and miseries were great; but England made a great effort to afford some compensation. Wellington continued steadily to retreat before his powerful opponent. There was no sacrifice of men by precipitate flight, no risks encountered by rash resistance. The loss in skirmishes was small. On the 10th of October, the whole army was within the lines of Torres Védras. Massena came up, wholly unprepared to find such an obstacle to his further progress. He spent some days in reconnoitring. He scoured the country for provisions; but the country was a desert, behind him and around him. The distresses of his army were most severe, for they had only carried bread for fifteen days. On the 15th of November he gave up all hope of forcing the lines; and began a retrograde movement. On the 8th of December, Wellington wrote one of his unofficial letters, which best exhibits his character and habits of thought: "I have determined to persevere in my cautious system; to operate upon the flanks and rear of the enemy with my small and light troops, and thus force them out of Portugal by the distresses they will suffer, and do them all the mischief I can upon my retreat. Massena is an old fox, and is as cautious as I am. He risks nothing . . . . Although I may not win a battle immediately, I shall not lose one; and you may depend upon it that we are safe, for the winter at all events." †

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xii. p. 365.
† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 2.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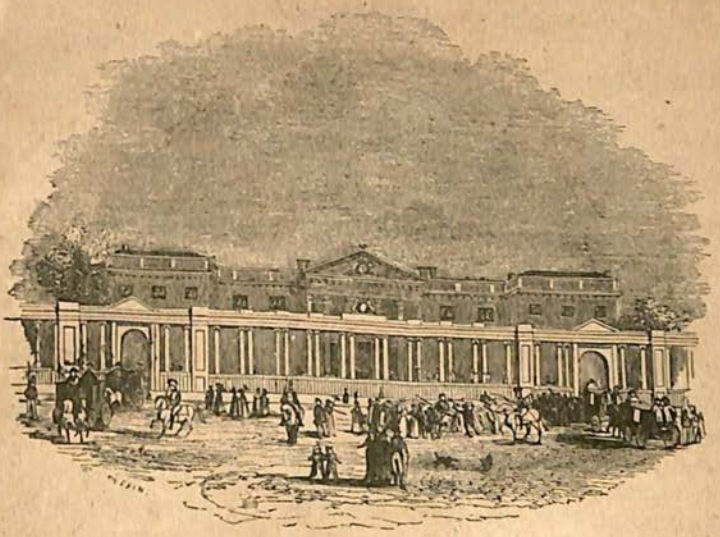


Carlton House, Levee Day.

CHAPTER XXX.

Illness of the king—Interruption to the proceedings in Parliament—The Regency Bill passed—The king's ministers continued in office—State of Europe at the commencement of the Regency—Wellington and the Ministry—Massena evacuates Portugal—The British army pursues—Battle of Fuentes de Onoro—Battle of Albuera—Restrictions on the Prince Regent about to expire—His letter as to his choice of a Ministry—The Administration not altered—Resignation of the Marquis Wellesley—Character of the Regent—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Attempts to form a Cabinet of which lord Grey and lord Grenville should be the heads—The earl of Liverpool Prime Minister—Luddism—Repeal of the Orders in Council—The United States declare war against Great Britain.

THE Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 1st of November, was, by an order made in a council at which the king presided on the 17th of October, to have been further prorogued by Commission to the 29th of November, and a proclamation to that effect appeared in the Gazette. On the 29th of October Mr. Perceval wrote to the Speaker that the calamitous situation of the princess Amelia had so worked upon the king's mind that he was incapable of signing the Commission, and that, according to all usage, such instrument never passes the Great Seal without the king's signature. Mr. Perceval had seen the king on that day. "His conversation was prodigiously hurried, and, though perfectly coherent, yet so extremely diffuse, explicit, and indiscreet upon all the most interesting subjects upon which he could have to open his mind; and, at the same time, so entirely regardless of the presence of all who were about him, that he was evidently labouring under a malady." * From that malady the king never recovered.

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 262.

The "interesting subjects upon which he had to open his mind" had, doubtless, more relation to domestic affairs than to public events. His favourite daughter was dying; and upon her deathbed she is said to have revealed to her father the circumstances of an attachment which, as was believed, had involved a violation of the Royal Marriage Act. The princess Amelia died on the 2nd of November. The king was then under restraint. When told of his daughter's death, he "did not seem to feel or take much notice of it." He had been heard to count over the several times and occasions of his former attacks; and he ascribed this last to the illness of the princess.*

The meeting of Parliament on the 1st of November could not be postponed. The Chancellor met the Lords; informed them that there was no Commission to open the Session, and explained the circumstances which had prevented him affixing the Great Seal to such a Commission. Mr. Perceval addressed the Commons; the Speaker having stated that he had thought it his duty to take the chair, in order that the House might adjourn itself. The adjournment was to the 15th. When that day arrived, the House again adjourned for another fortnight, the physicians having expressed a strong opinion as to the probability of the king's recovery. Another adjournment took place to the 13th of December. On that day a Committee was appointed in both Houses to examine the physicians. On the 20th, the ministers proposed three Resolutions, following the precedent of those of 1788. They affirmed the king's incapacity; they declared the right and duty of the two Houses to provide for this exigency; and proposed to proceed by Bills determining the powers to be exercised in the king's name and behalf, to which the Royal Assent should be given in some mode upon which the Houses should determine. The mode which the ministers desired to adopt was a fictitious use of the king's name,—the "Phantom," as it was called. The Opposition contended, as in 1788, for addressing the prince of Wales to assume the royal authority as Regent. The seven dukes of the blood-royal supported the measure of proceeding by Address, when the subject came to be debated in the House of Lords. But the ministerial Resolutions were adopted. They contained restrictions on the power of the Regent, which were offensive to the prince of Wales, and to the party who were considered to be his friends. The limitations upon his authority were to continue only for twelve months; but they were sufficiently stringent to produce great debate and many divisions, in which the ministers had small majorities. The Resolution which was considered most obnoxious was that which gave the queen very extensive powers over the king's person and the royal household. It was finally determined that the queen should have "such direction of the household as may be suitable for the care of his majesty's person, and the maintenance of the royal dignity." The Parliament having been opened on the 15th of January, by a Commission under the Great Seal, the Regency Bill was passed on the 5th of February. During these proceedings the prince of Wales had been negotiating with lord Grenville and lord Grey as to the arrangement of a new Administration. On the 1st of February, he sent to acquaint these peers that "it was not his royal highness's intention

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 287.

to make any change at present." It had begun to be confidently expected that the king would recover. He had become "much alive to what was passing, and was quite sure," as he told Mr. Perceval, "that it could never enter into the prince's mind to change the ministry." * On the 4th the prince announced to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their situations those whom he finds there as his majesty's official servants, lest "any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery." The letter added, "This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval." On the 6th, the Prince Regent took the oaths before a Privy Council assembled at Carlton House. During several months the king appeared to be occasionally convalescent. His bodily health was good, and he talked more naturally. But it soon became sufficiently clear, whatever might be the expectations that his life might be prolonged, that he was not likely to be able ever to resume the royal functions. The reign of George III. had been virtually closed on the 5th of February, 1811.

At the commencement of the Regency, it would have appeared the most extravagant expectation to have believed that within three years the gigantic power of Napoleon would have been crumbling into ruin,—that, like the ice-palace of the empress of Russia,—

> "'Twas transient in its nature, as in show
> 'Twas durable; as worthless as it seemed
> Intrinsically precious." †

In March, 1811, the empress Maria Louisa presented to the French nation a son, who was saluted by his father as king of Rome. Rome and

Louis Bonaparte.

the southern Papal Provinces were annexed to France; and the Pope was a prisoner at Savona. Louis Bonaparte, having refused to concur in the tyrannical projects of his brother for enforcing the Continental System upon

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 315.
† Cowper, "Task," book v.

his Dutch subjects, had surrendered his mockery of sovereignty, and had come to reside at Powys Castle, in Montgomeryshire, upon his parole. The kingdom of Holland was then formally annexed to France. This annexation of the territory of the Zuyderzee was not enough in that direction. Ten additional departments were added to France on the 13th of December, 1810, which comprehended Holland, Friesland, Oldenburg, Bremen, and all the line of coast to Hamburg and all the country beyond Hamburg to Lubeck. The French empire now consisted of a hundred and thirty departments, containing forty-two millions of people. The millions that were dependent upon the will of the mighty emperor—a godhead with some infatuated English; a "restless barbarian"* with others not wholly given up to party—can scarcely be numbered. The kingdom of Italy, which was under his sway, contained six millions. The kingdom of Naples, in which his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, now ruled, contained five millions. The kingdom of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerome was the sovereign, submitted to the law that was enforced upon his other satellites, that "every thing must be subservient to the interests of France." Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he had at his feet the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and a train of minor German princes. Prussia was wholly at his mercy. Denmark would obey any command of Napoleon since Copenhagen was bombarded and her fleet carried off. Marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, had been elected by the States of Sweden as successor to the aged and childless Charles XIII., who had succeeded the deposed Gustavus. The French marshal was installed Crown Prince on the 1st of November, 1810. There only wanted the quiet possession of Spain and Portugal, under his brother king Joseph—Austria being his own by family ties, and Russia his ally, in the sworn friendship of her emperor—to make the world his own. England was to perish in the great league of Europe against her commerce; and in the resistance of America to her maritime claims. When Wellington stood within the lines of Torres Védras, and Massena was without, preparing to attack him, the fate of the nations of Europe rested upon the successful defence of this promontory. "The English," says Thiers, "once expelled from Portugal, all would tend in Europe to a general peace. On the contrary, their situation consolidated in that country, Massena being obliged to retrace his steps, the fortune of the Empire would begin to fall back before the fortune of Great Britain, to sink in the midst of an approaching catastrophe."† In his place in Parliament, about this time, the marquis Wellesley proclaimed a great truth, which he repeated in 1813: "As Bonaparte was probably the only man in the world who could have raised his power to such a height, so he was probably the only man who could bring it into imminent danger. His eagerness for power was so inordinate; his jealousy of independence so fierce; his keenness of appetite so feverish in all that touched his ambition even in the most trifling things; that he must plunge into desperate difficulties. He was of an order of mind that by nature make for themselves great reverses." ‡ There was no one who had a more absolute conviction of this

* Francis Horner—Letter to Hallam—"Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 115.
† "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xii. p. 412.
‡ Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 46.

truth than the brother of the marquis Wellesley, who had to enforce, by his unerring sagacity and his indomitable perseverance, the realization of the change of fortune so eloquently predicted.

The Regent had not been appointed more than a fortnight, when his ministers threw in the way of lord Wellington whatever obstacles a weak government could present to a strong mind. The British general had informed lord Liverpool of the probability that the command of the Spanish armies would be offered to him. The Secretary of War answers him that, "it is the unanimous opinion of every member of the government, and of every person acquainted with the finances and resources of the country, that it is absolutely impossible to continue our exertions in the Peninsula for any considerable length of time;" and that "we see no adequate advantage that would result from the command of the Spanish armies being conferred upon you."* The answer of Wellington, however conceived in the most respectful terms, was the answer of a statesman. It implied his contempt for the whining over expense of a government that was continually frittering away its resources in petty undertakings—a government that had not the courage to do right for its own sake, but made the war in the Peninsula more a party question than a national object; yielding to the clamours of the Opposition, instead of rendering their objections futile by a vigorous policy that would have commanded success. Wellington said that the ministers had it not in their power to form an opinion of the real expenses of the war in the Peninsula; that the first step should be to analyse the charge, and see what the same army would cost elsewhere, at home for instance; that the transports formed a large item of expense, and that if he had been furnished with ten thousand more men in 1810 he would not have kept the transports; that he had sent them away now, because he thought that the events of the campaign had brought the enemy to such a situation that the necessity for an embarkation was very remote. He told the ministry that if the army were withdrawn from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the continent, Napoleon would incur all risks to land an army in his majesty's dominions. His indignation at the thought gives him eloquence. "Then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest; then would his majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations. God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene."† Lord Liverpool had ventured upon some childish babble about Wellington determining between an offensive or defensive system, and he was thus answered: "In respect to offensive or defensive operations here, if they are left to me, I shall carry on either the one or the other, according to the means in my power, compared at the time with those of the enemy." With this key to his operations, we shall understand, what the public of that time could not understand, why after gaining a victory he was sometimes obliged to retreat.

* "Supplementary Despatches," p. 69.

† "Despatches," vol. vii. p. 329.

Far less could they understand the nature of the difficulties he had often to encounter: "The people of England," he said after the retreat from Burgos in 1812, "so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules, more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them." *

When Massena retired from before Torres Védras he took up a defensive position at Santarem. He was now really blockaded by the British forces, and had to depend for his supplies upon the bare country behind him. During this state of inaction in Portugal, general Graham, with three thousand English and seven thousand Spaniards, had attacked the French who were blockading Cadiz, and had won the battle of Barrosa, on the 5th of March. On the 6th of March, Wellington, who had long maintained, contrary to the opinion of every person in the army, that Massena would be compelled to retire for want of provisions, received information that he had retired, and immediately put his troops in motion, in three columns.† The pursuit of the enemy was conducted with skill equal to that displayed by the French general in ordering his retreat. The course of the French army was marked by the most fearful cruelties. An officer of the English army writes, "There are no enormities, however great, and no wanton barbarities, that have not been committed by Massena's order on people of all classes and ages; nor have they neglected to destroy a single town or village through which they have passed." ‡ The invasion of Portugal was terminated on the 6th of April, when the French crossed the Agueda into Spain. The allied armies now commenced the blockade of Almeida. The Spaniards had not been able to make a stand against Soult at Badajoz, which was surrendered on the 11th of March. Connected with the possession of these two fortresses, were fought the two great battles of the campaign of 1811. Massena, powerfully reinforced, had returned to raise the blockade of Almeida. The battle of Fuentes de Onoro, in the neighbourhood of Almeida, was fought on the 5th of May. Wellington says of this battle, "It was the most difficult one I was ever concerned in, and against the greatest odds We had very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy were fresh and in excellent order. If Boney had been there we should have been beaten." § On the 15th of May, whilst marshal Beresford was besieging Badajoz, very insufficiently provided with the means of carrying on a great siege, Soult came to its relief; and the sanguinary battle of Albuera was fought the next day. The British and Portuguese had to sustain the brunt of that terrible contest. No one who has read the description of the battle of Albuera by sir William Napier can forget the terrible struggles in which "was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights." ‖ On the 18th of May, Soult retired

* "Despatches," vol. ix. p. 574.
† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 85—Letter of an Officer.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 88.
§ "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 176—Letter to Wellesley Pole.
‖ "Peninsular War," vol. iii.

towards Seville. The siege of Badajoz was recommenced, when Wellington arrived at Albuera with two other divisions. But the *matériel* of a siege was still wanting. Early in June Wellington heard that Marmont was marching from Salamanca to join Soult. He hastened back to the frontier of Portugal which was thus menaced. The two French generals united their forces; but they did not venture upon an attack. The British took up their old position upon the Coa; and there was no more fighting in 1811.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 7th of January, 1812. On the 16th, Mr. Perceval proposed Resolutions with regard to the Royal Household, which were framed in the belief that the king's recovery was very improbable, although not altogether hopeless. The Prince Regent, on the 13th of February, addressed a letter to the duke of York, explaining his views with regard to the choice he desired to make of his official servants. The restrictions of the Regency Bill were to expire on the 18th, and it was generally expected that great changes would take place—that the party long supposed to be in the special interest of the Prince, would return to the possession of that power which they had lost in 1807. These expectations came to an end when the Regent's letter was made public—the letter which Moore parodied so wittily that even the most devoted Tory could scarcely forbear to smile. The sentence, "I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to attain but such as are common to the whole empire"—which implied that the Regent would make no sweeping alterations in his Cabinet—was followed up by a wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his hands and constitute a part of his government. These sentiments were to be communicated to lord Grey, who would make them known to lord Grenville. The answer of those peers, addressed to the duke of York, said, "All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim; we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such an union." In the case of Ireland, especially, they were firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the system of government, and of the immediate repeal of the civil disabilities on account of religious opinions.

On the 19th of February, the marquis Wellesley resigned the seals as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He had tendered his resignation in January. The main point of difference between lord Wellesley and his colleagues was that they pursued half measures in Spain—that "their efforts were just too short." These dissensions had been going on for two years. "Lord Liverpool usually agreed with lord Wellesley on the necessity and policy of extending our efforts, if practicable; but submitted entirely to Mr. Perceval's statement of the impracticability."* Lord Castlereagh succeeded lord Wellesley as Foreign Secretary.

Three months had passed without the ascendancy of Mr. Perceval's ministry being shaken by the fact that it was not founded upon "the most liberal basis," such as the Regent had affected to desire. It was founded

* Memorandum in "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 257.

upon Court favour; and that influence was powerful enough to ensure the support of parliament. A tragical event for awhile opened the question whether the Tory party, or the Whig party, should conduct the affairs of the State. Neither party would be perfectly free to conduct them upon principles that would ensure the support of the reflecting portion of the public, complicated as was the position of the responsible advisers of the Crown, by what was denounced in Parliament as "a base system of unprincipled favouritism known to prevail in the Court. It was notorious," said Mr. Lyttleton, "that the Regent was surrounded with favourites, and, as it were, hemmed in by minions."* The safeguard of a ministry was to be found in the luxurious indolence of the Regent, who did not care to govern with incessant and laborious interference, such as his father had always exerted; who, having the pomp of power to amuse him, did not care what manner of men did the work,—always provided that nothing occurred to disturb his egoistic solicitude for his own personal interest, convenience, or pleasure. The ministers he had chosen had espoused the cause that was most obnoxious to his feelings. The ministers he had not been able to unite in his service had taken a different side. If the question that the people were continually agitating about the wrongs of the princess of Wales could be settled by some bold measure of any ministers, it was possible that his "predilections" might be fixed for the future. As it was, matters were going on smoothly enough, though commercial distress was pressing heavily upon capitalists; though workmen were rising in insurrection against the use of machinery; though perseverance in the Orders in Council was on the point of producing a rupture with the United States, as it had already destroyed the greatest trade which England possessed; though the finances of the kingdom were held to be so crippled, that the fight for national independence could not much longer be maintained. A sudden catastrophe in a moment broke up the official calm.

On the 11th of May, the House of Commons was in Committee in the afternoon, hearing evidence on the Orders in Council. Mr. Brougham had examined a witness, and the cross-examination was proceeding, when a noise was heard from the lobby, like the report of a pistol. That lobby was a large shabby room, with four pillars marking a gangway to the door of the House. The space on each side of the pillars was generally occupied by persons who came to speak to members or to gratify their curiosity. On the left side, generally crowded, was a fire-place and benches. A stone staircase led up to the lobby, which staircase was common to members and to the public. About five o'clock, Mr. Perceval, with his habitual light step, was entering the lobby door, when a shot was fired in the inside of the lobby, and he fell. Mr. William Jerdan, then a Reporter of the Debates, was close by the minister as he entered, having preceded him up the staircase, but had pushed open the swing door of the lobby to give him precedence. Mr. Jerdan's relation is more interesting than the ordinary accounts: "I saw a small curling wreath of smoke rise above his head, as if the breath of a cigar; I saw him reel back against the ledge on the inside of the door; I heard him exclaim, 'Oh God!' or 'Oh, my God!' and nothing more or longer, for even that excla-

* Hansard vol. xxii. col. 1163—May 4.

mation was faint; and then, making an impulsive rush, as it were to reach the entrance to the House on the opposite side for safety, I saw him totter forward, not half way, and drop dead between the four pillars which stood there in the centre of the space, with a slight trace of blood issuing from his lips. All this took place ere with moderate speed you could count five." * There were about a score of people in the lobby, and the confusion was necessarily extreme. The body was lifted up by Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, and it was carried into the office of the Speaker's secretary. The assassin was now recognized and seized. The discharged pistol was found on him, and another loaded and primed was taken from his pocket. "Except for his frightful agitation," he was as passive as a child. Mr. Perceval had been shot through the heart, and when the unhappy murderer knew that he was dead, he exclaimed, "I am sorry for it." He mentioned that he had received wrongs from Government. He was ascertained to be a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, John Bellingham. Examined by three magistrates, he was committed to Newgate. On the next day a message from the Regent was presented to the House of Commons, recommending that a provision should be made for Mr. Perceval's family. "By common consent, no other business was done. Lord Castlereagh presented the Message, and moved the Address. In most faces there was an agony of tears; and neither lord Castlereagh, Ponsonby, Whitbread, nor Canning could give a dry utterance to their sentiments." † Friends and political adversaries united in a tribute of honest feeling to the private worth of Perceval. "As a private man," writes Romilly, "I had a very great regard for Perceval. We went the same circuit together, and for many years I lived with him in a very delightful intimacy. No man could be more generous, more kind, or more friendly than he was. No man in private life had a nicer sense of honour. Never was there, I believe, a more affectionate husband, or a more tender parent." ‡ The regret at his death led to two great public mistakes. The unhappy Bellingham was tried at the Old Bailey on the fourth day after he had fired the fatal shot. The law authorities would not postpone the trial to receive evidence of his insanity that it was stated could be produced; he was hanged a week after the assassination. The feelings of the House of Commons carried extravagant grants to Perceval's family, beyond the proper measure of his services as a public man.

And now was to come another struggle for power. No man was more busy behind the scenes than the Chancellor. He was authorized by the Regent to learn the sentiments of the Cabinet, whether they thought they could carry on the government with any one of their own members at the head of it. They doubted. Could they carry on the government with Wellesley and Canning? Some said No; some said it was difficult; some said it was very improbable; one said it was very dangerous both to prince and country. But they thought that they should have less chance of "public support for a government of their own, if office should not previously have been offered either to lords Grey and Grenville, or to lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning." § The Chancellor believed that Wellesley and Canning

* "Autobiography of William Jerdan," vol. i. p. 134.
† Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 380. ‡ Romilly, "Diary," May, 1812.
§ Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 210.

would "bite."—"If they don't, we shall try what we can do without them." They did not bite. Wellesley suggested that a Cabinet should be formed "on an intermediary principle regarding the Roman Catholic claims, exempt from the dangers of instant unqualified concession, and from those of inconsiderate peremptory exclusion." This would not suit the intolerance of the majority. He further required that "the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war." This would not suit those who were hankering after little objects, with their due provision of profitable employment for carpet warriors. The existing Ministry then resolved to keep the work in their own hands. Another authority stepped in. The House of Commons determined upon an Address to the Prince Regent, praying him to take measures for forming "a strong and efficient Administration." The Cabinet now tendered their resignations. The Regent confided to lord Wellesley the formation of a government of which he should be the head, suggesting an application to those still holding office to join him. They had all agreed in a refusal. He was then permitted to apply to lords Grey and Grenville; but there were certain limitations proposed to them to which they could not assent. Lord Wellesley then resigned the commission which he had received; and negotiations were opened direct from the Court with lord Grey and lord Grenville. They were somewhat too peremptory in requiring that the appointment of the officers of the household should form part of the ministerial arrangements. There was then called into play an amount of political intrigue which it is quite needless for us to unravel. The attempt to change the government was at an end. Lord Eldon, for three weeks, nearly deserted the duties of the Court of Chancery, to be closeted with the duke of Cumberland. Their business was to devise how that influence could be rendered permanent whose leading principle was to oppose the slightest amelioration of cruel laws; to keep the press in subjection by *ex officio* prosecutions and harsh punishments for what was called libel; to resist, or to discourage, the progress of general education; to encourage commerce by restrictions and prohibitions; to encourage agriculture by keeping food dear; to maintain a paper currency that was a transparent delusion; to support the religion of the State by oppressing all who differed from it; to believe "that all advances towards improvement are retrogradations towards Jacobinism;"* to regard, in a word, the interests of government and of people as conflicting. The Regent was stimulated into hatred of the Whigs. Tory politics were triumphant. Though the ministry still mismanaged the war, they derived their almost sole popularity from the successes of lord Wellington, in the only operation of the war that was founded upon a great principle. They preserved their ascendancy in parliament, not by eloquence and courage, as Pitt had maintained his ascendancy, but by that safe mediocrity which, whether in politics or in literature, is a good marketable commodity, in spite of the Horatian belief in its worthlessness. The earl of Liverpool, on the 8th of June, declared in parliament that he had been that day appointed by the Prince Regent as First Commissioner of the Treasury. He maintained his position for many years, during which the intellect of the community was gradually

* Canning's Speech, Feb. 1826.

undermining the system which first gave him power; till the wiser of his associates proclaimed their renunciation of that system; till England was becoming a different world from the world of George the Third and the Regency.

The Premiership of the earl of Liverpool did not commence under auspicious circumstances. On the 27th of June, a Message was sent to Parliament from the Prince Regent, on the disturbed state of the country. In Lancashire, parts of Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, there was an organized system of conspiracy for the destruction of machinery. This was known as Luddism—a name derived from that of a poor idiot, Ned Lud, who, thirty years before, in a fit of irritation, had broken two stocking frames. In the autumn and winter of 1811, these riots had commenced at Nottingham, where the hosiers, from the stagnation of trade, had been obliged to discharge many of the weavers. But a new frame had also been introduced, wider than the one which had long been in use, and which consequently required less manual labour. To destroy these frames was the object of the rioters, whose operations had become truly dangerous at Nottingham, in November, 1811. On February 14th, 1812, Mr. Secretary Ryder moved for leave to bring in a Bill "for the more exemplary punishment of persons destroying or injuring any Stocking or Lace Frames." As the law stood, the breaking of frames was punishable with fourteen years' transportation. It was now proposed to make the offence capital. The Bill passed both Houses very rapidly—nothing easier than to enact the punishment of death as a ready solution of every difficulty in legislating against crime. Murders had now accompanied the destruction of machinery. But the offences did not cease, even when Luddites, not murderers, were hanged under the new law. In June, as we learn from the Regent's Message, the riots had become insurrections. Lord Sidmouth was Home Secretary, and he recommended the measures which Parliament adopted, to give powers to the magistracy to search for arms; to provide for the instant dispersion of tumultuous assemblies; and to allow magistrates of neighbouring counties a concurrent jurisdiction, so that the escape of offenders might be more difficult. Gradually the disturbances ceased. A Special Commission was held at York in November, 1812, when many Luddites were convicted, and sixteen were executed.

The insurrections of workmen were essentially connected with the general depression of industry consequent upon the commercial position of England. For four or five years the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, and the Orders in Council of the ministry of Mr. Perceval, had not acted as separate cutting instruments for maiming the trading intercourse of all nations; but they had become terrible shears for the destruction of the only commerce, that of neutrals, by which the subjects of the two great belligerent governments could have their wants supplied by the interchange of their productions. The Orders in Council of November, 1807, which declared France and all its tributary States to be in a condition of Blockade, made all vessels subject to seizure which should attempt to trade with any parts of the world thus blockaded; and all neutral vessels, either going to, or clearing out from, a hostile port, were required to touch at a British port, and pay Custom dues. Their effects are thus described in one of a series of papers on this question: "Taken in combination with the Berlin decree, they interdict the whole

foreign trade of all neutral nations; they prohibit every thing which that decree had allowed; and they enjoin those very things which are there made a ground of confiscation." * In a subsequent article it is maintained that the diminution of our foreign trade, in 1808, amounted to fourteen millions sterling. America was the only great neutral power; and had been a large purchaser of British commodities, previously to the Berlin decree. But when the Orders in Council made the prohibition of the neutral trade still more difficult to be overcome, the complaints of the Americans became loud against our government. France saw the advantage of stimulating their hostility to England, and gave an unofficial assurance that the Berlin decree should not apply to American vessels. The British government would not on that account relax the Orders in Council, insisting that America should demand from France a formal renunciation of the decree. In March, 1808, the legality of the Orders was contested in Parliament. In April, the merchants of London, Liverpool, and other towns were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, through their counsel, Mr. Brougham. This occasion was the true commencement of the great career of the orator and statesman who still flourishes with undiminished energy—in a generation which reads of what he did at the beginning of the century as part of the history of another age. His masterly speech made a sensible impression upon the country. His exertions on this occasion speedily brought Brougham into Parliament. In April, 1809, a new Order in Council was issued, by which the blockade was confined to France itself, to Holland, to part of Germany, and to the North of Italy. A system of licensing vessels to proceed to foreign ports was also introduced. But the position of America was very threatening. Napoleon was too much enamoured of his Continental System frankly to allow her flag to enter his ports, lest it should cover British merchandize. Had he not clung to this policy—had he not endeavoured to make America the enemy of England without an official abandonment of his own decrees—the democratic party of the United States would have probably compelled a declaration of war against us in 1811. There had been serious quarrels also with regard to the right of search for British sailors serving on board American ships of war. Mutual ill will was growing up between the two governments. The continued pressure of the Orders in Council appeared likely to lead to immediate hostilities; but the Opposition could not readily produce any effect on Parliament. A motion of lord Lansdowne, which contemplated the entire removal of the Orders, was rejected in the House of Lords on the 28th of February, 1812. A similar motion made by Mr. Brougham was rejected in the House of Commons. On the 3rd of April an Order appeared in the 'Gazette,' which revoked the Orders as regarded America, on the condition that she should revoke an order which excluded British armed vessels from her ports, whilst those of France were admitted. This was not sufficient. During May and part of June, Committees of Inquiry into the effect of the Orders were sitting in both Houses. On the 16th of June, the examinations being closed, Mr. Brougham moved in the Commons that the Crown should be addressed to recall or suspend the Orders unconditionally. Ministers then conceded the question; and on the 23rd of June an unconditional

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. xii. p. 229.

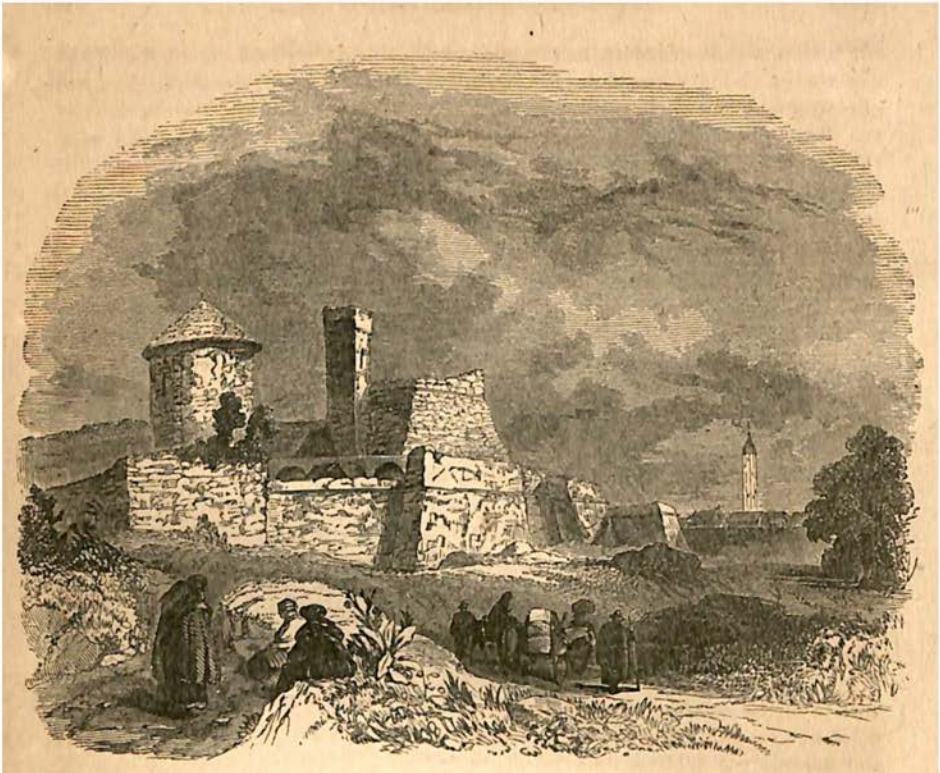
suspension of the Orders, as far as America was concerned, appeared in the 'Gazette.' The concession was too late. On the 18th of June the American government had declared war against Great Britain.

This most unhappy quarrel produced conflicts at sea and on land, some of which were honourable to our arms, and others somewhat disgraceful to the mode in which war was conducted towards brethren of the same common stock. Hostilities were not at an end till six months after the period to which the general narrative of this volume extends. We prefer, therefore, to relate the incidents of this war consecutively, in a separate chapter of our concluding volume.

The historian of the Empire pours forth his deep regrets that Napoleon, by timely concessions and courtesies towards the United States in 1811, had not urged the Congress then to sanction such a measure of hostility against Great Britain as was resolved upon in 1812. "Let us figure to ourselves," he says, "what would have been the effect of such a declaration of war a year before, when England, finding herself without allies in Europe, should have seen a new enemy rise up beyond the seas; when the Americans, the only violators of the Continental Blockade, should have given it their ardent co-operation; when it would have been then impossible to reproach Russia with her encouragement of them in this violation, and the war with her would have been without a pretext; when France might have sent twenty thousand men with a new Lafayette, in one of the many squadrons resting idle in our ports; when, in fine, our intact force would have been able, by a last blow struck in Spain, to bring the maritime war to an end! In 1812, after the disaster of Moscow, the war of America with England was nothing but a useless piece of good fortune for France." *

We may add that the American war of three years, painful as it was, produced no interruption of our resistance to Napoleon; and it excited very little interest in the British public, in comparison with the greater events of that extraordinary time.

* Thiers, tome xv. p. 38.



Ciudad Rodrigo.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula—Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo—Siege of Badajoz—Difficulties of Lord Wellington—Advance into Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Siege of Burgos—Retreat from Burgos—Invasion of Russia—Smolensk and Borodino—Conflagration of Moscow—Retreat of the French—Pursued by the Russians—Continual battles—Horrors of the Retreat—Destruction of the French army—Napoleon's flight.

"How vast will the events of our day appear to those who shall be at a sufficient distance from them to see their real magnitude." Thus thought Francis Horner in December, 1812.* Nearly half a century has passed since the author of this History trusted with "undoubting mind" the new promise of the time that the nations should be free, that his country should be safe. Journalism, in which he then took a humble part, was generally exultant; and the more so, when evil foreboders were confident and clamorous. The imaginations of the young and ardent were, however, then too powerfully stirred by the great incidents of the war, to see the essential

* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 137.

connexion of one event with another,—how the persistence of the sagacious captain of the Peninsula had roused the resistance of Russia to the all-grasping tyranny of France; how the deliverance of Germany was kindled by the fires of Moscow. We now see clearly, what was then only dimly seen, that Eighteen hundred and twelve was the inevitable "beginning of the end,"—that the end would have been Universal Empire if England had quailed. The great image, whose brightness was excellent, whose form was terrible, whose head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay, was smote upon his feet, and they were broken to pieces: "Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; and the wind carried them away that no place was found for them." *

On the 1st of January, 1812, lord Wellington announced to lord Liverpool that he proposed to make an attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo. He was about once more to undertake an offensive war in Spain. He was about to lead his army, in the depth of winter, from their cantonments on the Coa, to make a sudden rush upon the strong fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo; and then, if successful, to make a similar assault upon Badajoz. The time was favourable for so bold an enterprise. Napoleon, contemplating the possibility of a war with Russia, had withdrawn sixty thousand troops from Spain. The French marshals, who had separate commands, and were each jealous of the other, were carrying on distinct operations in various provinces, without any paramount unity of plan. The emperor wrote to them precise and peremptory instructions which often were impossible to carry into effect. Their correspondence with king Joseph at Madrid, with each other, and with their own generals, whose divisions were spread over a large extent of country to obtain subsistence, were constantly intercepted by bands of Guerillas, who stopped the couriers, and often cut off the communications for successive weeks. It was difficult, if not impossible, to find a Spaniard who would undertake, for any bribe, to carry a despatch, much less to become a spy. Wellington, apparently inert in his winter quarters, had made all the preparations in his power for the reduction of the two great fortresses that were essential to the progress of a successful campaign. He was still without the necessary means of carrying on a regular siege, but he organized all the resources within his reach, and relied upon the valour of his troops to accomplish what he had not the means otherwise of performing. He wanted abundant artillery; he wanted officers and men experienced in the attack and defence of fortified places. Colonel Jones, one of his most skilful engineers, says that his comrades in the Peninsular war were not more advanced in the art of taking towns than the soldiers of Philip II. To attack places by battering them in breach at a great distance, and then to hazard all in trusting to the bravery of the storming parties, who were unprotected by works, was the system pursued in the British armies. It was the

* Daniel, chap. ii. v. 33, 34. We quote the words of the prophet, not with the least reference to their theological interpretation, but as presenting a grand image of a sudden ruin, when the heterogeneous extremities of a gigantic fabric were shivered.

system, says colonel Jones, of the sieges of the Low Countries, under the duke of Alba and the prince of Parma. We may add, that it was the system of the first siege by Englishmen in which we hear of cannon being used—that of Harfleur. Shakspere makes Henry exclaim—

"Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more."

The like cry might have gone through the ranks on those terrible nights when Craufurd led his division to the ramparts of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Picton scaled the walls of the castle of Badajoz.

Marmont had withdrawn a large portion of the garrison from Ciudad Rodrigo, in the confidence that Wellington would not move out of his quarters in an inclement season. The country was covered with snow. The means of transport were insufficient. The Despatches of our untiring general show how he was occupied in collecting carts, and ordering their loading with engineering stores and with shot and shells. His perplexities were great with Portuguese and Spanish carters and muleteers. "What do you think," he wrote to lord Liverpool, "of empty carts taking two days to go ten miles on a good road!" * At last, the preparations were complete. Part of Wellington's army passed the Agueda on the 8th of January. The same day Ciudad Rodrigo was invested; and an external redoubt on a hill was stormed and taken. On the 13th and 14th two convents outside the walls were surprised and carried by assault. Two breaches having been effected on the 19th,—and Marmont being known to be advancing to relieve the garrison,—orders were given to storm that evening. Wellington had arranged all the necessary dispositions for the assault. At seven o'clock three columns under the direction of general Picton, and a fourth column under general Craufurd, marched towards the breaches; whilst a false attack was made by the Portuguese brigade, commanded by general Pack, on the other side of the river. This became a real attack. Picton's division, which attacked on the north, where the chief breach had been made, was twice repulsed before it could penetrate into the town. Craufurd attacked the smaller breach, and was successful; but he was mortally wounded. General Mackinnon, who had led his brigade to the assault, was blown up by the explosion of one of the French magazines on the ramparts. In less than half an hour from the time of the attack the garrison surrendered. The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo was amongst the most brilliant actions of the British army. Their coolness and firmness overcame every obstacle presented by a brave and skilful enemy. It is painful to relate that the troops disgraced their victory by the most frightful excesses. They set fire to some houses; they sacked others with a pitiless fury. They were mad with excitement and with drink. In the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo a thousand of the British and Portuguese were killed and wounded.

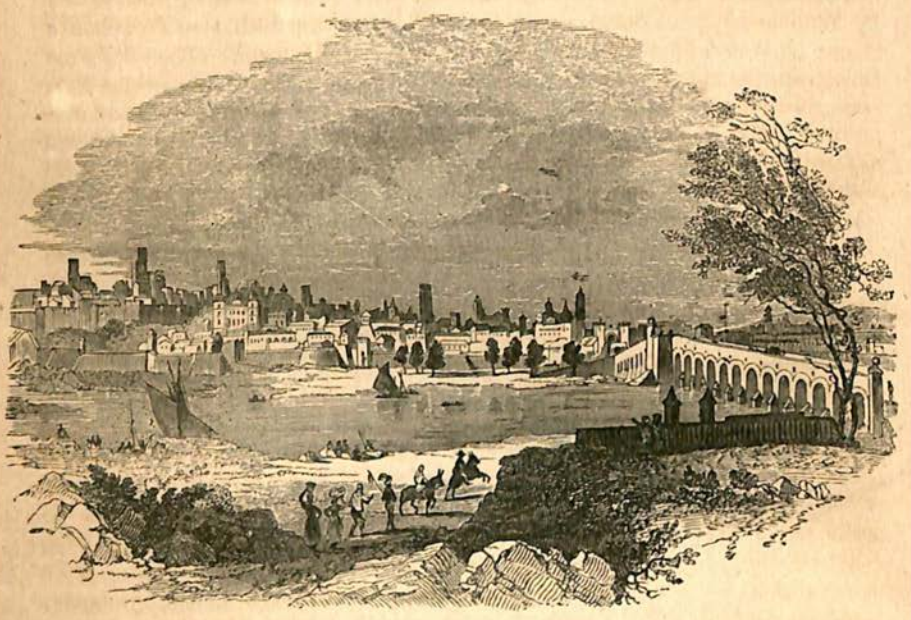
In six weeks from the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, the army of the Allies was on its march southward from the Coa to the Guadiana. It would have been sooner on its march had the means of transport been more effective, and the roads more practicable. Time was of the utmost importance to Wellington,

* "Despatches," vol. viii. p. 536.

and secresy in his plans was not less important to be preserved. He was to attack a place for the deliverance of which three French armies might have been expected to co-operate. His own counsels were well kept; but he had to endure the most vexatious delays from the ignorance and obstinacy of the Portuguese authorities. At Evora he could not obtain a single carriage, and he was thus obliged to postpone the investment of Badajoz for several days beyond the term he had assigned. In the meantime, general Philippon, the French commander, had become aware of the approach of the allied army, and had applied himself to strengthen the works, and to prepare the most deadly means of defence. On the 16th of March, the Guadiana was crossed by Wellington, and Badajoz was invested. On the 26th the Pecurina, a strong fort in advance of Badajoz, was taken by storm. The Pecurina became a position for firing on the works of the town. Regular parallels were formed, and batteries were established to fire upon every assailable point. Forty-eight pieces of artillery were in constant play; and the sap against the outward works was steadily advancing. The corps of Royal Sappers and Miners was then being organized; but at Badajoz they had not assumed the dignity of that name, but were called "Royal Military Artificers." * There were of this corps only a hundred and fifteen, of all ranks, present at this siege. It was the 6th of April before three breaches were practicable, so as to justify the assault. On that evening eighteen thousand men were ready to march to the attack. The night set in dismally, as if to draw a curtain over the sanguinary deeds that were then to be done. The darkness was so great, that at ten o'clock, when the columns began to advance for an assault upon all points at once, they could not be seen at twenty paces distant. The men advanced, most of them with each a sack of hay on his back to throw into the ditch to diminish its height. Some carried ladders. They were at the foot of the glacis when a sudden explosion was succeeded by an avalanche of fiery missiles which descended into the ditch, where the English columns appeared to be in the midst of a volcano. Great was the destruction; but the undaunted men rallied, and again hurried to the breaches. Again they are encountered with bursting shells, hand grenades, and exploding powder barrels. The summit gained, they are met by a *chevaux-de-frise* formed of sabre blades. At each of the three breaches were the same terrible defences. At the breach of the bastion of the Trinity, the struggle endured for two hours, when three thousand of the besiegers were killed or disabled. One who was present has described "the horror and grandeur of the scene" during two hours: "The constant explosion of shells, mines, and trains of powder; the vivid illuminations caused by the light-balls thrown every five or ten minutes; the incessant peals of musketry and roar of cannon, added to the huzzas of our fine fellows, all united, formed a scene only to be compared to Pandemonium." † At midnight Wellington was watching the terrible scene which was passing. His face was pale, when an officer came to inform him how ill the attack was proceeding. He was anxious, but he was cool. He calmly gave his orders that the troops should be formed again for a fresh assault. But another officer came to say

* See Quartermaster Conolly's interesting history of the "Royal Sappers and Miners," 1857.
† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 311—Letter of Colonel Jones (then Major).

that the division under the orders of Picton, which had been charged to escalade the castle, had taken it. On another side Walker's brigade had also scaled the walls and entered the town. Again were the other divisions led to the attack of the breaches. The defence was feebly conducted after this reverse which the besieged had sustained. The French troops became disorganized. The British advanced to the breaches with the confidence of victory, and found that resistance had ceased. At six in the morning general Philippon capitulated; the garrison surrendering without conditions. The loss of the British and Portuguese was estimated at five thousand men.



Badajoz.

"When the extent of the night's havoc was made known to lord Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers." * He had more still to endure. He had in some degree to be mixed up with the disgrace of the enormities which these soldiers committed, after the town was in their power, during two days and two nights. But there can be no doubt that he endeavoured to restrain their excesses, however ineffectually. On the day after the assault, he issued an Order which says, "It is now full time that the plunder of Badajoz should cease . . . . . The Commander of the Forces has ordered the Provost Marshal into the town, and he has orders to execute any men he may find in the act of plunder, after he shall arrive there." A Spanish historian, Count Toréno, says "the exhortations of the officers were powerless; and lord Wellington himself was menaced with the bayonets of the soldiers, who prevented him entering the place to

* Napier.

restrain their disorders." * What he could not prevent he severely punished.

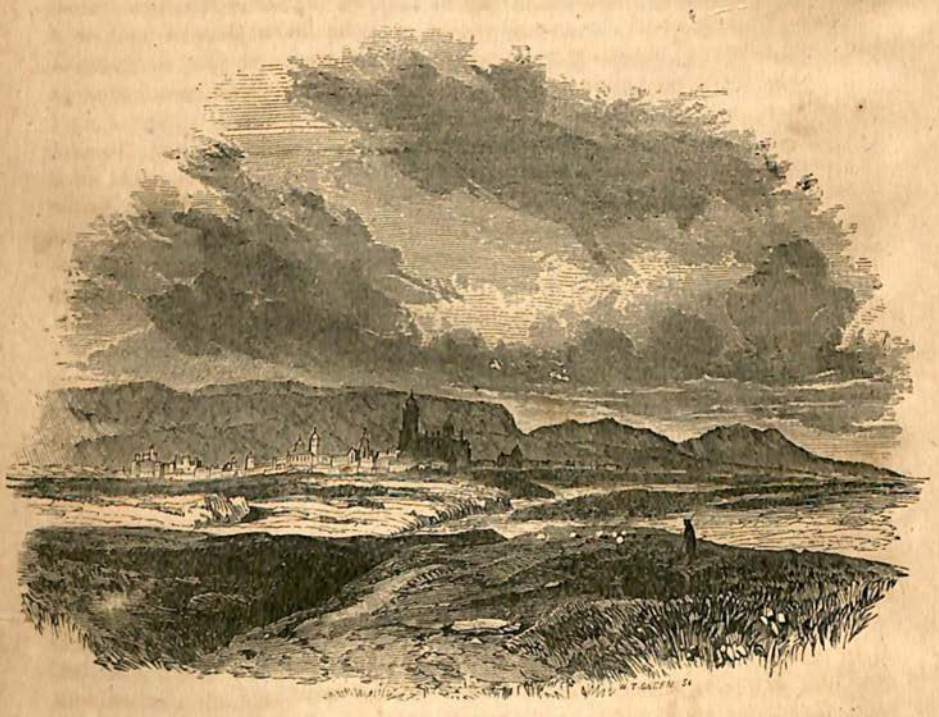
On the 13th of April lord Wellington began his march back to the north, with the main body of his army. On the 22nd he was at Penamacor. From this place he wrote a very remarkable letter to lord Liverpool, which explains some of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He should have been in Andalusia, he says, at this moment, at the head of forty thousand men, and should have obliged Soult to withdraw from thence, if Don Carlos de España had acted as he was desired, in respect to Ciudad Rodrigo. That place was now safe. He should determine upon his line of operations during the summer, when Ciudad Rodrigo should have been fully provisioned, and when he should have intelligence of the state of Marmont's preparations to endeavour to take it by other means beside blockade. "When I say I shall determine upon the line of operations which I shall follow, I ought to add, provided I shall have money to follow any operations at all." The Treasury and the Commissary-in-chief had disapproved of his sanctioning bargains for importing specie from Gibraltar, for bills to be granted at a more disadvantageous rate of exchange than the market-rate of Lisbon. For a small difference in the per-centage the government left the army to starve. The engagements for the payment of meat for the troops it was thought could not be met. "If we are obliged to stop that payment, your lordship will do well to prepare to recall the army, as it will be quite impossible to carry up salt meat, as well as bread, to the troops from the sea-coast." † If the evidence of the indecision and supineness of the government were not conclusive, we could with difficulty believe that after the tremendous loss incurred in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz, no measures whatever were taken to send Wellington reinforcements. There were then sixty-five thousand regular troops at home.‡ It was at that period perfectly clear that there would be war between France and Russia, and that if any decisive effort was ever to be made in the Peninsula the time had arrived for strengthening the hands of the one general who had sagacity and firmness to hold his ground, and to achieve great triumphs, with the smallest means. There seems to have been a constant desire to let lord Wellington experiment upon the possibility of obtaining the maximum of success with the minimum of power.

But lord Wellington went on his course, in no wise disheartened even by neglect and coldness,—by evil prognostications in England, and by violent jealousies in Spain,—but most of all, by being promised assistance which never came. Lord William Bentinck was to have come from Sicily, with a large body of troops, and to have landed on the eastern coast of Spain, so as to have drawn off some of the French armies that were gathering round the Allies. "We are to find money as we can," writes Wellington on the 15th July, "at the most economical rate of exchange; and then comes lord William Bentinck to Gibraltar, and carries off four million of dollars, giving one shilling for each more than we give; and, after all, he sends his troops upon some scheme to some part of Italy, and not to the eastern coast of the

* Quoted in Brialmont, tome i. p. 469.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 318. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

Peninsula, as ordered by government, and arranged with me."* Surely the fortitude which could meet such disappointments and difficulties with an equal mind is as greatly to be admired as the military skill which, by an union of boldness with caution, could encounter great risks and achieve victory in the face of danger. Wellington had advanced into Spain on the 13th of June. On the 17th he appeared before Salamanca; had been received in the town with great enthusiasm; and on the 29th had



Salamanca.

captured the forts by which the interior of the place was defended. Marmont expected that these forts would have detained Wellington fifteen days. They were taken on the fifth day. For the first fortnight of July the French army and the Allied army were on opposite banks of the Douro—Marmont on the northern bank; Wellington on the southern. It was a singular interval of rest in that eager warfare. The French and English soldiers bathed together in the stream, or swam over each to the opposite bank, and talked and interchanged civilities as comrades rather than as deadly foes. On the 16th, two of Marmont's divisions crossed the Douro; and Wellington concentrated his army on the Guareña, an affluent of the Douro. There were various manœuvres of Marmont till the 20th; by which he established his communications with king Joseph and the army of

* "Despatches," vol. ix. p. 288.

the centre, which was advancing from Madrid to join him. On that day he crossed the Guarèña, and advanced towards the Tormes, Wellington closely following his movements. At one time the French and English were moving in parallel lines, within half cannon shot of each other. On the 21st, lord Wellington wrote to lord Bathurst, that the enemy's object was to cut off his communication with Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca; that he had no superiority of numbers over the single army that was opposed to him; that the French possessed double his own force of artillery; that the army of the king was expected to join that of Marmont. "I have therefore determined to cross the Tormes, if the enemy should, to cover Salamanca as long as I can; and, above all, not to give up our communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and not to fight an action unless under very advantageous circumstances, or it should become absolutely necessary."*

On the 21st of July, both the hostile armies crossed the Tormes. Wellington took up a position with his left resting on the southern bank of the river, and his right on one of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. The battle fought on the next day is thus sometimes called the battle of Salamanca, and sometimes the battle of Arapiles.† On the morning of the 22nd, the contest was begun with some sharp skirmishing. The French had been in motion since daybreak. By their first movements they gained a great advantage in obtaining possession of the more distant Arapiles. They there established a battery, which commanded the road to Ciudad Rodrigo. At this point, which commanded a view of the various operations of the field, Marmont placed himself. Wellington, in the same manner, saw from a height behind the village of Arapiles, to which he had moved, the evolutions of the French, which went on till two o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour, under cover of a heavy cannonade, Marmont "extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line, or at all events to render difficult any movement of ours to our right. The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him."‡ These are the plain words of a business-like narrative. Words describing the same circumstances, which have all the fire of poetry, move the heart as with a trumpet: "Marmont's first arrangements had occupied several hours, but as they gave no positive indications of his designs, Wellington, ceasing to watch them, had retired from his Hermanito; but when he was told the French left was in motion, pointing towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, he returned to the rock, and observed their movements for some time with a stern contentment. Their left wing was entirely separated from the centre; the fault was flagrant; and he fixed it with the stroke of a thunderbolt. A few orders issued from his lips like the incantation of a wizard." § Pakenham's division, which was on the extreme right, was

* "Despatches," vol. ix. p. 298.

† These hills were also called the Hermanitos.

‡ Despatch to Earl Bathurst, July 24. § Napier

directed, with two brigades of artillery and some squadrons of cavalry, against the left of the French. The divisions of Cole and Leith, and the divisions of Clinton and Hope, were sent against the French front. The Portuguese brigade of Pack was to retake the more distant Arapiles which the French had occupied. When Marmont saw all these troops come spontaneously to surprise him in the midst of his evolutions, he comprehended the extent of his error, and sought to repair it, by ordering his left to fall back immediately on the centre. "The time was passed; for Wellington, remembering the fine manœuvres of Frederick at Rosbach, and of Napoleon at Austerlitz, had sent half of his troops to engage the left wing, whilst the other half engaged the centre."* The left wing of the French made a disorderly retreat towards their right, leaving three thousand prisoners. Their centre was driven in; but their right remained unbroken. Marmont had been wounded; and general Clausel, who had joined him with his reinforcements, took the command. He rallied the scattered French; formed them into a new position; and made a determined stand, until a fresh attack ordered by Wellington compelled them to abandon the ground, and to retreat towards Alba de Tormes. Night stopped the pursuit. The victory of Salamanca was one of the triumphs of genius—of its power instantly to seize the opportunity—to watch, and to wait, and then to strike—the power of taking the flood-tide which leads on to fortune. In Wellington this power was not a sudden impulse. It was the concentrated effort of a mind which had previously calculated all the circumstances of his own position and of that of his adversary. "Late in the evening of this great day," says Napier, "I saw him behind my regiment then marching towards the ford. He was alone. The flush of victory was on his brow, his eyes were eager and watchful; but his voice was calm and even gentle." On the morning of the 23rd three battalions of the French rear surrendered to the British cavalry, who had come up with them. "The battle of Salamanca was incontestably the most decisive that the Allies had then fought in the Peninsula. It established the reputation of the British army, and especially manifested, beyond the possibility of doubt, the brilliant qualities of its general—a solid judgment, a coup d'œil prompt and certain, a vigorous execution, and a rare skilfulness in moving his troops. Thibaudean has said with truth, that the day of the Arapiles marked the end of the French occupation of Spain." †

Napoleon received the news of the battle of Salamanca on the 2nd of September, when he was at Ghiast, about twenty miles from Borodino. He was enraged against Marmont, the unfortunate duke of Ragusa. Wait, he said to the minister at war, till his wounds are cured, and his recovery is nearly complete; and then ask him, why did he offer battle without the orders of his Commander-in-chief? Why did he not ask for orders as to his conduct, dependent as that ought to have been on the general system of my armies in Spain? "His insubordination has caused all these disasters." ‡ Having entered upon the greatest enterprize of his ambitious career, the emperor of the French thus attempted to regulate the most distant movements of the great machinery with which he had thought to govern the world. This letter

* Brialmont, tome ii. p. 32. † *Ibid.*, p. 35.
‡ "Letters to Joseph," vol. ii. p. 236.

was written five days before the battle of Borodino, and twelve days before Napoleon entered Moscow. The intelligence which he had received would also have reached, at the beginning of September, the emperor Alexander. That it would have produced a sensible influence upon the determination of the Russians to resist their invaders, there can be no doubt. The duke of Wellington in later years said, "Salamanca relieved the whole south of Spain at once; changed the character of the war there; and was felt even in Russia." * The indignation of Napoleon against Marmont was in the proportion in which he felt that the moral effects of Wellington's victory were damaging to the prestige of his power. It appeared to him a gloomy presage. It was hailed throughout Germany and in other parts of Europe as the dawn of a new era.

The official account of the victory of Salamanca reached London on the 15th of August. On the 19th, lord Liverpool wrote to lord Wellington to offer his congratulations. He says, "I have never in my life seen anything equal to the enthusiasm which the knowledge of this event has excited throughout the town, and throughout every part of the country from which accounts of its reception have yet been obtained." The news of Wellington having entered Madrid on the 12th of August arrived in London on the 6th of September. On the 17th the triumphant general writes to his friend colonel Malcolm in England, "I am among a people mad with joy for their deliverance from their oppressors. God send that my good fortune may continue, and that I may be the instrument of securing their independence and happiness." † There was a cloud coming over that bright day. He was without money, for drafts upon the English Treasury could not be realized at Madrid. No reinforcements had reached him, to fill up the gap of his loss at Salamanca. Clausel's army in the north had been largely reinforced. Soult, Suchet, and king Joseph might form a junction in the south, and come upon him with forces three times as great as his own. To linger at Madrid was impossible. Leaving two divisions in the capital, Wellington marched on the 1st of September for Valladolid; and, continuing his northward movement, on the 19th entered Burgos. The castle of Burgos, a place of great natural strength, had been carefully fortified, and had a garrison of two thousand men. It was immediately invested; the possession of the fort being absolutely necessary for the security of Wellington's army. For a month the siege proceeded with very doubtful success. Breaches were effected in the first line of works; but the garrison made sorties and occasioned great loss. A breach by mining was also made in the second line; and, on the 18th of October, orders were given to storm it. The attack failed. The army of the north and the armies of the south were advancing to raise the siege. To continue the investment of Burgos would have been fatal. On the 21st, Wellington retired in good order to Placentia. His rear was repeatedly attacked, but there was no serious engagement. The sufferings of the army from the difficulty of obtaining provisions were immense. Their disorganization was proportionate. The failure at Burgos—according to Wellington's own account, written with the noble candour that was ready to

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii. p. 526.

† "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii. p. 384.

acknowledge mistakes—was chiefly caused by one circumstance; he took there the most inexperienced instead of the best troops; and he had not sufficient means of transport. "I see," he says, in a letter to lord Liverpool, "that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. It was entirely my own act. In regard to means, there were ample means both at Madrid and Santander for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and military stores to the place where it was desirable to use them." By the middle of November the Allied forces were in their old stations within the frontiers of Portugal. Wellington's head quarters were at Ciudad Rodrigo. The campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula was at an end. There will be six months of apparent inaction; and then the results of another campaign, after five years of incessant struggle, will cause the British general's labour and anxiety to be properly appreciated.

The eternal friendship between Napoleon and Alexander which had been sworn at Tilsit, was threatened to be dissolved by causes of which the two emperors at first took little heed. Princes might submit to the Continental decrees of France, but nations were more difficult to persuade or to coerce. The Russian people, and especially the Russian landholders, who were deprived of the usual markets for the produce of their estates, compelled the government to issue a ukase by which commodities were to be introduced into Russian ports unless they should appear to belong to subjects of Great Britain. This restriction was easy to be evaded, and the trade between the two countries became really opened. Napoleon was haughty and indignant. But Alexander dared not impose any severer law upon his subjects; and he had now the support of Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, who also refused to submit to the dictator, who had seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen, on the ground of their contraband trade with England. In March, 1812, a treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Sweden. Napoleon had been gradually collecting large bodies of troops on the Vistula. He had levied the conscription of 1812, although that of 1811 was only just completed. It was clear that an offensive war was in preparation. At the beginning of May, the Russian minister at Paris presented an official note, to the intent that the differences between the two governments might be easily settled if the French troops were withdrawn from Pomerania and the Duchy of Warsaw, where they were evidently stationed to threaten the Russian frontier. Bonaparte said he would not be dictated to by any foreign sovereign, and he sent the ambassador his passports. On the 9th of May he left Paris, with his Austrian empress. At Dresden he received the homage of his tributary princes; and there, too, came the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, to offer their contingents for the invasion of Russia. Splendid were the ceremonials with which the vassals did fealty to their liege lord. The numbers of the confederated army which, on the 24th and 25th of June, passed the Niemen, the boundary of the Russian empire, have been variously stated. The lowest estimate places them at half a million of men. A detailed return, extant in the French War-office, gives the numbers as 651,358 infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers; 187,121 horses, and 1372 pieces of ordnance. To meet this mighty force, the Russian armies only

comprised 254,356 men.* But there was something stronger than these mighty masses of invaders,—the determination of the Russian people to resist to the last extremity. It was in this spirit that the officers and soldiers of Alexander's army held, that to ruin the invader they must retire before him into the heart of Russia without giving battle, and, destroying every thing before him in their retreat, to leave nothing but ravaged fields, so that the modern Pharaoh and his hosts should perish in the immensity of the void, as the ancient Pharaoh perished in the immensity of the waters. †

The French armies entered Lithuania without encountering any opposition. They ravaged the country, feeding their horses on green corn; and when the main bodies left it, entirely devastated, they left behind them a hundred thousand men, dead, or in hospitals, or marauding in scattered parties through the districts where the locusts who had passed over had left nothing to be consumed. On the 16th of August they were under the walls of Smolensk, about two hundred and eighty miles from Moscow. The Russians were there in force, and a great battle took place. When the French entered the city it had been evacuated, and they found only burning ruins. The Russians continued their retreat towards Moscow, Napoleon following them. On the 7th of September was fought the sanguinary battle of Borodino. The sun had risen with extraordinary brilliancy, and Napoleon hailed it as the twin sun of Austerlitz. The fighting lasted two days. On each side there were forty thousand killed and wounded. Each army imagined itself lord of the field; but the Russian army continued its retreat to Moscow. ‡

On the 14th of September before day dawn, the Russian troops commenced filing through the city. They were soon accompanied by all the inhabitants and populace who could find any means of conveyance. "The incidents and the whole scene of the evacuation of a great capital may be conceived better than described. The Russians, however, have preserved so much of their nomad habits, that they were much more quickly packed and equipped for their emigration than the inhabitants of any other European city would have been. The army, indeed, since the first day's retreat from Smolensk, had been accompanied by a wandering nation. All the towns, villages, and hamlets were abandoned as the columns appeared. The old and infirm, the women and children were placed with the moveable effects, and the 'Dii Penates,' on their kabitgas or telegas—one and two horse carts which no peasant is without." § On the same day Napoleon arrived at Moscow with his guards, and was astounded at the solitude which reigned everywhere. "His feelings had been excited to the highest degree of pride and glowing expectation. He had anticipated his reception by a submissive magistracy and humbled people, imploring clemency; and dreamt that in the palace of the Czars he would have it in his power to promise pardon, protection, and peace to themselves and their sovereign." ‖

Napoleon took up his residence in the suburb of Moscow. He had commanded his soldiers to bivouac outside the city, but at night many entered,

* These returns are in Sir Robert Wilson's "Invasion of Russia," p. 10 and p. 21.
† Thiers, tome xiii. p. 403.
‡ Wilson, "Invasion of Russia," p. 130 to 155.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 165. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

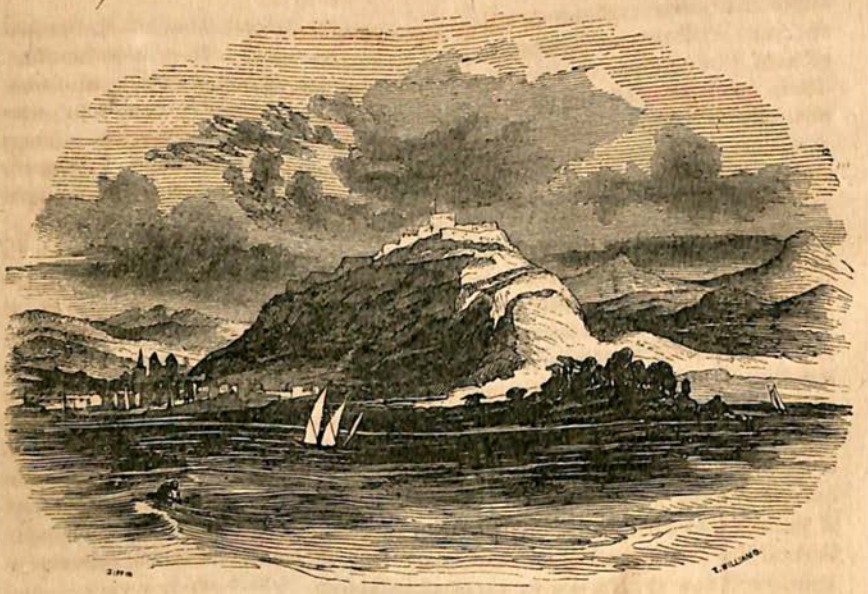
and sought in plunder and riot some compensation for their long endurance of severe privations. That very night the alarm of fire was given in various quarters. The great bazaar with its ten thousand shops was in a blaze. The Crown magazines, with vast stores of wine and spirits, were in a blaze. Not a fire-engine, not a bucket, could be procured. They had all been carried off. The next day the French emperor transferred his quarters to the Kremlin. Day after day the astonished soldiers saw the canopy of smoke and flame spreading over the city of a thousand domes and minarets. On the 21st, the Russian army was established within twenty-five miles of Moscow. They knew that the progress of their invader had been stayed. The conflagration went on, till, of forty thousand houses in stone, only two hundred escaped; of eight thousand in wood, five hundred only were standing; of sixteen hundred churches, eight hundred were consumed.* The Kremlin itself, on the 16th, had become uninhabitable, and Napoleon left it to take up his quarters outside the city. A furious wind carried showers of sparks far and near. On the 20th, when Napoleon returned, a heavy rain had extinguished the flames, but only one tenth of the city was left unconsumed. Only those provisions had escaped being burnt which were left in the cellars of the houses. What was the cause of this terrible destruction? Was it the resolved purpose of a patriotic devotion producing a havoc more awful than any event which history records; or was it accident? There can be no doubt that it was part of the same determined system of resistance which had driven the whole population from the burning villages on the road from Smolensk, and had led forth the inhabitants of Moscow, with the exception of the miserable thousands who were unable to move, to seek for other shelter than in the homes of the devoted city. Rostopchin, the governor of Moscow, "could neither deny nor adopt the act." But that he had a strong conviction of what was public virtue may be gathered from the fact, that he afterwards set fire with his own hands to his magnificent palace in the village of Woronow, when a division of the French were approaching on the 4th of October, and that he affixed upon a pillar these ominous words: "The inhabitants of this property, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty, quit it at your approach, and I voluntarily set the house on fire that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I abandoned to you my two houses at Moscow, with their furniture and contents, worth half a million of roubles. Here you will only find ashes" † The French evacuated Moscow on the 19th of October. Snow had begun to fall. An early winter was setting in.

Adequately to describe the incidents of that terrible destruction of the French Grand Army, which occurred from the 19th of October to the 13th of December, when a miserable remnant re-crossed the Niemen, would require a volume—as indeed several separate volumes have been written on that fearful catastrophe. The march of the French was a succession of battles with the pursuing Russians. The troops were skilfully led; their courage rarely failed, even when starving and perishing by the way side with the extremity of cold. Clouds of Cossacks hung upon their path, leaving them not an hour's safety. The most popular narrative, that of the Count de

* Wilson, p. 172. † *Idem*, p. 180.

Ségur, has been held to contain many exaggerations. That of sir Robert Wilson has many striking details of horror, amidst a critical military view of the operations of the Russians in which he is not sparing of blame. There is a brief account by Desprez, the aide-de-camp of king Joseph, who was sent to Napoleon to propitiate his anger against his brother, and against Marmont, for the defeat at Salamanca. The emperor kept him at Moscow, and when the evacuation took place, he accompanied the division of marshal Mortier, till it reached Wilna, where the French had staid till the 16th of December, when the Russians were coming upon them. The aide-de-camp, in a letter to king Joseph, dated from Paris, on the 3rd of January, says that the army when he quitted it was in the most horrible misery. For a long time previously the disorder and losses had been frightful; the artillery and cavalry had ceased to exist. The different regiments were all mixed together; the soldiers marching pell-mell, and only seeking to prolong existence. Thousands of wandering men fell into the hands of the Cossacks. The number of prisoners was very great, but that of the dead exceeded it. During a month there were no rations, and dead horses were the only resource. The severity of the climate rendered hunger more fatal.* The truth could not be wholly hidden, even by Napoleon. He could not conceal that of four hundred thousand Frenchmen who had crossed the Niemen in May, with the persuasion of their invincibility, not twenty thousand had returned to the Vistula. The destruction could not be concealed from the bereaved families who mourned their sons and their husbands. On the 3rd of December, the emperor issued his twenty-ninth and last bulletin, which made France and the world comprehend, in some degree, how the invasion of Russia had ended. For the first time he then spoke of his retreat; he avowed such part of his misfortunes as he could not wholly deny; he attributed his calamities to the severity of the weather. On the 5th, in the middle of the night, he quitted his army at Smorgoni, travelling in a sledge, accompanied by Caulaincourt, a Polish interpreter, his mamlook Rustan, and a valet. He arrived in Paris on the night of the 18th of December.

* "Letters to King Joseph," p. 245.



San Sebastian.

CHAPTER XXXII.

German spirit—The Campaign—Armistice—The Battle of Vittoria—Battle of Dresden—Death of Moreau—Battle of Leipzig—Napoleon's retreat—Wellington on the Pyrenees—San Sebastian—The British army in France—Battles of Wellington and Soult—Napoleon prepares for a campaign in France—Battles with Blücher and Schwarzenberg—Paris capitulated to the Allies—Toulouse—Abdication of Napoleon—Peace of Paris—Public joy in England—The Allied Sovereigns—Wellington thanked by Parliament—The Speaker's harangue.

THERE is a description of the state of public feeling in Germany at the beginning of 1813, which shows how the continent was awakening from its torpor. The writer was a Professor in the University of Breslau: "The 29th bulletin had appeared: every artful expression in it seemed to endeavour vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors: it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible; even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated, could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army,—an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and, lastly, the paralysed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us,—the distant voice

approached,—the portentous words sounded clearer and clearer,—and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up,—fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it." *

The passionate impulses of the people of Prussia were powerful enough to make their sovereign resolve to endure no longer his state of ignominious vassalage. He first made a proposal to Napoleon, with the consent of Alexander, whom he met at Breslau, that the French should evacuate Dantzic, and all the Prussian fortresses on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony. The Russian army should in that case remain behind the Vistula. Napoleon contemptuously spurned the proposition. Frederick-William and Alexander then concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive. Austria decided to remain neutral. Hostilities immediately began. The French quitted Berlin and Dresden. The old spirit of Germany,—the spirit of Arminius, which eighteen centuries before had driven the Roman legions beyond the Rhine, had again awakened. Secret Societies had cherished this spirit, and now it no longer needed to be secret. The Preacher called upon his Congregation to arm; the Professor told his Class that they must now learn to fight. At nightfall in every city bands of young Germans shouted forth the songs of Arndt; and every student and every apprentice could join in the chorus of "Was ist der Deutschen Vaterland." In the meantime, France, weeping for her children, still crouched at the feet of her master.

The Senate were now called upon to place at the disposal of the emperor half a million of conscripts. He took the field in the middle of April. He could reckon upon collecting 250,000 troops before Russia and Prussia could concentrate an equal force. But of his forces four-fifths were young soldiers; the other fifth were Germans. He left Erfurt to march upon Leipzig. On the 2nd of May he fought the battle of Lützen, and defeated the combined Russian and Prussian army. His victory gave him possession of Leipzig and of Dresden. On the 20th and 21st of May the two armies renewed the struggle at Bautzen. The slaughter on each side was nearly equal. The Allies retreated; but Napoleon did not attempt to follow up the success which he had achieved at a prodigious loss, which told him that such days as Austerlitz and Jena were not likely to recur. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 5th of June to the 22nd of July. Bonaparte spent this period at Berlin, throwing dust into the eyes of politicians, by pretending to devote himself to ease and pleasure. Talma and Mademoiselle Georges and Mademoiselle Mars were ordered to come from Paris to amuse the emperor. The armistice was agreed to be prolonged to the 10th of August, during which time a conference was to be held to discuss terms of pacification. The negotiations of the Russian, Prussian, and French plenipotentiaries were to commence on the 29th of July at Prague.

* "Memoirs of Henry Steffens."

It was on the 3rd of July that a London Extraordinary Gazette appeared, containing a Despatch to earl Bathurst from the marquis of Wellington, dated the 22nd of June, telling of a great event in plain and unboastful words. It told how the French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, had on the night of the 19th taken up a position in front of Vittoria. Wellington described the position, which he reconnoitered on the 20th, "with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it." They did remain; and the Allied army did make the attack on the 21st of June. This was the result: "I am happy to inform your lordship, that the Allied army under my command gained a complete victory; having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners." Rapid were the operations which led to this event.

Towards the end of the month of May the rains had ceased; the roads which had been broken up became practicable for the march of troops; and seventy thousand British and Portuguese, and twenty thousand Spaniards, commenced their march towards Spain. Wellington had no longer to lament over the sluggishness and mistakes of Spanish generals. The Cortes had conferred upon him the entire command of the Spanish forces. He was Commander-in-chief of all the armies in the Peninsula. There was jealousy amongst the Spanish generals that their separate commands, which had been so calamitous, were superseded by the power of one capable man. He was about greatly to dare. Usually so undemonstrative, he gave vent to the hopes that his plan of a campaign would be successful—that he would never again have to seek in retreat the defences of Torres Vedras: "Strong of heart and strong of hand his veterans marched to the encounter, the glories of twelve victories playing about their bayonets, and he, their leader, so proudly confident, that in crossing the stream which marks the frontier of Spain he rose in his stirrups, and waving his hand, cried out, *Adieu Portugal.*" * On the 3rd of June the French retired to Burgos; on the 12th they abandoned the fortress which had cost such a sacrifice of English life. On the 13th the Allied army passed the Ebro. Wellington had now a base for his operations, which rendered an open communication with Portugal no longer necessary. An English fleet was at Santander, and in that city the commissariat established a depôt, and there were military hospitals formed. On the 18th in the evening it was known in the French camp that the Allies had passed the Ebro; and in the night their army undertook a forced march to retire, and there was alarm and confusion in their ranks. On the 21st the great victory was gained. The battle of Vittoria dissipated the doubts and overcame the reluctance of Austria to join the Coalition. It broke up the Congress at Prague, where the negotiators were disposed to treat with Napoleon. It prepared the great day of Leipzig, upon which depended the deliverance of Germany and the fall of the French emperor.

On the 18th of July Soult arrived in Spain to take the command of the French army. On the 25th he attacked the British right at Roncesvalles. From that day to the 31st there was a series of conflicts between the two

* Napier.

armies, which are known as "The Battles of the Pyrenees." On the last morning of July the French armies were in full retreat to France by the various passes of the mountains.

On the 14th of June Great Britain had become a party to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia. She had promised assistance in this great struggle; but no aid could have been more effectual than that which she was rendering in the Peninsula. The Allies at Prague had offered terms to Napoleon which he hesitated to accept till the 10th of August had arrived, and the term of the armistice was out. Then came war, in as tremendous a form as the art of destruction ever assumed. On the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August three battles were fought about Dresden, in which the French had the advantage. General Moreau had been invited to come from America to take part against his old rival. In his first battle, in the presence of Bonaparte, he came to his end. Sir Robert Wilson has recorded this event:*

"As the emperor, general Moreau, lord Cathcart, myself, and suite were passing on the right of the centre in the wake of a French battery which still played, a ball came and struck something about us. For a few seconds no effect was seen or heard, but then general Moreau cried 'Oh!' and I perceived him, for I was next on his left, struggling and endeavouring to dismount. I immediately said, 'Sire, general Moreau is wounded.' And almost at the instant I saw him throw himself from his horse, with one leg shattered, and the inside of the left knee all mangled. His horse, which had stood firm till the general fell, now staggered, and threw himself down close to his master. The violent struggles of the horse alarmed general Moreau, who said, 'Keep the horse down;' but the horse died before any one could get near him. Moreau then lifted himself up a little, looked at his legs, and said, '*C'est passé avec moi! mon affaire est faite.*' The emperor, on riding away, ordered him to be carried off the field. Some Cossacks lifted him on their pikes, and removed him to the nearest village. The operation of amputating both legs was performed by the emperor's surgeon, Wiley. Moreau bore it as a soldier, and during the whole day kept a cheerful serenity that proved the possession of extraordinary powers of mind."

Napoleon had achieved at Dresden the last of his great victories. That triumph was followed within a very few days by signal reverses sustained by his marshals. On the 26th of August, Blücher routed Macdonald in the battle of the Katzbach, where the French lost 25,000 men. This battle was fought in a tremendous storm of rain. The river had overflowed, and the two armies contended in the rapid stream and on the inundated banks. The muskets would not go off; and consequently it was an affair of bayonets, in which the heavy Germans had the advantage over the nimble French. On the 30th of August, Vandamme, who had been sent by Napoleon in pursuit of the army which had retired from Dresden, was totally defeated, and was taken prisoner. Bernadotte, who had joined the campaign, and now headed Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, won the victory of Gross-Beeren on the 23rd of August; drove back Oudinot, and saved Berlin. Again Bernadotte was successful against Ney in the battle of Dennewitz on the 6th

* "Private Journal," vol. ii. p. 97.

of September. These defeats had materially weakened the large French armies that had marched into Germany in April. They were still more weakened by sickness and by starvation. They had exhausted the resources of Saxony, and men and horses were without food.

On the 8th of October, the king of Bavaria, surrounded by Russians and Prussians, was compelled to join the Allies. Napoleon saw that these reverses were not transitory misfortunes that could easily be retrieved. When he heard of the defeat of Vandamme, he exclaimed:—"This is war:—high in the morning, low at night." The morning had now little sunshine. He determined to fight his way to the Rhine, though all Germany was rising against him. To Leipzig he directed his march. He arrived in its neighbourhood on the 15th of October. The Russians and Prussians were advancing to the same point. On the 16th he was attacked at the village of Wachau, near Leipzig. The action was not decisive; but for Napoleon not to win triumphantly was in itself defeat. On that day Bernadotte had not come up. There was a doubt at the Prussian head-quarters whether the Crown Prince of Sweden would be staunch. The amateur soldier, Professor Steffens, was sent to search for him after the battle of the 16th had begun. "It was not till night," he says, "that I made him out at Landsberg, in miserable quarters, surrounded by Swedish officers. He lay on a mattress spread on the floor of a desolate, nearly empty room. The dark Gascon face, with the prominent nose and the relaxing chin, was sharply relieved against the white bed-clothes and the laced night-cap." Steffens explained the object of his mission. Bernadotte promised to march directly, and he kept his promise. On the 17th there was a pause. Napoleon had been secretly making propositions for an armistice. His father-in-law and Alexander returned no answer. The great issue must be tried under the walls of Leipzig.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th, this tremendous conflict began. One of the Prussian generals called it "Nation's Battle"—(Völkerschlacht). The struggle lasted till night. It was decisive of the fortunes of Napoleon. An important incident of that day has been strikingly told:—"We discerned a large body of cavalry advance from the enemy's lines in perfect order. There were no troops immediately near the point they advanced upon, and we waited quietly for their coming up; no doubt Blücher was advised of their intentions. They proved to be the Saxon cavalry, who had left the enemy and come over to us. They stood looking resolved, but, as I thought, humbled before us. The commander came forward and approached Blücher, who received him with dignity. The Saxon officer stated that they had long waited for the moment when they might free themselves from the compulsion of bearing arms against their countrymen; it had come at length. Yet they craved one indulgence; they wished not to fight in that battle. Their unhappy king was in Leipzig, in a house in the great market-place, which would soon be in our power. Blücher addressed them shortly, but very kindly, granted their request, and appointed them a position behind the army." *

The morning of the 19th had not dawned when the French were marching

* "Memoirs of Steffens."

out of Leipzig. Napoleon had directed a bridge to be blown up after his troops had passed. It was blown up too soon, and twenty-five thousand French surrendered as prisoners of war. At two o'clock the sound of cannon and of musketry was no longer heard. The bells of Leipzig were ringing; the people were shouting. The Allied sovereigns entered the city by different gates; and in the great square Alexander and Frederick-William met, and could now feel a confident belief that their great adversary was fallen, never to rise again. He felt himself that his days of unlimited power were over. He must be content with a restricted dominion—to rule France, with the Rhine and the Alps for its boundary. He had thought to have carried her sway beyond the Pyrenees; but that hope was passing away as a dream. "Perfidious Albion" had been too strong; the "general of sepoys" had been too skilful. When he reached Freiburg he waited some hours there. He was seen sitting at a window, "his head resting on his arm in silent despair. Berthier sat opposite to him in a similar state. Neither spoke; and officers who entered were silently ordered, by a wave of the hand, to leave the room." * He won the battle of Hanau against the Bavarians who had endeavoured, near Frankfort, to intercept his retreat. It was his last success on German ground. He rested six days at Mayence; having crossed the Rhine with about one-sixth of the army that he had led forth to conquer.

When Napoleon passed the Rhine on the 22nd of November, to escape from the pursuing armies of the Allies, lord Wellington had planted his foot on the soil of France. His army was in cantonments between the sea and the river Nive. His head quarters were at St. Jean de Luz. When Soult had crossed the Pyrenees and Wellington was in possession of the passes, the French marshal addressed a proclamation to his army, in which he said that his orders from the emperor were, "to chase the enemy from those lofty heights which enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and drive them across the Ebro." A sergeant of the 42nd has written a pleasing description of the view from the Pyrenees at sunrise; when the British army exultingly looked upon "the gay regions of France:"

"The view from the summits of these mountains at that early hour, when the sun began to gild their tops, and to throw his cheering rays on the white canvas which speckled their sides, was grand beyond description. The valleys below were hidden under an ocean of white wreathing mist, over which the hills, like a thousand islands, raised their rocky summits amidst the pure serenity of a cloudless atmosphere; the white tents of a British army spotted their sides, while ten thousand bayonets glittered around. The drums, fifes, bugles, and wild warlike strains of the Highland bagpipe, drowned the notes of a hundred useless instruments that offered their softer sounds to the soldiers' ears. Flocks of vultures hovered around to feed on the bodies of men who had fallen in sequestered spots by the hostile bullet, and were left to wolves and birds of prey, along with the carcases of the exhausted animals that had failed in bearing their oppressive burdens to the expectant camp." †

Before the British army had left its position on these heights and had

* Steffens.

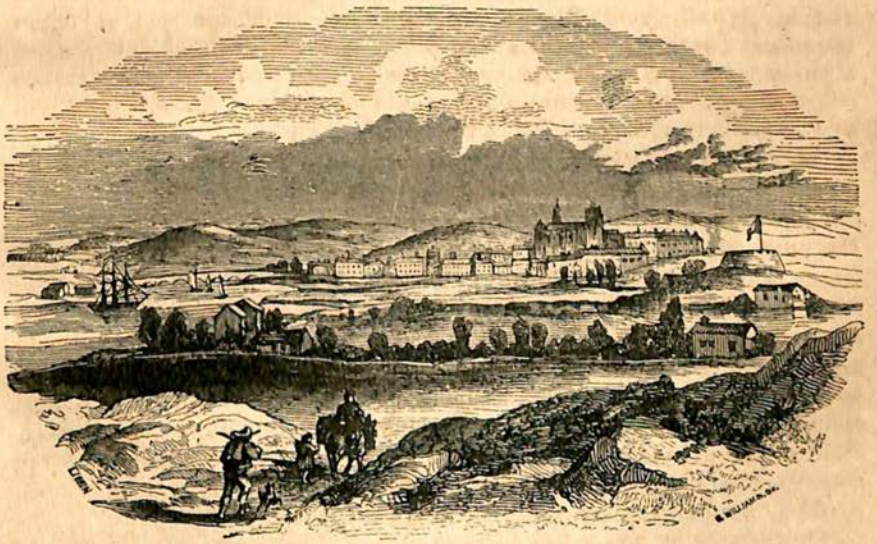
† "Retrospect of a Military Life," by James Anton, p. 61.

descended into France, there had been serious business accomplished. One place of great strength was to be theirs, before the Allies could feel secure in their advance. On the 31st of August the town of San Sebastian was taken by storm by our troops under the command of general Graham. The loss to our forces amounted to 2500 men. Cruelly was the army neglected previous to this siege; and much of the loss incurred may be attributed to the mismanagement of the departments, in not providing adequate *matériel*, and in refusing naval assistance. The Admiralty, of which lord Melville was the head, was especially blameable. The remonstrance of lord Wellington must have sent a shiver through the Board-room at Whitehall. "I complain," he writes, "of an actual want of necessary naval assistance and co-operation with the army. . . . I know nothing of the cause of the evil. It may be owing to a general deficiency of naval force for all the objects to which it is necessary to attend on an extended system of war. It may be owing to a proper preference of other services over this." It is almost impossible to believe that lord Melville should have had the astounding effrontery to write to Wellington that *his* needs were the last thing upon which he—the great manager of Scottish corruption—cared to occupy himself. On the 8th of September, the castle of San Sebastian, which had held out after the town was taken, capitulated. General Rey, who had nobly defended the place, saw that a longer resistance would have been useless, when preparations were making for its assault. He displayed the white flag upon the walls, and sent an officer to propose terms. Write down what you please, said sir Thomas Graham—a garrison that has made such a defence is not conquered. The French officer demanded the honours of war, and that the wounded should be sent by transports to France.

On the 31st of October, the French garrison of Pamplona, having lost all chance of relief, surrendered as prisoners of war. Their number amounted to 4000. Wellington could now safely move his whole army into France. His proclamation previous to this step was distinguished by that rectitude which is the highest prudence. He told his officers and soldiers "to remember that their nations were at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation would not allow them to be at peace, and wanted to force them to submit to his yoke; and not to forget at the same time that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, had been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country. To avenge this conduct on the peaceful inhabitants of France would be unmanly and unworthy of the allied nations."

On the 18th of November, before Wellington could effect the passage of the Nivelle, he had to fight. The French were driven beyond the river, and then the Allied armies took up their position at St. Jean de Luz. Soult withdrew to his intrenched camp at Bayonne. The justice and moderation of the British commander, as exhibited in his proclamation to his troops; in his determination to pay for every supply, and to punish every attempt at plunder, had produced the best results. The troops, British and Portuguese, had behaved well. Their dreadful excesses after the capture by assault of a fortified town—of which San Sebastian had afforded one of the worst instances—were no longer exhibited in their quiet cantonments. "The natives of this part

of the country," Wellington writes, "are not only reconciled to the invasion, but wish us success, afford us all the supplies in their power, and exert themselves to get for us intelligence. . . The inhabitants, who had at first left their habitations, have in general returned to them, and they are living very comfortably and quietly with our soldiers cantoned in their houses." * Lord Wellington, in the course of a month, became straitened for room, in his position on the right bank of the Nivelle. He determined to cross the Nive, and establish himself between that river and the Adour. General Hill forded the river on the 9th of December, and the French posts were withdrawn to Bayonne. Then Soult resumed the offensive, and a series of obstinate engagements took place on the 10th, 11th, and 13th, in which all the attacks of the French were repulsed. In these engagements Soult first brought force to bear on the British left, under Hope, and then threw all his strength upon the British right, under Hill. Wellington was ready to give aid to this brave and skilful general, in the battle of the 13th, when 13,000 men were opposed to 30,000. But the aid was not required. Soult withdrew to his camp at Bayonne; and Wellington, well pleased, exclaimed, "Hill, the day is all your own." From the middle of December, 1813, to the middle of February, 1814, there was an interval of rest in the hostile camps at the feet of the Pyrenees.



Bayonne.

On the 14th of November, the Senate of France presented an Address to Napoleon at the Tuileries. In his answer he said, "A year ago all Europe marched with us: now all Europe is marching against us. It is because the opinion of the world is formed by France or by England. We should have every thing to fear but for the energy and power of the nation." The Senate

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 300.

placed at the emperor's disposal 300,000 conscripts. From September, 1805, to this 15th of November, the Senate had given him authority to devote to what was called the glory of France no less a number than two million one hundred and three thousand of her sons.* In the year 1813, the Senate had granted to Napoleon one million one hundred and forty thousand conscripts. In a Declaration of the 1st of December, the Allied Powers said, "they did not make war on France, but against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." On the 21st of December, the first corps of prince Schwarzenberg crossed the Rhine at Bâle. Blücher crossed the Rhine on the 31st. On the 29th, Napoleon's brother Joseph wrote to him, "The violation of the Swiss territory has laid France open to the enemy." He wished the emperor to be persuaded that his heart was wholly French. He was also aware of what he owed to Spain. He saw his duties, and he wished to fulfil all of them. Napoleon put a crushing hand upon Joseph's maudlin epistle: "France is invaded: all Europe is in arms against France, and above all against me. You are no longer king of Spain. I do not want Spain either to keep or to give away. I will have nothing more to do with that country except to live in peace with it, and have the use of my army." † He had found out the full truth of what he himself said, "Spain is the cancer of the Empire." He had concluded a treaty on the 11th of December with the ex-king Ferdinand, recognizing him as king of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that he should make the English abandon his territories. He knew the character of that weak and treacherous Bourbon. He saw in his restoration to the crown of Spain that future of superstition and tyranny, which would produce civil war; destroy the seeds of liberty and patriotism that had been sown; and give France at some not distant day the power of destroying the boundary of the Pyrenees. He made other arrangements with reference to the future. He released the Pope from his confinement at Fontainebleau. He made a pretence of calling out the National Guard; but he was afraid of them. The people showed no disposition to resist the invaders of their country, as in the first days of the Revolution. If the invaders were to be driven back it must be by the mere military strength which he could still wield, and by his own wondrous energy. In the third week of January he made his preparations for a final struggle. He appointed the empress as Regent, and his brother Joseph as his Lieutenant. He had 70,000 men in the field; and he set out for Paris, on the 25th of January, to put himself at their head, at Chalons.

There were two columns of the Allies marching on Paris,—one by the valley of the Seine, the other by the valley of the Marne. On the 29th of January, he fought the battle of Brienne with Blücher,—a battle which cost him 5000 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners. This battle decided nothing. He wrote to his brother,—"Since the battle of Brienne, the Allies have had great respect for our armies. They did not believe we had any." He thought that this opinion might hasten the peace.‡ A Congress was to be held at Chatillon. Negotiations went on, whilst Napoleon, placing

* "Histoire Parlementaire," vol. xxxix. p. 526.

† "Correspondence with Joseph," vol. ii. p. 255.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

himself between Blücher and Schwarzenberg, could prevent their junction, and attack either of them as he saw that opportunity might favour him. Never did he display more activity. The greatness of the stake stirred him into almost preternatural energy to win the game. His confidence in his good destiny led him to reject the terms which he probably might have obtained at Chatillon. Lord Aberdeen, the negotiator for England, was anxious for peace. But Napoleon would not forego the condition that the Rhine should be the frontier of France. The four Powers saw that only a firm agreement amongst themselves would prevent a peace which would throw away all the successes which they had obtained. They bound themselves by the treaty of Chaumont, of the 1st of March, to continue the contest with Napoleon if he should not agree to their conditions. He would still have been the sovereign ruler of France,—emperor, or king, as Talleyrand wished him to be called. The succession of the throne would have been guaranteed to his family. Some in England thought him mad to hesitate. Others, and those the majority, feared that he would become reasonable. Lord Colchester enters in his Diary of the 22d of March, "General apprehension of preliminaries of peace having been already signed at Chatillon; an almost universal dread of any pretended peace with Bonaparte." Those who hoped for peace through negotiation with him, and those who dreaded it, were not long kept in suspense. By a rapid and daring movement, Napoleon placed himself in the rear of the Allied forces. But they marched boldly for the capital. They fought a hard battle; and on the 30th of March occupied the entire line of defence which protected Paris on the north-east. On the 31st of March Paris capitulated. Marmont and Mortier had fought in vain outside the barriers. The people within had neither the means nor the inclination to defend themselves.

Whilst this final struggle was proceeding in the north, Wellington was making head against Soult in the south. On the 27th of February was fought the battle of Orthez. Soult was beaten, and was pursued to the Adour. His losses in fight were great, but desertion thinned his ranks more extensively than the charges of the English bayonets. The conscripts threw away their arms. The spirit of the French was broken; for their enthusiasm had long ceased to be national; and the pride of conquest had faded away since the charm had been broken. On the 8th of March, two divisions of the army of Wellington were to occupy Bordeaux, which was laid open by the battle of Orthez. When marshal Beresford marched to that city, his prudent chief gave him especial caution not to commit himself to any premature adoption of the cause of the Bourbons. These were Wellington's words on the 7th of March: "If they should ask you for your consent to proclaim Louis XVIII., to hoist the white standard, &c., you will state that the British nation and their allies wish well to Louis XVIII.; and as long as the public peace is preserved where our troops are stationed, we shall not interfere to prevent that party from doing what may be deemed most for its interest: nay, further, that I am prepared to assist any party that may show itself inclined to aid us in getting the better of Bonaparte. That the object of the Allies, however, in the war, and above all in entering France, is, as is stated in my proclamation, Peace; and that it is well known that the Allies are now engaged in negotiating a treaty with Bonaparte.

That, however I might be inclined to aid and support any set of people against Bonaparte while at war, I could give them no further aid when peace should be concluded; and I beg the inhabitants will weigh this matter well before they raise a standard against the government of Bonaparte, and involve themselves in hostilities." *

Soult had retreated to Toulouse. On the 9th of April, Wellington crossed the Garonne. On the 10th he attacked Soult in his entrenched camp on a

Toulouse.

range of heights on the eastern side of the city. It was a battle in which the two great commanders put forth all their strength against each other, with no adequate results for the loss of eight thousand men. It was a useless battle; for the war was ended. The Senate had declared that Napoleon had forfeited the throne. A Provisional Government had been formed. The emperor of the French had abdicated on the 4th of April. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had been in Paris four days. National guards were not there to make a last desperate effort for national independence. The fickle Parisians shouted with white cockades in their hats, and ladies from every window waved white handkerchiefs, as Alexander and Frederick William rode slowly along the Boulevards. Soult has been unjustly accused of having fought at Toulouse, out of mere pride and obstinacy, when he knew that the fate of Napoleon was decided. Wellington in the House of Lords absolved him from the odious charge that he knew of the abdica-

* "Despatches," vol. xi. p. 557 *

tion. News did not then travel quickly to the French provinces. There was then no uninterrupted line of railways from the Seine to the Garonne.

But was any one of those conflicts useless, which Wellington had sustained so gloriously since he passed the Nive in the beginning of December? Was there any one of that series of battles and marches without a sensible effect upon the great issue of the war? Wellington was as effectually fighting against Bonaparte, as if he had met him face to face upon the heights of Montmartre. The tyranny would have been far more difficult to put down —it would have been perhaps impossible even to limit its range—had not Wellington held two of France's greatest generals in check, with their large number of fighting men, in the south, whilst Blücher and Schwarzenberg were engaged in a very difficult struggle with the masterly strategy of Napoleon in the north. If Soult and Suchet had been free to fly to the relief of their emperor, in all probability he would not have set out on his journey to Fréjus on the 20th of April, there to embark for the island of Elba, of which he was to be the ruler, in full sovereignty. It was a change from the magnificent empire which he might have possessed in peace, had his mind been of that lofty character which "makes ambition virtue." He stood upon one of the hills of Elba, and could behold at once the whole extent of his sea-girt dominions. "Ah," said he, "it must be confessed that my island is somewhat small."

On the 23rd of April, three days after Napoleon had left Fontainebleau, a Convention between Count d'Artois and the Allied powers was signed at Paris, by which it was stipulated that all hostilities should cease; that the foreign armies should evacuate the French territory; and that the boundaries of France should be the same as on the 1st of January, 1792. On the 3rd of May Louis the Eighteenth entered Paris. "*Vive le Roi!*" was shouted as loudly for the unwarlike king, as "*Vive l'Empereur!*" had been shouted during ten years for the magnificent conqueror. Louis was to give the French a representative government. His was not to be so showy a career as that which looked to the glory of accomplishing the Universal Monarchy. The Peace of Paris between France and the Allied Powers was ratified on the 30th of May. A Congress to be held at Vienna was to confirm its conditions, and to re-organize Europe.

There were three months of public joy in England, such as never had been witnessed—we will not say in a generation, or in the memory of man, but to parallel which we must look back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Henry the Fifth rode into London after the battle of Agincourt, and Elizabeth went in a chariot to St. Paul's to return thanks for the destruction of the Armada. The weather was of extraordinary beauty. The spring had put forth its earliest blossoms, when intelligence reached London that the Allied armies were in Paris, and that Napoleon had abdicated. There were illuminations for three nights. Most men said, with Wilberforce, "This hath God done."* Some, and those of the most temperate, were, with Horner, "of the small minority of those who dread the consequences of the restoration of the Bourbons."† Others, stronger in their opinions, thought, as Robert Hall.

* Letter in "Life," April 9, vol. iv.
† "Memoirs," vol. i.—25th February.

thought after Waterloo, that these events had "put back the clock of the world six degrees." * A few, even more extreme in their views, said, with sir Robert Wilson, "The good old cause, as it is called, triumphs. Its insignia of victory are the fetters of tyranny and superstition. The power of Bonaparte could, at the farthest, not have continued more than thirty years. Death assured the termination of his iron rule at that period." † The question is, were not the unreflecting multitude right? They shouted, at the top of their voices, when Louis the Eighteenth made his solemn entry into London, previous to his departure for France on the 23rd of April, when the Prince Regent accompanied him to Dover. They shouted with redoubled ardour on the 7th of June, when the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia had arrived in the capital, endeavouring to be private, but hearing from their residences the tumultuous greetings of a people who had never been accustomed to restrain their feelings. The first public assemblage to which they went was Ascot Races. They saw the English in their holiday garb, and they thought that there was no poverty in the land. They had a day's respite from ceremonial. ‡ Then came the grandeur. Degrees conferred at Oxford, in which Blücher was included—a speech in Latin, and recitations in Greek. Civic banquets in London followed; then grand reviews; and after three weeks of feasting and uproar, a return to the continent, to see how the Peace of Paris was to be best worked for their individual advantage. Dumouriez, who had seen the beginning of this crisis, but had not quite seen the end, wrote to Wilberforce, "We must wait till the bustle is past to behold men wise, and to hear them speak reasonably." § There was one public demonstration which the coldest reasoning could not despise. The duke of Wellington landed at Dover on the 28th of June, and he was borne on the shoulders of the men of Kent to his inn. The conqueror was uplifted, like an ancient hero upon his shield.

There was a more solemn recognition of the feelings of the nation for which Wellington had fought, which he had perhaps saved by his sagacity and endurance. The House of Commons resolved upon an Address of thanks and congratulation. He was to be thanked and congratulated by a committee of fifteen members, as in the case of the duke of Marlborough. He expressed his desire to come to the House in person, and there to tender the expression of his gratitude. He came on the 1st of July. The House was crowded. The lobby was filled. Universal huzzas were heard as he approached. As he came within the bar the whole House rose. A seat was put for him, and the members resumed their places. Modestly, as was the nature of the man, he expressed his gratitude. They had animated his exertions by their applause; they had filled up the measure of their favours by conferring upon him the noblest gift that any subject had ever received. The confidence of the government; his own reliance on the support of his gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of his officers and troops,—

* Works, vol. i. p. 170.

† "Private Journal," May, 1810, vol. ii. p. 363.

‡ The author of this History, then at the height of a young man's excitement, went early to the course, and observed a melancholy-looking foreigner walking alone before the arrival of the Regent's cavalcade, and having bought a roll and a piece of cheese at a booth, was munching it with satisfaction. In half an hour he was in the Royal Stand—the King of Prussia.

§ "Life of Wilberforce," vol. ii. p. 172.

these had enabled him to carry on the operations of the war, so as to acquire the approbation for which he now made his humble acknowledgments. Then the Speaker stood up and said:

"My lord,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. These triumphs it is needless on this day to recount; their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause. It has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments. But this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a Leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

"It now remains only that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed; and we doubt not that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1789 George III.	Louis XVI.	Joseph II.	Frederic William II.	Gustavus III.	Catherine II.	Charles IV.
1790 —	—	Leopold II.	—	—	—	—
1792 —	Republic.	Francis II.*	—	Gustavus IV.	—	—
1796 —	—	—	—	—	Paul I.	—
1797 —	—	—	Frederic William III.	—	—	—
1799 —	Bonaparte, 1st Consul.	—	—	—	—	—
1801 —	—	—	—	—	Alexander.	—
1804 —	Napoleon, Emperor.	—	—	—	—	—
		AUSTRIA.				
1806 —	—	Francis I.	—	—	—	—
1808 —	—	—	—	—	—	{Ferdinand VII. / Joseph Napoleon}
1809 —	—	—	—	Charles XIII.	—	—
1811 Regency.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1814 —	Louis XVIII.	—	—	—	—	Ferdinand VII.

* Upon the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, in 1806, Francis ceased to be Emperor of Germany, and became hereditary Emperor of Austria, under the title of Francis I.

GREAT BRITAIN.	DENMARK.	PORTUGAL.	PAPAL STATES.	NAPLES.	SARDINIA.	UNITED STATES.
1789 George III.	Christian VII.	Maria.	Pius VI.	Ferdinand IV.	Victor Amadeus III.	George Washington, (President).
1793 —	—	—	—	—	—	Re-elected 1793.
1795 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1796 —	—	—	—	—	Charles Emanuel IV.	—
1797 —	—	—	—	—	—	John Adams, (President).
1799 —	—	John VI.	—	—	—	—
1800 —	—	—	Pius VII.	—	—	—
1801 —	—	—	—	—	—	Thomas Jefferson, (President).
1802 —	—	—	—	—	Victor Emanuel.	—
1808 —	Frederic VI.	—	—	Joseph Napoleon.	—	—
1809 —	—	—	—	—	—	Thomas Madison, (President).
1811 Regency	—	—	—	—	—	Re-elected 1813.
1814 —	—	—	—	—	—	—

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, 1783, TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, 1812.

LORD CHANCELLOR.	FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.		
			HOME.	FOREIGN.	WAR AND COLONIES.
1783. Alexander lord Loughborough, (April 9).	1783. William Henry duke of Portland, (April 5).	1783. Lord John Cavendish, (April 5).	1783. Frederick lord North, (April 2).	1783. Hon. Charles James Fox, (April 2).	
— Edward lord Thurlow, (Dec. 23).	— Hon. William Pitt, (Dec. 27).	— Hon. William Pitt, (Dec. 27).	— Francis marquis of Carmarthen, (Dec. 23).	— Thomas lord Sydney, (Dec. 23).	
1784. ,,	1784. ,,	1784. ,,	1784. ,,	1784. ,,	
1785. ,,	1785. ,,	1785. ,,	1785. ,,	1785. ,,	
1786. ,,	1786. ,,	1786. ,,	1786. ,,	1786. ,,	
1787. ,,	1787. ,,	1787. ,,	1787. ,,	1787. ,,	
1788. ,,	1788. ,,	1788. ,,	1788. ,,	1788. ,,	
1789. ,,	1789. ,,	1789. ,,	1789. ,,	1789. W. W. Grenville, Esq., (June).	
1790. ,,	1790. ,,	1790. ,,	1790. ,,	1790. ,,	
1791. ,,	1791. ,,	1791. ,,	1791. Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, (June).	1791. Lord Grenville, (May).	
1792. The Great Seal in Commission.	1792. ,,	1792. ,,	1792. ,,	1792. ,,	
1793. Alexander lord Loughborough.	1793. ,,	1793. ,,	1793. ,,	1793. ,,	
1794. ,,	1794. ,,	1794. ,,	1794. Duke of Portland, (July 11).	1794. ,,	1794. Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, (July).
1795. ,,	1795. ,,	1795. ,,	1795. ,,	1795. ,,	1795. ,,
1796. ,,	1796. ,,	1796. ,,	1796. ,,	1796. ,,	1796. ,,
1797. ,,	1797. ,,	1797. ,,	1797. ,,	1797. ,,	1797. ,,
1798. ,,	1798. ,,	1798. ,,	1798. ,,	1798. ,,	1798. ,,
1799. ,,	1799. ,,	1799. ,,	1799. ,,	1799. ,,	1799. ,,
1800. ,,	1800. ,,	1800. ,,	1800. ,,	1800. ,,	1800. ,,

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE—(*continued*).

LORD CHANCELLOR.	FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.		
			HOME.	FOREIGN.	WAR AND COLONIES.
1801. John lord Eldon, (April 14).	1801. Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, created viscount Sidmouth, 1805, (March 7).	1801. Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, (March 7).	1801. Thomas lord Pelham.	1801. Robert lord Hawkesbury, (Feb).	1801. Lord Hobart, (March).
1802. ,,	1802. ,,	1802. ,,	1802. ,,	1802. ,,	1802. ,,
1803. ,,	1803. ,,	1803. ,,	1803. Hon. Charles Yorke.	1803. ,,	1803. ,,
1804. ,,	1804. Hon. William Pitt.	1804. Hon. William Pitt.	1804. Robert lord Hawkesbury.	1804. Lord Harrowby.	1804. Earl Camden.
1805. ,,	1805. ,,	1805. ,,	1805. ,,	1805. Earl Mulgrave.	1805. Viscount Castlereagh.
1806. Thomas lord Erskine.	1806. William lord Grenville.	1806. Lord Henry Petty.	1806. Earl Spencer.	1806. Hon. Charles James Fox.	1806. William Windham.
				— Lord Charles Howick, (became earl Grey, Nov. 1807).	
1807. John lord Eldon.	1807. Duke of Portland.	1807. Hon. Spencer Perceval.	1807. Robert lord Hawkesbury (afterwards earl of Liverpool).	1807. Rt. Hon. George Canning.	1807. Viscount Castlereagh.
1808. ,,	1808. ,,	1808. ,,	1808. ,,	1808. ,,	1808. ,,
1809. ,,	1809. ,,	1809. ,,	1809. Hon. Richard Ryder.	1809. Earl Bathurst.	1809. Earl of Liverpool.
				— Marquis Wellesley.	
1810. ,,	1810. Hon. Spencer Perceval.	1810. ,,	1810. ,,	1810. ,,	1810. ,,
1811. ,,	1811. ,,	1811. ,,	1811. ,,	1811. ,,	1811. ,,
1812. ,,	1812. Earl of Liverpool.	1812. Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart.	1812. Viscount Sidmouth.	1812. Viscount Castlereagh.	1812. Earl Bathurst.
1813. ,,	1813. ,,	1813. ,,	1813. ,,	1813. ,,	1813. ,,
1814. ,,	1814. ,,	1814. ,,	1814. ,,	1814. ,,	1814. ,,
1815. ,,	1815. ,,	1815. ,,	1815. ,,	1815. ,,	1815. ,,

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from page 413.)

1802 June 25 : Definitive treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte.
1802 September 11 : Piedmont united to France.
1803 March 14 : Hostilities renewed between Great Britain and France.
1803 May 18 : War declared by Great Britain against France.
1803 June 17 : Great Britain declared war against tho republic of Batavia.
1803 August 1 : A treaty ratified between Great Britain and Sweden.
1804 December 12 : Spain declared war against Great Britain.
1805 January 24 : War declared against Spain by Great Britain.
1805 April 8 : The *Treaty of Petersburg* entered into for a third coalition against France, England and Russia being the contracting parties.
1805 August 9 : The Emperor of Austria acceded to the treaty of Petersburg.
1805 August 31 : An alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into at Beekaskog, between Great Britain and Sweden.
1805 September 8 : *Third Coalition* against France, the parties being Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples.
1805 September 21 : A treaty of neutrality signed between France and Naples.
1805 December 26 : *Peace of Presburg* between France and Austria, by which the ancient states of Venice were ceded to Italy ; the principality of Eichstett, part of the bishopric of Passau, the city of Augsburg, the Tyrol, all the possessions of Austria in Suabia, in Brisgau, and Ortenau, were transferred to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Würtemberg, who, as well as the duke of Baden, were then created kings by Napoleon ; the independence of the Helvetic republic was also stipulated for.
1806 April 7 : War between Great Britain and Prussia.
1806 July 12 : The Germanic Confederation of the Rhine formed under the auspices of Napoleon.
1806 July 20 : Peace of Paris between France and Russia, which Alexander subsequently refused to ratify.
1806 August 1 : The treaty of the 12th July notified to the Diet at Ratisbon, when German princes seceded from the Germanic empire, and placed themselves under the protection of Napoleon.
1806 October 6 : The *Fourth Coalition* formed against France, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Saxony.
1806 November 21 : The *Berlin Decree*, issued by Bonaparte after the battle of Jena, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and interdicting the whole world from any communication with them.
1806 November 28 : War declared against France by Russia.
1806 December 11 : A treaty of peace and alliance signed at Cosen, between Napoleon and the elector of Saxony, who then assumed the title of king.
1806 December 17 : War declared against Russia by Turkey.
1806 December 31 : A treaty of commerce entered into between Great Britain and the United States of America, which the latter state afterwards refused to ratify.
1807 July 2 : The President of the United States ordered all British ships to evacuate the ports of America, in consequence of the capture of the Chesapeake by an English ship of war.

1807 July 7 : *Peace of Tilsit* concluded between France and Russia, when Napoleon restored to the Prussian monarch one-half of his territories, and Russia recognized the Confederation of the Rhine, and the elevation of Napoleon's three brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, to the thrones of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia ; this treaty was ratified on the 19th.

1807 August 16 : A Danish declaration published against Great Britain.

1807 October 8 : The Prince Regent of Portugal ordered all his ports to be shut against the British, which order was speedily revoked, and on the French approaching Lisbon, he embarked, on Nov. 27, for the Brazils.

1807 October 31 : A treaty of alliance entered into between France and Denmark.

1807 November 1 : Russia declared war against England.

1807 November 10 : A treaty ratified at Paris between France and Holland, whereby Flushing was ceded to the French.

1807 December 17 : *Milan Decree* issued by Napoleon ; England declared in a state of blockade.

1808 February 8 : Treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden.

1808 February 18 : A declaration issued by Austria, breaking off all connexion with England.

1808 February 29 : Denmark declared war against Sweden.

1808 March 30 : A treaty of alliance and subsidy entered into between England and Sicily, whereby the latter was to be garrisoned by 10,000 British troops, and to receive an annual subsidy of 300,000*l.*

1808 May 1 : The Regent of Portugal declared war against France.

1808 May 5 : *Treaty of Bayonne*, whereby Charles IV. ceded all his titles to Spain and its dependencies to Napoleon, expressly resigning to him the right of transmitting the crown to whomsoever he should think fitting.

1808 May : On the festival of St. Ferdinand, insurrections broke out in several parts of Spain ; at Cadiz in particular.

1808 June 6 : War commenced between the Spanish insurgents and France.

1808 June 16 : Insurrection of the Portuguese at Oporto, which spread so rapidly as to occasion the evacuation of the northern provinces by the French troops.

1808 June 25 : A Spanish proclamation of peace with England, and Sweden, her ally, published at Oviedo.

1808 August 30 : The *Convention of Cintra* signed, the French agreeing to evacuate Portugal.

1808 November 5 : The *Convention of Berlin* entered into, whereby Napoleon remitted to Prussia the sum due on the war-debt, and withdrew his troops from many of the fortresses in order to reinforce his armies in Spain.

1809 January 5 ; Peace ratified between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte.

1809 January 14 : A treaty of alliance ratified between England and the Spanish insurgents.

1809 April 6 : War declared against the French by the Austrians.

1809 April 9 : The Fifth Coalition against France by Great Britain and Austria.

1809 May 3 : Russia declared war against Austria.

1809 July 25 : Armistice between Sweden and Norway.

1809 September 17 : A treaty of peace signed between Russia and Sweden.

1809 October 14 : Peace of Vienna, between France and Austria ; Austria ceding to France the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and other territories, which were shortly afterwards declared to be united to France under the title of the Illyrian provinces, and engaging to adhere to the prohibitory system adopted towards England by France and Russia.

1810 January 6 : *Peace of Paris*, between France and Sweden, whereby Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen were given up to the Swedes, who agreed to adopt the French prohibitory system against Great Britain.
1810 February 19 : Treaties of alliance and commerce signed between Great Britain and the Brazils.
1810 April 13 : Sweden interdicts all commerce with England.
1810 April 19 : The South American provinces of Caraccas, &c., form a federative government, under the title of the Federation of Venezuela.
1810 May 1 : All French and English vessels prohibited from entering the ports of the United States.
1810 May 29 : The Dey of Algiers declared war against France.
1810 July 9 : Holland incorporated with France on the abdication of Louis Bonaparte.
1810 November 19 : Sweden declared war against Great Britain.
1812 March 14 : Treaty of alliance signed at Paris between France and Austria.
1812 March 24 : Treaty of alliance, signed at St. Petersburg, between Bernadotte, Prince Royal of Sweden, and the Emperor Alexander ; the former agreeing to join in the campaign against France, in return for which Sweden was to receive Norway.
1812 April 1 : The Berlin Decree revoked as far as respected America.
1812 May 28 : Preliminaries of peace ratified at Bucharest between Russia and Turkey, it being stipulated that the Pruth should form the boundary of those empires.
1812 June 18 : The United States of America declare war against Great Britain.
1812 June 22 : Napoleon having assembled an immense army in Western Prussia, declared war against Russia.
1812 July 6 : A treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden ratified at Orebo.
1812 July 20 : Treaty signed between the Emperor Alexander and the Regency of Cadiz, in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain.
1812 August 1 : Treaty of peace and union ratified at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia, renewing their ancient relations of friendship and commerce.
1813 January 25 : *Concordat at Fontainebleau*, between Napoleon and Pius VII.
1813 March 1 : The *Sixth Coalition* entered into between Russia and Prussia against France, the treaty being ratified at Kalisch.
1813 March 3 : The *Treaty of Stockholm* entered into between England and Sweden.
1813 April 1 : France declared war against Prussia.
1813 June 14 : A Treaty of Alliance concluded between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia.
1813 July 8 : The *Convention of Peterswalden* took place between Great Britain and Russia.
1813 July 10 : A reciprocal treaty of alliance and guarantee entered into between France and Denmark, ratified at Copenhagen.
1813 September 3 : War declared by Denmark against Sweden.
1813 September 9 : A triple *Treaty of Alliance* ratified at *Töplitz* between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
1813 October 3 : A preliminary treaty of alliance signed at *Töplitz* between Austria and Great Britain.
1813 December 8 : *Treaty of Valençay*, between Napoleon and Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain, whereby the latter was put in full possession of that kingdom, on agreeing to maintain its integrity.

1814 January 14 : *Treaty of Kiel*, between Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark. Norway ceded to Sweden.

1814 February 5 : The Cortes of Spain renounce the treaty ratified at Valençay.

1814 February 5 : Congress of Chatillon between the four great powers allied against France, at which Caulaincourt attended on the part of France. The Congress broke up on the 19th of March.

1814 March 1 : *Treaty of Chaumont* between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

1814 April 11 : The *Treaty of Paris* ratified on the part of Napoleon and the Allies, by which Napoleon renounced his sovereignty over France, &c., stipulating that the island of Elba should be his domain and residence for life, with a suitable provision for himself and Maria Louisa, who was to have vested in her the duchies of Parma and Placentia ; the same to descend to her son.

1814 April 23 : A convention signed at Paris between the Count d'Artois on the one part, and the Allied Powers on the other, stipulating that all hostilities should cease by land and sea ; that the confederated armies should evacuate the French territory, leaving its boundaries the same as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

1814 May 30 : *Peace of Paris* ratified between France and the Allied Powers, in a supplemental article of which Louis XVIII. stipulated that he would exert his endeavours with the continental powers to ensure the abolition of the slave trade, in conjunction with Great Britain.

1814 July 20 : A treaty of peace signed between France and Spain at Paris, confirming the stipulations of previous treaties which had existed on the 1st of January, 1792.

1814 July 26 : Norway and Sweden commence hostilities. Norway opposing her separation from Denmark, but eventually submitting in the following August.

1814 August 13 : Convention between Great Britain and the Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries respecting the Dutch colonies.

1814 September 28 : A convention ratified at Vienna, whereby Saxony was placed under the control of Prussia.

1814 December 24 : *Peace of Ghent* between Great Britain and the United States of America.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

				Principal. £	Interest. £
Peace . .	George III.	33 & 34	1793	247,874,434	9,711,238
War . .					
,,		34 & 35	1794	263,322,655	10,396,645
,,		35 & 36	1795	321,462,679	12,699,310
,,		36 & 37	1796	363,898,894	14,765,095
,,		37 & 38	1797	388,960,590	15,575,330
,,		38 & 39	1798	427,525,902	16,887,399
,,		39 & 40	1799	442,324,377	17,560,127
,,		40 & 41	1800	470,894,280	18,582,950
,,		41 & 42	1801	517,511,871	19,819,839
War . .		42 & 43	1802	537,653,008	20,268,551
Peace . .					
Peace .		43 & 44	1803	547,732,796	20,812,962
War . .					
,,		44 & 45	1804	571,131,318	21,658,890
,,		45 & 46	1805	599,869,847	22,568,359
,,		46 & 47	1806	621,096,683	23,196,582
,,		47 & 48	1807	633,806,412	23,373,092
,,		48 & 49	1808	643,545,783	23,595,013
,,		49 & 50	1809	654,461,311	24,292,276
,,		50 & 51	1810	662,193,856	24,553,162
,,		51 & 52	1811	678,200,436	25,484,765
,,		52 & 53	1812	706,254,537	26,853,846
,,		53 & 54	1813	788,093,781	29,893,737
,,		54 & 55	1814	813,140,176	31,105,644
War . .		55 & 56	1815	861,039,049	32,645,618
Peace . .					

POPULATION IN 1811.

Great Britain.	Males.	Females.	Total.
England	4,555,257	4,944,143	9,499,400
Wales	289,414	317,966	607,380
Scotland	825,377	979,487	1,804,864
Army, Navy, &c. . . .	640,500	. . . .	640,500
Totals . .	6,310,548	6,241,596	12,552,144

END OF VOLUME VII.

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